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VOLUME III

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NOTE

I alone, in my personal capacity, am responsible for all the statements, analyses and conclusions drawn in this report ; they do not represent the views of the Government of India or the Government of Assam.

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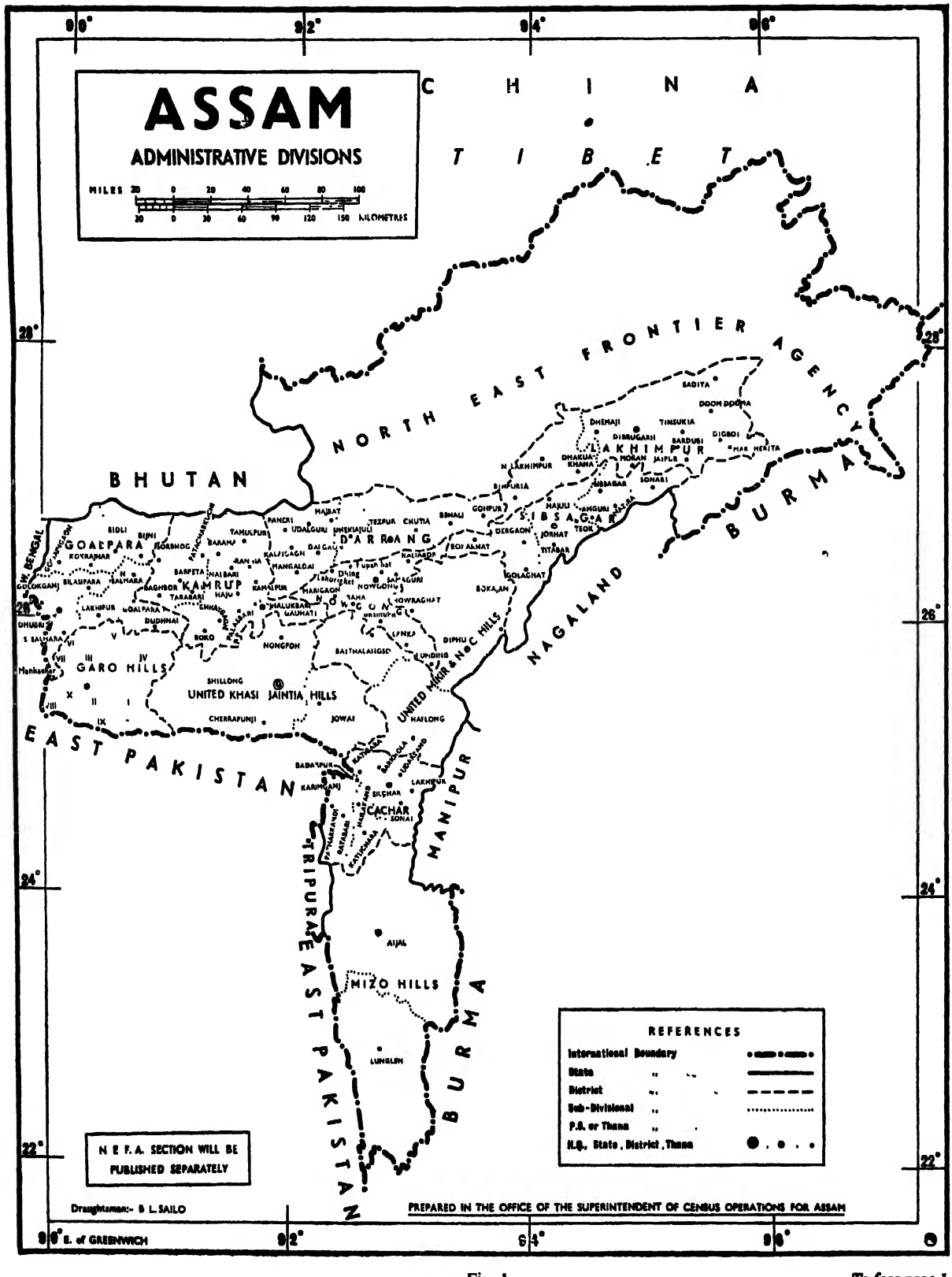

Fig. 1

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INTRODUCTION

General—Although this is the tenth Census of India, few people outside realise that the Census is an administrative operation of great dimensions, and in addition, it is a scientific process. The Indian Census covers one of the largest populations in the world and it is also one of the most economical administrative operations. The Census as an institution goes back to 1872, but it is no longer a mere counting of heads; it involves the extraction of information which plays a vital part in the determination of many of our administrative policies. The theory of population is in itself an interesting part of economics. The Census helps us to test and adopt that theory to facts. The Census is also a statistical operation of great value to every country. It is the primary source of basic national data for administration and for many aspects of economic and social planning. The object of this Census is to collect, compile and publish demographic, economic and social data pertaining to all persons in India; to analyse and appraise the composition, distribution and growth of the population and to study the living conditions of the people. It also attempts a modest appraisal of the impact of the First and Second Five Year Plans on the State's economy.

2. *Census Calendar*—For every operation, there must be a definite time schedule. A time schedule for the Census Operations is also called a Census Calendar. According to Shri A. Mitra, ICS, Registrar General, India, the most sacred thing in the Census is the Census Calendar because the Census has to be executed on a war footing basis and so it is of the utmost importance that the time schedule is kept up by all those who are called upon to shoulder responsibility in this national undertaking. The time schedules fixed in the Census Calendar for Assam were generally strictly adhered to, and in many cases, the programme was carried ahead of schedule. It was only in a few cases that the time table was delayed a little.

3. *Housenumbering and Houselisting*—One of the most important preliminary arrangements for the Census is the Housenumbering and the Houselisting Operation because people have to be counted with reference to their habitation. In previous Censuses, housenumbering was done, but no large-scale attempt was made to prepare a comprehensive houselist. This time the housenumbering was followed by houselisting in a separate schedule and with a separate questionnaire. The houselist with instructions is reproduced in the appendix. After the Houselisting Operation, the provisional population of Assam was obtained and this greatly helped me in making the final Census Divisions in the State. The data collected in the houselists were later coded, sorted and tabulated and a Report on Housing and Establishments is separately published as part of the series of Census Publications for Assam.

4. *Recruitment of Census Agency and Training*—The enumerators who actually did the canvassing for the Census from door to door were recruited mostly from among the school teachers, employees of big companies and other categories of Government servants who were readily available in the Census blocks, or as near the blocks as possible. The charge superintendents were appointed from among the gazetted officers or higher non-gazetted officers in districts and subdivisions, while supervisors were selected mostly from among the Government servants between the ranks of charge superintendents and enumerators. Theoretical and sample Census training was given to all categories of the enumerating agency to ensure that the concept of the questionnaires had been fully understood by them. At least two trainings for housenumbering and houselisting operation and about six trainings for the Census count itself were given. Training was imparted by me, my Deputy Superintendents of Census Operations and the Statistical Assistants at my disposal at that time. The training was given to the charge superintendents and supervisors who again trained the enumerators. In many cases, enumerators were also trained by us wherever they could be collected in some central place. The training was found to be very useful because all doubts and local difficulties were answered on the spot. My only regret is that some such Census officials took the work rather lightly

while some were transferred just before the enumeration leaving little time for training the substitutes. This difficulty was partly circumvented by training more Census officials than were actually required in areas where sufficient staff was available.

5. *Actual Count*—The actual count for the Census was taken from February 10 to February 28, 1961, and the Reference Date was the sunrise of March 1, 1961. The check round was taken from March 1 to March 5, 1961, to record births and deaths which might have occurred during the above period and also to check where there was omission or double-recording.

6. *Post Enumeration Check*—The Post Enumeration Check was taken in April 1961 to find out the accuracy of the enumeration. Elaborate instructions were given to selected supervisors under the guidance of selected charge superintendents to check where there was omission or duplication of counting in certain blocks in every police station of the State of Assam. In rural areas, one per cent of blocks and ten per cent of houses, and in the urban areas, two per cent of blocks and five per cent of houses were generally taken as samples for the purpose. The analysis by the Registrar General on the basis of these samples shows that in Assam, there was an under enumeration of three persons per thousand in the rual areas and seven persons per thousand in the urban areas.

7. *Block Maps*—Block maps were prepared on a notional basis by every enumerator and charge registers were prepared for each Census charge consisting of about six circles or 30 blocks. The Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers were requested to send all such block maps to me for safe custody, but unfortunately in many cases, the block maps were not sent to me.

8. *Block Division*—The districts, Subdivisions and police stations which are well-established administrative divisions with accurate maps were taken as the main Census Divisions. Each police station was divided into blocks with about 600 persons or 120 houses in the urban areas and 750 persons or 150 houses in the rural areas and each such block constituted an enumerator's jurisdiction. A group of about 5 enumerator's blocks constituted a circle under a supervisor and a suitable number of supervisor's circles constituted a charge. Blocks were first divided on an ad hoc basis by each Deputy Commissioner or Subdivisional Officer and thereafter house-numbering was undertaken. After the house-numbering and houselisting, it was found that many such blocks contained more houses or more persons than the above norms. The formation of blocks was therefore revised after the houselisting operation and each enumerator was asked to prepare a notional map for his block to avoid overlapping. I did not receive any complaint about lack of accuracy or comprehensiveness regarding the division of the State into blocks. It is also remarkable that the total population thrown out by the houselisting operation and the final enumeration were very close to each other and this also suggests that block divisions were more or less accurate and comprehensive enough to cover the whole State. As a result of this intensive division of the State into blocks, the Deputy Commissioners, Subdivisional Officers and my officers found out that some areas in the remote interior of the State were not covered by previous Censuses according to the testimony of local inhabitants. It was also discovered that many villages which were shown as having no population in 1951 have now been populated. During this Census, uninhabited areas are really only those areas which are either too marshy in the plains, or reserve forests and other forest areas in both the hills and plains of Assam. Even inside reserve forests there are villages which have been covered by this Census through the agency of the forest officers.

9. *Territorial Changes*—Between 1951 and 1961, a new district known as the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills was formed by transferring the whole of the North Cachar Hills subdivision from Cachar and by carving out 1,715.9 square miles from Nowgong, 1,676.3 square miles from Sibsagar and 603.2 square miles from the Jowai subdivision of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills. The total area of this new district is 5,892.2 square miles inclusive of 1,896.8 square miles of the North Cachar Hills subdivision. The areas of Cachar, Sibsagar, Nowgong and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills districts were consequently reduced to the

above extent. The Naga Hills district and the former Tuensang division of the NEFA were separated from Assam in 1960 and constituted into a separate State known as Nagaland. The North-East Frontier Agency, though constitutionally part of Assam, is excluded from the coverage of the Census Operations for Assam proper. A strip of jungly uninhabited territory measuring 32.8 square miles was ceded to Bhutan from the Kamrup district on 1st September 1951 by an enactment of Parliament.

10. *Location Code*—The Location Code is a device to easily locate the house within the village or town, the police station and the district by means of code numbers and thus save a lot of time in writing details of the house. Moreover, as the enumeration was done in slips, and as slips had to be sorted time and again during tabulation, the use of code numbers saved space and time and also facilitated mechanical tabulation and sampling, wherever required. The Location Code consists of four elements. The first number indicates the district, the second indicates the police station or town, the third number indicates the village or the ward of a town and the fourth indicates the housenumber. The code numbers for districts, police stations and towns were allotted by me, but the code numbers for villages were given by the Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers, and the enumerators wrote down the housenumber or the fourth element from the number painted in each house or household during local visits. Code numbers for towns were given in Roman numerals and those of police stations and other elements of the Location Code were given in Arabic numerals. A full Location Code down to the police station is given in the appendix.

11. *Urban Areas*—Where there is a municipality, town committee or cantonment, the boundaries have been duly notified and so there was no difficulty in finding out the areas of such established towns, but there were certain urban areas which had been declared by me as such because they conformed to the definition of a town according to the 1961 Census. Any area having a population of not less than 5,000, a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile and three-fourths of whose working population are outside agriculture had been declared as a town. Such areas generally did not have notified or well-defined boundaries and so the Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers were asked to define the boundaries and to prepare notional maps for the same. Where there are streams or nullahs, these were taken as boundaries, and other recognised edges of such urban areas were taken by the local authorities as other boundaries. In some cases, the exact areas in such towns were not known due to lack of cadastral survey and so only rough areas were calculated from available maps and other data.

12. *Quality of Census Agency*—The concepts of some questions in the houselist, the household schedule and the individual slip, particularly the economic questions, were not easily understood by many of the enumerating agency. There is no doubt that some education is necessary to understand the concepts, and this time almost all our enumerators had passed at least the primary examination, but experience shows that sincerity is the deciding factor in having an accurate understanding of the concepts. I myself found that in some areas where enumerators were matriculates and above as they had been drawn from offices of the Government or local bodies, the standard of performance was rather poor because they did not care to properly read the instructions or to properly listen to lectures given in the training classes. On the contrary, in many rural areas, it was found that enumerators who had passed only middle English or middle Vernacular and who could not speak English properly, understood the concepts very well because they listened to training classes attentively and tried to understand the concepts with sincerity. The standard of work of such enumerators was very good.

13. By and large, the Census training programme was successful and the training sample Census gave the stamp of reality to the training programme. Initially, the programme was that I train the Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers in Shillong during a conference, and on return to their respective districts and subdivisions, these officers would train their Charge Superintendents who would again train the other enumerating agency below them. In practice, it was found that on return to their respective jurisdictions, the

Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers could not do justice to this programme due to their various preoccupations. However, this differed from officer to officer, and some officers did carry out the training programme very well. I therefore decided to send my Deputies and Statistical Officers to the districts and subdivisions for intensive training, and this worked out very well. My officers covered even many rural areas wherever possible.

14. One of the most common mistakes made during sample training was that against question 5(c) of the enumeration slip, only SC/ST was written by the Census agency and the name of the particular caste or tribe was not written in spite of instructions to the contrary. During tabulation, this resulted in extreme difficulties for classifying some tribes or castes. But the greatest mistakes were made in describing the nature of work or household industry against questions 10 and 11. The enumerators had to be instructed again and again how to fill in these questions correctly.

15. In the houselist, columns 2, 3 and 4 presented some problems to the enumerators. Many of them committed mistake in filling up these columns. The titles of the column headings themselves were greatly responsible for such defects. These columns were, however, not very material for the purpose of tabulation and so our tabulation staff could somehow or other smooth out the defects wherever they were found. Many enumerators could not also make a distinction between a workshop and a factory in columns 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the houselist. However, the tabulation staff also could smooth out many of these defects during extraction of the data. Most of the mistakes about factories were found from houselists in the Mizo district because the enumerators there had a tendency to call even the most primitive household work as a factory. For example, even a hut where a dao or hoe is sharpened by means of some charcoal and corundum was described by the enumerators of Mizo district as a factory and entered in column 4 of the houselist form. This resulted in the inflation of factories in the Mizo district, although this district is the least industrialized part of Assam. The quality of houselist was found to be very good in respect of the Cachar district and some parts of the Kamrup district.

16. Block maps were not received from many parts of the State, but from those received, those from the plains of the Assam Valley and Cachar were found to be better in quality because many villages had been cadastrally surveyed and the enumerators had a good idea about map making. Map making is comparatively easy in the plains where the land is flat and has definite boundaries. In most of these villages, cadastral maps were also available so that all that the enumerator had to do was to get such maps on a smaller scale from the big scale cadastral maps of the villages.

17. The greatest number of mistakes were made by the enumerators in filling up the columns regarding categorisation of land. The difficulty here was not only by the enumerator, but mostly by the householders themselves who either did not have the area of their lands or were not willing to tell the same and who would also not like to tell whether they held the land from private persons or Government for payment in money, kind or share. In the plains of Assam where cadastral survey had been undertaken, the enumerator could easily get these out if the householder would show him the patta of the land. But in the hill areas of Assam, no cadastral survey was ever undertaken and because land is plenty and the terrain is difficult and irregular, the area of land can be mentioned only by guess. Moreover, questions A-1(i) and (ii) refer to two categories of land in respect of which both the enumerators and householders gave erroneous information or made erroneous entries in respect of the one or the other category of land. Tabulation became very difficult under such circumstances. Fortunately, the tabulation was done by the Mechanical Tabulation Officer to whom clarifications had to be given by us from time to time, and in spite of that, no clear idea can be made out of these questions. In some cases, it was found that some land was shown as being cultivated by the owner himself while at the same time it was also shown as having been given to other persons for cultivation for payment in money, kind or share. Local units of measurements of land were given in most of these household schedules and my tabulation staff had to convert such measurements to standard acres.

18. In respect of household industry, the concept was by and large understood by the people and enumerators excepting in Sibsagar district and North Lakhimpur subdivision where one of my officers gave a wrong training to the Census agency to exclude handloom weaving from being classified as household industry if the products were only for household consumption and not sold out by the members of the household. The fact is that in Assam many Assamese families have their own weaving as a household industry and the product is only for their own use without being sold in the market and so due to this erroneous conception, many such industries in these two areas were left out of record. However, as soon as the mistake was detected, I sent my officers to these areas to explain the concept to the enumerators just before the enumeration The revised instruction could not however reach all the enumerators.

19. *Individual Schedule*—Identification demographic and social questions are the most easily comprehensible questions and their consecutiveness in the individual slip appears to be quite all right. However, some mistakes were made even in respect of these simple questions. For example, an enumerator would write 'L' meaning literate only for a professor where he should have written M.A. against question 6. It appears that it would have been better had literacy and education been split up into two questions. The non-entering of the name of a particular tribe or caste in question 5(c) has already been mentioned and I would simply add that in future it would be better if the caption is marked as name of SC/ST to avoid non-entering of the particular tribe or caste. In the instructions, the enumerator was asked to write one or more language which a person knows in addition to his mother tongue. In actual tabulation, only one additional language was taken into consideration. If it is decided to tabulate only one additional language for bilingualism, it is perhaps better to drop other languages that the persons knows and record only one which he knows best. It was also found in the recorded slips that many enumerators simply left this question blank. This may be due to the fact that the majority of the people know only one language or because of the prejudice of some to state that they know any other language also in addition to theirs. Question 4(c) gives duration of residence if a person has been born elsewhere. In many cases, people gave their residence only for two or three years and there is no indication where they lived before that during the last decade If some more information is available about place or duration of residence during the last ten years, it would have been much easier to trace out immigrants into the State of Assam. If a decision is made in the next Census to get information regarding multiple movements, analysis of some problems can be made easily.

20. Geometrical diagrams given in the individual slips have been found to be most useful for collection of data and coding of the information at the tabulation stage. Economic questions, as already stated, brought out most ambiguous answers either due to lack of understanding on the part of the enumerators or on the part of the enumerated. Answers to the questions are not only ambiguous, but they have also been found to be incomplete in many cases.

21. *Houselist, Household Schedule and Individual Slip*—Facsimiles of the houselist, the household schedule and the individual slip together with the instructions how to fill in these forms are given in the appendix.

22. *Post Enumeration Check*—Following the practice of 1951, a Post Enumeration Check was conducted soon after the 1961 Census also. This time the post enumeration check was much more elaborate than what was done in 1951 and it covered not only every district and subdivision, but also every police station of Assam. The blocks for the post enumeration check were selected on a random sampling basis within each police station and they covered both urban and rural areas including the most inaccessible areas in order to find out the extent of over-enumeration or under-enumeration. The post enumeration check of the 1961 Census count was undertaken in Assam in April 1961.

23. Errors in population count might occur on account of (a) omission or duplication of a house as a whole and hence its inmates and (b) omission or duplication in counting inmates in a house canvassed by the Census enumerator. The effect of type (a) error on population count was sought to be estimated

from a sample of enumeration blocks and of type (b) errors from a sample of houses in sample blocks. In the rural areas, one per cent of blocks and ten per cent of houses and in the urban areas two per cent of blocks and five per cent of the houses were generally taken for this purpose. The results show that in Assam, there was an under-count of three persons per 1,000 persons censused. The under-count was more in the urban areas, being as much as seven persons not counted out of every 1,000 persons, but as the urban areas in Assam constitute only about seven per cent of the total population, so the overall under-count was only three persons per 1,000 persons counted or only 0.3 per cent. In the 1951 Census, my predecessor found out as a result of the post enumeration check that there was an under-enumeration of 0.78 per cent for the Assam Plains Division as a whole. All the Hills districts were left out from the post enumeration check of 1951 and as the means of communications were still very poor in 1951, the extent of under-enumeration would have been much more had the hill areas also been covered by the post enumeration check. It is therefore a matter for gratification that the extent of error in the 1961 Census count is much less than half of the 1951 Census. This accuracy of the 1961 Census is mainly due to the clear and timely planning of the Census Operations for which steps were taken well in advance of the Census Reference date. I was in position almost two years ahead of the Census and I had enough time to think and plan the organisational aspects of the work. In 1951, the post enumeration check was an afterthought and it was conducted only in a few places whereas in 1961 it was included as a distinct item in the Census Calendar for Assam. The knowledge that there would be a post enumeration check had kept all the district and subdivisional officers on the alert. The check of 1961 was directed and conducted by an efficient and carefully selected supervisory staff from among those who had done the main Census Operations very well, the only difference being that the check was done in areas other than their own areas during the main operations. The staff was therefore fully familiar with the problems of the Census organisation and so they could do the work with conspicuous efficiency.

24. Detailed instructions and forms were issued by the Registrar General for the conduct of the post enumeration check and one of my Deputy Superintendents of Census Operations was specially sent to New Delhi for undergoing training how to carry out this operation. On return from New Delhi, he trained my officers as well as the District and Subdivisional Officers who had to carry out this post enumeration check. This is also one of the reasons why this post enumeration check was much better than that of 1951.

25. *Central Printing and Distribution*—All the Census questionnaires consisting of the houselists, the household schedules and the individual slips together with the instructions how to fill in these forms were printed centrally in the Government of India presses. The instructions in Assamese, Khasi, Garo and Lushai were however printed in the Assam Government Press. All printed forms and instructions were consigned to me and I then sent them in suitable packages to all Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers according to the demands based on the population of each district and subdivision. These questionnaires and forms and instructions were printed and completed almost one year ahead of the Census and so they were sent and they reached even the remotest part of Assam at least three or four months before the Census. This is a definite advantage and an improvement over all previous Censuses. I think there is great advantage in having these forms and instructions printed centrally in the Government of India presses because otherwise there may be delay in having the forms at the hands of the enumerators well ahead of the Census. There is also a great advantage in having the Census of each decade started about two years before the actual enumeration so that all these preliminaries could be arranged well ahead of the operations.

26. *Conclusion*—In the above paragraphs, I have tried to explain about the Census, the procedure adopted for carrying out the operations and the difficulties experienced in the course of making preliminary arrangements as well as during the enumeration itself. Attempts have also been made, and more will be made, to weigh and criticize my own work adequately

because my only intention is to present this Report with the greatest measure of objectivity. If there are traces of incomplete or unsatisfactory results, these will be discussed in detail because nothing will be covered up.

27. *Acknowledgements*—The Introduction of this Report cannot be closed without expressing my indebtedness to all those who made this national under-taking the great success that it was. The greatest credit goes to the people of Assam who have fully cooperated with us in answering all the tedious personal questions and who of their own accord have maintained perfect peace and tranquillity during the big count. My thanks are also due to all ranks in the Census Organisation from the Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers to the enumerators on whose shoulders fell the odious burden of canvassing the questionnaire from door to door. Local bodies and organised industries like municipalities, panchayats, district councils, tea estates, the Assam Oil Company and others have also fully cooperated with us to make the Census a success. The Chief Secretary, Shri S. K. Datta, ICS, greatly helped the Census Organisation by placing all the officials of the Assam Government at my disposal and by telling all the Departments of the Government of Assam that the time spent for the Census was part of their duty. The Inspector General of Police, the District Magistrates and the Superintendents of Police made so much elaborate arrangements for the maintenance of law and order that there was no occasion to resort to force anywhere. Many officers under the Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers, namely the Additional Deputy Commissioners, some Extra Assistant Commissioners, almost all the Election Officers and a host of other officers of Government took part in the Census undertaking in addition to their multifarious duties. Some of those who have shown outstanding zeal and efficiency in the Census Operations have separately been rewarded by the allotment of Census medals and certificates from the President of India and the Governor of Assam. Outstanding work in the Census has also been recorded in the character rolls of officers who have rendered yeoman service to the Census.

28. Among the various Departments of the Government of Assam, the Directorate of Economics and Statistics has been most helpful to us, because it is from this department that we have been able to collect most of the data relating to the activities of the Government of Assam. The Director of Public Instruction, the Chief Engineer (Roads and Buildings), the Chief Conservator of Forests, the Commissioner of Taxes and the Development Commissioner have supplied us with data relating to their activities. Among the Central Government Departments, the Meteorologist, the Railway Authorities and the Postal Department have given us data in so far as their activities are concerned.

29. Among my office staff, Sarvashri J. C. Bhuyan and K. S. Dey have rendered the greatest service to me right from the start of the Census up to the time of writing this Report. For training, tabulation and processing of Census data, they are indispensable to me and they will be a great asset to the next Census if they can be retained in the department. My office staff from the Office Superintendent to the typists have done wonderful work, in many cases, out of scheduled office hours to make the operations a success. I am also grateful to Shri G. Raghuram who is on deputation to my office from the Government of Madras and Shri J. Ramsden who is on deputation from the office of the Accountant Genearl, Assam, who have simultaneously performed the duties of personal assistants and stenographers in my office.

30. I am also grateful to my colleagues in other States of India who have supplied me very valuable data for comparative study in my inset tables. Above all, I am deeply indebted to Shri A. Mitra I.C.S., Registrar General, India, for his unfailing friendly guidance and prompt help on all occasions.

E. H. PAKYNTEIN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCING THE STATE

Introducing the State—Assam is situated in the north-east corner of India and is surrounded on almost all sides by independent States, namely Bhutan and Tibet on the north, China and Burma on the east, Burma and Pakistan on the south, and Pakistan on the west except for a narrow strip of land joining Assam with the rest of India through West Bengal. In one place, this corridor is only about 15 miles. Just before the Census, the Surveyor General gave the area of Assam as 84,895 sq. miles including NEFA and Nagaland. Nagaland with an area of 6,366 sq. miles has been formed into a separate State just before the Census while the NEFA with an area of 31,438 sq. miles has been excluded from my jurisdiction in view of the fact that there is a separate administration directly under the President of India through the Governor of Assam. Assam Proper as censused by me therefore consists of an area of 47,091 sq. miles according to the Surveyor General of India and 47,257.2 sq. miles according to the Director of Assam Survey. Assam is surrounded by the Himalayan mountains on the north, by the Patkoi range along with a series of other hills in the north-east and east and by the Chin hills on the east and south. A series of hills just out from Burma projecting into the plains of East Pakistan and the Brahmaputra Valley like a big finger from Naga Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills. This projection is also known as the Shillong Plateau or the Shillong Gneiss. South of Cachar, the Mizo Hills run in a series of parallel mountains from north to south. Assam proper thus consists of plains districts with an area of 24,414 sq. miles and the hill districts with an area of 22,677 sq. miles. The Brahmaputra Valley with an area of 21,726 sq. miles runs from east to west as an elongated plain lying between the Himalayas and the Shillong Plateau. Between the central range of hills and the Mizo Hills lies the plains district of Cachar, a remnant of the old Surma Valley, as Sylhet has gone to Pakistan. Assam lies between latitudes 22° 19′ and 28° 16′ N and longitudes 80° 42′ and 97° 12′ E and is aptly described as the land of the Red River and the Blue Hills because the mighty river Brahmaputra dominates the whole of the Assam Valley and the blue hills intersect most parts of the State with their evergreen forests and blue haze. In many ways, Assam is a State full of interest. Historically it is always a border land, the most easterly acquisition of the early Aryan invaders of India and hardly touched by the Muslim invaders. Invasions however came from the east with the advent of the Kacharis, Chutias, Kochs, the Ahoms and the Burmans, but the most distinctiveness of Assam is that in language, race, culture and creed there exists perhaps greater diversity in this State than anywhere else in India. It is rightly said that it is the most polyglot of the States in India. Among the many ethnic groups and cultural minorities of the State, the Khasis possess a tongue the nearest affinity of which is as far distant as Cambodia. Sir George Grierson, the eminent linguist, has described the Khasi language as belonging to the Mon-Khmer group. Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family under the Austric Family.

2. There are eleven districts in Assam divided into 23 subdivisions and 108 police stations and mauzas. The mauzas are treated as being equivalent to tehsils only in the district of Garo Hills; elsewhere the police stations have been taken as convenient administrative units in all the Censuses of the State.

3. *Definition of Village and Town*—As to the definition of a village, it may be taken in Assam that where there has been a cadastral survey, the cadastral village is treated as a village for the purpose of the Census. In the plains districts where there has been no cadastral survey, it should be taken to be a 'gaon,' or 'gram' together with its adjacent 'tola', 'paras', etc., provided that none of these independent collections of houses is so large or so distant from the central village as to form in itself a true village with a distinct name. In the Hill districts, the most convenient definition of a vilage is that it is a collection of houses bearing a separate name and situated within certain boundaries traditionally recognised by the villagers. This has been the traditional definition of a village in Assam and

the definition in the 1961 Census is no exception to the historically accepted definition.

4. For the purpose of the Census, a town has been defined as follows in 1961:—

A Municipality, a Town Committee or a Cantonment and any other area having the following characteristics:—

(i) if the population is not less than 5,000;

(ii) a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile;

(iii) if three-fourths of the working population are outside agriculture.

5. The definition of town in the 1961 Census is slightly different from the definitions of other Censuses because it strictly defines what is meant by urban characteristics in respect of towns which are not municipalities, town committees or cantonments. These characteristics relate to the density and means of livelihood of the urban population apart from the usual minimum population of 5,000.

6. *Rural/Urban Population*—The following is a table showing the Total, Rural and Urban Population of Assam from 1901 to 1961.

Table 1·1

Year	Total	Rural	Urban
1901	3,712,638	3,625,943	86,695
1911	4,333,826	4,227,271	106,555
1921	5,157,789	5,013,479	144,310
1931	6,165,612	5,976,910	188,702
1941	7,403,396	7,157,137	246,259
1951	8,830,732	8,420,439	410,293
1961	11,872,772	10,959,744	913,028

7. From the above table, it can be seen that there has been a steady rise of both rural and urban population from 1901 to 1951, but from 1951 to 1961, the rise in both the categories has been very big. The increase of rural population in 1911 over that of 1901 is about six lakhs; thereafter the increase comes to 8, 10, 12 and 13 lakhs from 1921 to 1951; but from 1951 to 1961 the rural population has increased by more than 25 lakhs. The increase of urban population in 1911 over that of 1901 is about twenty thousand. Thereafter the increase in the succeeding Censuses is about 38,000; 44,000; 58,000; 164,000 and 503,000 for the succeeding decades from 1921 to 1961. It is thus seen that while the increase in 1951 over that of 1941 is fairly big, the increase in 1961 over that of 1951 is spectacular. While discussing the rapid urbanisation in Assam between 1951 and 1961, we should not forget that even with all this pace of urbanisation, the percentage of the urban population to the total population is only 7.7. In other words, the economy of Assam is still largely agrarian. The percentage of the urban population to the total population from 1901 to 1961 is 2.3; 2.5; 2.8; 3.1; 3.3; 4.6 and 7.7 respectively. In the case of rural population, there has also been a very big increase in 1961 over that of 1951. This is probably accounted for by the big natural increase in the rural areas to which must be added the influx of population from other States and countries to the rural areas either for cultivation or for work in the development areas.

8. The following is a table showing the percentage of urban population in the major States of India:—

Table 1·2

Andhra Pradesh	17·4	Assam	7.7
Bihar	8·4	Gujarat	25.8
Jammu & Kashmir	16·7	Kerala	15·1
Madhya Pradesh	14·3	Madras	26·7
Maharashtra	28·2	Mysore	22·3
Orissa	6·3	Punjab	20·1
Rajasthan	16·3	Uttar Pradesh	12·9
West Bengal	24·5		

9. *Changes in jurisdiction of SCOs and area of districts from 1901 to 1961*—The jurisdictions of Superintendents of Census Operations varied from decade to decade for administrative, political and other reasons. Even the areas of districts varied slightly from decade to decade due to better survey or due to re-allocation of boundaries or creation of new districts and subdivisions. It is therefore necessary to discuss these changes in some detail so

that a correct appraisal of the data can be undertaken. I therefore append Tables 1.3 and 1.4 which show the changes in jurisdiction of Superintendents of Census from 1881 to 1961 and the changes in area of districts from 1901 to 1961. I have left out the Census of 1872 because in that year, Assam was treated only as a region of Bengal and it is not possible to find out accurately the censused area or the number of towns and villages actually covered by that census. It appears that in 1872 Assam was treated as a remote area and the census was done only on some sort of ad hoc basis. From the tables it may also be seen that the area censused by me in 1961 is slightly bigger only than the censused area of 1881 while the areas censused from 1901 to 1951 are much bigger than the area censused by me. The area censused in 1951 appears to be inflated because of the inclusion of an area of 34,969 sq. miles of N.E.F.A. although the actual censused area of N.E.F.A. is a very small one covering a total area of only 1,372 sq. miles at the foothills. From 1881 to 1941, Sylhet, the most populous district, was part of Assam, but in 1951, most parts of Sylhet went to East Pakistan. This is the only reason why there was a big reduction of villages from 1941 to 1951. In 1961, Nagaland with 814 inhabited villages went out of my jurisdiction, but I still have 25,702 inhabited villages against 25,327 inhabited villages in 1951 because many new villages were formed during the decade. It may also be noted that although the jurisdiction covered by me is relatively smaller, the population in 1961 is much bigger than any other decades with bigger jurisdictions including the populous parts like the Sylhet district.

Changes in the jurisdiction of the Superintendents of Census Operations from 1881 to 1961

TABLE 1·3

Census year	Provinces and Princely States	Number of Administrative Divisions (Districts)	Area in Sq. miles	No. of towns and villages	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1881.	1 Province	2 divisions . . . . (13 districts)	46,341	7 towns . . . 22,401 villages.	5,128,862	2,626,442	2,502,420
1891.	1 Province	2 divisions . . . . (13 districts).	49,004	18 towns . . . 17,160 villages.	5,477,302	2,819,936	2,657,366
1901.	1 Province and 1 Princely State.	2 divisions . . . . (12 districts).	56,243	19 towns . . . 22,332 villages.	6,126,343	3,143,692	2,982,651
1911.	1 Province and 1 Princely State.	2 divisions . . . . (12 districts).	61,471	21 towns . . . 29,352 villages	7,059,857	3,638,287	3,421,570
1921.	1 Province and 1 Princely State.	2 divisions . . . . (12 districts) and 2 Frontier tracts.	61,471	29 towns . . . 32,275 villages	7,990,246	4,149,228	3,841,018
1931.	1 Province and 2 Princely States.	2 divisions . . . . (12 districts) and 2 Frontier tracts.	67,334	30 towns . . . 35,726 villages	9,247,857	4,844,133	4,403,724
1941.	1 Province and 2 Princely States.	2 divisions . . . . (12 districts) and 2 Frontier tracts.	67,359	32 towns . . . 36,590 villages	10,930,388	5,740,746	5,189,642
1951.	1 Province	2 divisons . . . . (14 districts) and 2 Frontier tracts and 1 tribal area.	85,012	27 towns . . . 25,327 villages	9,043,707	4,812,166	4,231,541
1961.	1 Province	2 divisions and 11 districts .	47,257	60 towns 25,702 villages	11,872,772	6,328,129	5,544,643

Area of Districts 1901 to 1961

TABLE 1·4

IN SQUARE MILES

State and District	1961 Surveyor General of India	1961 Director of Assam Surveys	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	47,091	47,257·2	85,012	67,359	67,334	61,471	61,471	56,243
Goalpara	4,007	3,979·1	3,987	3,969	3,985	3,954	3,954	3,961
Kamrup	3,804	3,811·2	3,849	3,840	3,844	3,863	3,858	3,858
Darrang	3,369	3,366·9	2,814	2,804	2,842	2,918	3,418	3,418
Lakhimpur	4,926	5,012 0	4,068	4,156	4,234	4,116	4,529	4,207
Nowgong	2,167	2,200 0	2,169	3,898	3,896	3,699	3,843	3,843
Sibsagar	3,453	3,476 0	3,454	5,128	5,131	5,097	4,996	4,996
Cachar	2,688	2,680·0	2,692	3,862	3,862	3,565	3,565	2,063
Garo Hills	3,119	3,152·0	3,160	3,152	3,152	3,140	3,140	3,140
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	5,546	5,554·0	5,533	2,353	2,445	6,022	6,027	6,027
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	5,878	5,883·0	5,892	..	..	..	..	1,706
Mizo Hills	8,134	8,143 0	8,149	8,142	8,092	7,227	7,227	7,227
Naga Hills	..	..	4,276	4,289	4,293	3,115	3,070	3,070
Mishmi Hills	..	.	9,390	..	..	..	..	..
Abor Hills	..	..	8,544	..	..	..	..	..
Tirap Frontier Tract	..	..	2,876	..	..	.	..	..
Balipara Frontier Tract	..	..	12,104	571	560	522	..	..
Naga Tribal Area	..	..	2,055	..	..	..	..	..
Khasi States	..	.	..	3,788	3,700	..	..	..
Sylhet	..	..	..	5,478	5,478	5,388	5,388	5,443
Manipur	..	..	..	8,620	8,620	8,456	8,456	3,284
Sadiya Frontier Tract	..	..	..	3,309	3,200	389	..	..

Note : Col. 2 shows the areas according to the Surveyor General of India while col. 3 shows the areas according to the Director of Assam Surveys. It may be noted that there is difference between these two figures. But the Director of Assam Survey says that the difference is due to intensive survey done within the area of each district by his staff. He, however, opines that there may be mistakes in the computation of areas by his staff and so the figures of the Surveyor General of India for the States and districts should be accepted as final.

Area figures of columns 4 to 9 are according to the Surveyor General of India.

10. *Brief account of changes in the area of the State of Assam and its districts from 1901 to 1961*—The area censused by me this time relates to what may be termed as Assam Proper. Assam Proper consists of 11 districts and a total area of 47,091 square miles according to the figures given by the Surveyor General of India and 47,257.2 square miles according to the Director of Assam Survey. The N.E.F.A. is treated as a separate area for the purpose of the 1961 Census, while Nagaland has been separated from Assam to form a new State.

11. From 1901 to 1941 the area of Assam has been shown by my predecessors to include Sylhet and Manipur State, the Naga Administered Area and only the Sadiya Frontier Tract and the Balipara Frontier Tract of the N.E.F.A. In other words, the actual censused area during the above decades was less than the actual area of Assam as then constituted. In 1951, the area of Assam as given by the Surveyor General of India was 85,012 square miles including the whole of N.E.F.A. and Nagaland but excluding Manipur and a major portion of Sylhet which had gone to Pakistan. The actual area covered by the Census of 1951, however, was only 51,415 square miles including the old Naga Hills district, the Naga Tribal area and a small portion of the N.E.F.A. consisting of about 1,322 square miles but excluding Manipur and the Pakistan portion of

Sylhet. In 1961, the area of Assam including N.E.F.A. and Nagaland as given by the Surveyor General is 84,895 square miles, but as already stated above, the area censused by me excludes the whole of N.E.F.A. and the whole of Nagaland, but it includes the plains portions of N.E.F.A. which were transferred to Assam on February 23, 1951 just before that Census. Thus the area actually censused by me comes to 47,091 square miles according to the district-wise figures given by the Surveyor General of India.

12. As far as the present districts of Assam are concerned, there were practically no changes in their boundaries or areas from 1901 to 1941 excepting in the case of Darrang and Lakhimpur districts where in 1914 and 1912 respectively, the Balipara Frontier Tract and the Sadiya Frontier Tract were constituted by separating some portions of the two districts to form the two new tracts. In some cases, there might be some minor variations in the areas of the various districts, but that was not due to any changes in their boundaries, but it was due only to better survey from time to time. Between the Census of 1941 and 1951, there were some appreciable changes in respect of the Cachar district of Assam. Due to the partition of India, most of the Sylhet district went to Pakistan leaving only 709 square miles with a population of 291,320 to constitute the Karimganj subdivision which was then added to the Cachar district. In July 1948, the Sadiya subdivision of the old Sadiya Frontier Tract of the 1941 Census was made into an independent district known as Mishmi Hills in charge of a Political Officer. The area of Mishmi Hills was 9,390 square miles including a plains portion of 391.7 square miles. Similarly, the Pasighat subdivision of the old Sadiya Frontier Tract was constituted into an independent district under the name of Abor Hills in July 1948 in charge of a Political Officer. The Abor Hills then had an area of 8,544 square miles including a plains portion of 273.9 square miles. During this period, a new tract known as the Tirap Frontier Tract was constituted by excluding 103 square miles from the Lakhimpur District and joining them with a portion of the old Sadiya Frontier Tract and a portion of the Naga Tribal Area. As already stated, just before the Census of India, 1951, the plains portions of the old Balipara Frontier Tract, the Mishmi Hills, the Abor Hills and the Tirap Frontier Tract consisting of 531.2 square miles, 391.7 square miles, 273.9 square miles and 124.8 square miles respectively were transferred to the Darrang district and Lakhimpur district. Only the plains portions of the Balipara Frontier Tract went to Darrang district and the remaining plains portions of the other districts went to Lakhimpur district.

13. Between 1951 and 1961, a new district known as the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district was formed by transferring the whole of the North Cachar Hills subdivision from Cachar and by carving out certain areas from the Jowai subdivision, the Nowgong district and the Golaghat subdivision of the Sibsagar district. Although it was really formed only in November 1951 after the 1951 Census was already over, this new district as well as all the population figures were shown by my predecessor in the 1951 Census as if they were a separate entity even during the 1951 Census.

14. The constituent parts of the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district were as follows :—

	Square miles
(i) Mikir Hills Excluded Area of Nowgong	1,715.9
(ii) Mikir Hills Excluded Area of Sibsagar	1,676.3
(iii) North Cachar Hills Subdivision . .	1,896.8
(iv) Blocks I and II of Jowai Subdivision	603.2
Total	5,892.2

15. The areas of the districts of Sibsagar, Nowgong, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Cachar were consequently reduced to the above extent.

16. By an enactment in Parliament known as the Assam (Allocation of Boundaries) Act, 1951, a strip of territory measuring 32.8 square miles of the Kamrup district was ceded to the Government of Bhutan on 1st September 1951.

17. The Naga Hills district and the former Tuensang Division of the N.E.F.A. were constituted into a separate State known as Nagaland in 1960.

18. *Population according to Houselist, provisional Total and Final Tabulation*—The population of Assam according to the houselists is 11,770,469; that according to the provisional totals is 11,860,059 and that according to the final tabulation result is 11,872,772. The houselist population was collected from the houselists the operation for which was made in October-November 1960, *i.e.*, about four months before the final Census count. Apart from some natural increase, seasonal labour also used to come to Assam from about November-December of each year and so the houselist population should naturally be less than the final population. The provisional population was telegraphed to me by all Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers from the abstracts on the Census documents, but it is seen to be very close to the final total of 11,872,772. These three results do not fail to show that the population in Assam according to the 1961 Census is as accurate as possible.

19. *River System*—The river Brahmaputra is a gigantic river and is the main artery of the State of Assam. It runs right through the Assam Valley from east to west and all the districts of this valley have this mighty river in common absorbing all their rivers and streams. In some places where it is all plain, the width of the river is very big running into five or ten miles. In summer, the river looks like an island lake in its wide expanses, but in winter, the river and its channels zigzag in sandy stretches. At Gauhati, the river is confined between rocks and hills on both sides making it comparatively narrow, but even here the breadth of the river is over one mile. Lower down, the river spreads itself during the rains over the marshy country on either side, and when in flood, the distance from one high bank to the other is very great. Between main banks, there is a wide sandy stretch in which the river oscillates from side to side, throwing out here and there divergent channels, which, after a time, rejoin the parent stream or may be silted up. The waters of the river are heavily surcharged with suspended matter and the smallest obstruction in the current is liable to give rise to an almond-shaped chapari, but the next flood may wash these chaparis away or may increase their size by fresh deposits of sand, covered with reeds and high grass in seasons. These operations of alluvium and diluvium are continually being carried in a gigantic scale by the Brahmaputra. It is navigable throughout the year by streamer or large cargo boats within the Kamrup district. A view of the Brahmaputra from the top of Kamakhya Hill is enchanting, and between this hill and the hillocks from the north bank, the river looks always full with practically no sand bank. At the lower end of the Kamakhya Hill, the Brahmaputra has now been spanned for the first time by a very beautiful bridge which has two lines of rail tracks on the lower deck and a wide road with pavements on either side of the upper deck. The bridge is high enough for the biggest river steamer to pass through its spans. It is a rapidly flowing river with strong under-current. It seldom creeps, as hill pythons do, and which most rivers that flow through low-lying plains generally do, in sluggish ways. This river generally rushes and rushes in torrents. It has a good number of tributaries and feeding streams that generally flow out of mountain gorges of roaring waters and of great beauty. They are fed by the Himalayas on the north, and by other hill ranges on the south-east. The tributaries on the north are the Subansiri, Bharali, Barnadi, Manas and Sankosh; these rivers are mostly glacier-fed. The tributaries on the south are the Dihing, the Disang, the Dikhau, the Dhansiri and the Kalong. The rivers are a network; they give to Assam a tremendous water power potential.

20. The name Brahmaputra is an Aryan word; of late there has been an attempt by Bishnu Rava to connect the name of the river with a Bodo word 'Bullumbuthur' which means "river of bubbling water". Dr. S. K. Chatterjee has mentioned this in his book "The Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India". The Ahoms called the river Nam-daophi which means the "river of the Star-god". The Brahmaputra is also known as Luhitya in Sanskrit. The word Luhitya gives good enough meaning in Sanskrit as "The Red River", but it is in all likelihood just a sanskritisation of the pre-Aryan Sino-Tibetan name. It is so called perhaps because of the fact that the river takes this colour during the rainy-seasons when it cuts through the red soils of the adjoining embankments. There is a mythological interpretation also given to the origin of this name. It is

connected with Parsurama and his sins; it was in this river, it is said, that the great saint washed off his bloody stains due to matricide and regained his sainthood and hence the water of the river is red.

21. The Hindu scriptures hold that the river Brahmaputra rises in a sacred pool known as the Brahmakunda in the eastern-most point of the State. It is a religious sanctuary, and is situated about 50 miles east of Sadiya. In fact, an element of romance hangs over the river, as a certain portion of its course has never been actually explored, through there is little doubt that the Tsan-po, the great river of Tibet, pours its water through the Dihang into the river which is known as Brahmaputra in Assam. Rising from the Himalayan glaciers, this mighty river Brahmaputra which has a total length of 1,800 miles and a drainage area of about 361,200 sq. miles, flows for about half of its length in a trough north of the Himalayas running parallel to the main Himalayan range. Then it swings north-east, runs through many gorges in a series of cascades and rapids, makes a hair-pin bend and turns south and south-east. After receiving the waters of the Dihang and the Lohit, the united stream from this point flows 450 miles down the Assam Valley in a vast sheet of water dotted with numerous islands, the chief among them being Majuli and Umananda.

22. The island of Majuli lies at the conjunction of the parent river, *i.e.*, the Brahmaputra with the river Subansiri. The area of this island is 359 sq. miles with a population of 80,179. It is a principal place of pilgrimage for the Vaishnavites of Assam.

23. The island of the Umananda has a rocky bed; in the true sense of the term it is a hillock, perhaps an offshoot of the surrounding hills, situated in the river as the lungs in a human body. There is a temple of Siva situated in it.

24. On the Brahmaputra, the fluctuations in river levels begin towards the end of February or early part of March, when the Himalayan snows begin to melt and the annual phenomenon of north-westerly storms speed across the plains and valleys of North-East India. From this period onwards, the Brahmaputra river levels record a series of jumps or rises of short duration till April, when a more defined rise is felt and in early May the first floods are experienced. As a general rule, this first big rise is of short duration and does little harm to land or early cultivation but it improves navigation facilities in the river. By early June the monsoon registers its arrival in the Assam Valley and with the continuous heavy rain, the river level rises rapidly and the Brahmaputra remains in flood condition, registering a series of peak flood levels until October. These peak floods top the main banks and inundate large expanses of land, causing severe damage to fields, railways and roads.

25. The Brahmaputra is navigated by large powered inland vessels, 300 feet in length and 1,000 tons carrying capacity. Vessels formerly navigated in the Brahmaputra as far as Sadiya Ghat on the north bank and Saikhowa Ghat on the south bank. Gradual deterioration in channel conditions, however, rendered the river unnavigable in this area and just prior to World War II the steamer companies were forced to terminate their services at Dibrugarh on the south bank, some 60 miles downstream. The great Assam Earthquake of August 1950 has again rendered the river unnavigable beyond Neamati Ghat near Jorhat.

26. The principal river of the Surma Valley, that is Cachar, is the Barak which rises on the southern slopes of the lofty ranges of Nagaland, and forms the northern boundary of the Manipur State where it is known as Kairong. From there it flows a westerly and southerly course to Tipaimukh, where it sharply turns to the north, and for a considerable distance, forms the boundary line between Cachar and Manipur. After its junction with the river Jiri, it turns again to the west, and follows a tortuous course across the centre of the district till it reaches Badarpur. From Badarpur to Haritikar, the Barak forms the boundary between Cachar and Sylhet district of East Pakistan. At Sylhet, the river is divided into two branches, the southern arm being called the Kushiyara, while the northern branch known as the Sarma continues to form the boundary of Cachar as far as Jalalpur. The total length of the Barak from its confluence with the old stream of the Brahmaputra near Bhairab Bazar is about 560 miles; but of this only 120 miles lie in Cachar.

27. The tributaries of the Barak and other rivers of the Surma Valley are the Jiri, Chiri, Madhura, Jatinga, Dhaleswari and Longai.

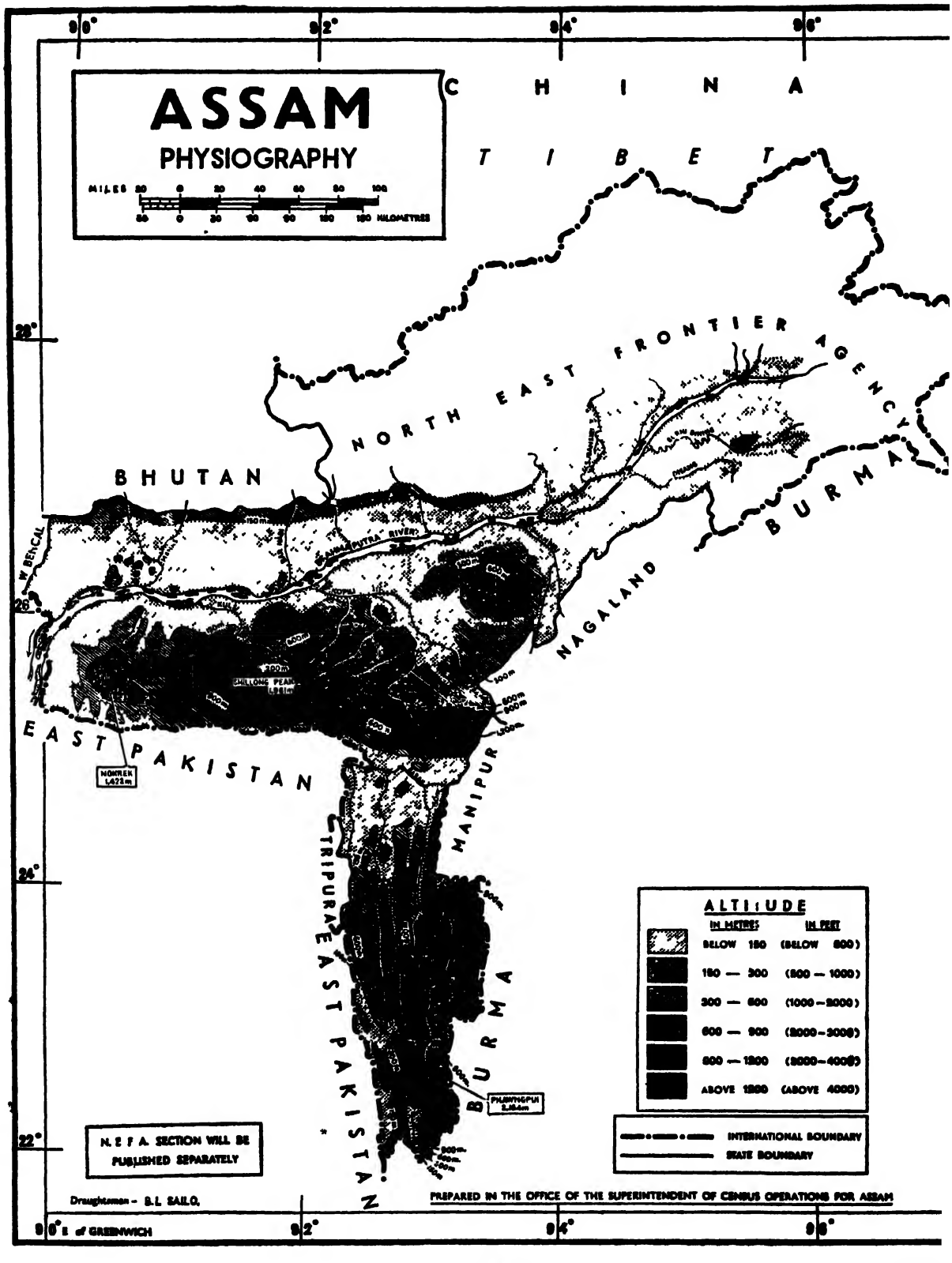
28. *Mountain System*—About half the area of Assam Proper consists of mountains and hills, but constitutionally, NEFA is also still part of Assam. The NEFA region consists of the eastern portion of the Himalayas from the McMohan Line down to the foothills at the base of which lie the plains of the Brahmaputra valley. The eastern Himalayas rise to a height of about 24,000 ft. above mean sea level and many of the peaks are snow-capped throughout the whole year. From the McMahon Line downwards to the plains of Assam the terrains are very difficult, although here and there there are some plateaus, like the Apatani plateau, and the whole slopes of the eastern Himalayas have been intercepted with deep ravines and gorges of rivers emanating from the snowy region or beyond it and tearing down their way to join the river Brahmaputra. As one climbs up the NEFA region, one can experience all kinds of climate from tropical heat to Artic cold.

29. In Eastern Assam, the mountain ranges run from south-west towards the north-east along the Patkoi mountains and other mountains of Burma. The Barail range starts from Cachar and runs more or less north-east throughout the North Cachar Hills into Naga Hills and upwards till they meet with the Patkoi mountains. The peaks of the Barail range are not unlike those of the lower Himalayan region being geologically young and taking on many kinds of fancy shape. In the North Cachar Hills, the peaks reach a height up to 5,500 ft. while in the Naga Hills, Mount Japo almost touches 10,000 ft. above mean sea level.

30. The Mizo Hills are a series of parallel ranges running due north and south and parallel to the Chin Hills of Burma. The highest point is the Blue Mountain in the Lungleh subdivision which reaches a height of 7,078 ft. above mean sea level. Elsewhere, the Mizo Hills are normally between 2,000 and 4,000 ft. high and they are marked by very steep gradients on both sides of each ridge. There is practically no plateau in the Mizo Hills excepting in some parts of the Champhai area a portion of which closely resembles the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Some pine trees are also found in the Champhai area.

31. The most remarkable mountain system in Assam is the Shillong Plateau which is really a range of mountains and hills projecting from the Barail range like a big-finger right into the plains of the eastern part of the sub-continent and ending in the place where the Garo Hills touch down on the Brahmaputra. This plateau does not consist of Shillong or of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills district only, but it consists of the Garo Hills, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the North Cachar Hills and parts of the Mikir Hills from west to east. In the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, the Shillong Plateau is a real plateau being more or less a plain about 4,000 ft. above mean sea level and consists mostly of rolling grassy downs intersected with small river valleys and dotted all over with soft rounded hills covered with fresh soft turf which from a distance take on delicate blue pink and look as soft as velvet. Here and there, the Shilong Plateau is dotted with high peaks going up to 6,441 ft. above mean sea level as in the case of the Shillong Peak a few miles off Shillong. The most remarkable peak in the Shillong Plateau is the Kyllang Rock which rises up to 5,684 ft. above mean sea level and is composed of only one solid rock which looks like a big rounded pebble thrown out on the top of this table by some volcanoes in the pre-historic age. In the Khasi Hills, the Shillong Plateau rises up suddenly from the plains of East Pakistan but slopes gently towards the Brahmaputra Valley from Shillong town northwards. In the Garo Hills, the highest peak is Mount Nokrek which is about 4,600 ft. above mean sea level. The Garo Hills slope gently both towards the north and the south but they tend to become more steep as they approach the Khasi Hills. The Jaintia Hills have less higher peaks and consist mostly of beautiful rolling plateau dotted all over with beautiful cultivated pine groves and paddy fields. Towards the east, some mountains in the Jaintia Hills rise higher till they merge with the higher hills of North Cachar Hills and they are covered all over with thick forest of broad-leaved trees.

32. Even in the plains of Assam, both in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Surma Valley, there are small hillocks dotting the plains here and there, and these add greatly to the beauty of Assam. Some of these hills, like the Kamakhya or Nilachal hills of Gauhati are famous in Hindu mythology. Charaideo hill in the Sibsagar district is famous for its association with the Ahoms. In the Cachar district, low ranges of hills which for the most


ASSAM
PHYSIOGRAPHY
MILES
KILOMETRES
CHINA
TIBET
NORTH EAST FRONTIER AGENCY
BHUTAN
BURMA
NAGALAND
W. BENGAL
BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER
EAST PAKISTAN
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
EAST PAKISTAN
BURMA
NOKREK
ALTITUDE
IN METRES
IN FEET
BELOW 150 (BELOW 500)
150 — 300 (500 — 1000)
300 — 600 (1000 — 2000)
600 — 900 (2000 — 3000)
900 — 1200 (3000 — 4000)
ABOVE 1200 (ABOVE 4000)
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E of GREENWICH

Fig. 3

To face

part consist of the upper tertiary sandstones project into the Surma Valley from the south and its surface is dotted with small isolated hills called 'tillas' which range from 50 to 200 ft. high and are largely composed of layers of sand, clay and gravel.

33. *Climate, Rainfall and Temperature*— As Assam consists of hills and plains, the climate of the hills is generally very salubrious while that of the plains is comparatively much warmer in summer but cool in winter. On the whole, it may be said that the climate of Assam is characterised by coolness and extreme humidity. Between March and May, at the time when precipitation in Upper India is at the minimum, Assam used to get enough rainfall from the Northwesters which makes the climate cool even during the spring. Even in the plains of Assam, the maximum temperature does not go beyond 90°F. or 32°C., and in winter, the plains of Assam have a minimum temperature of about 8°C or about 47°F. Only in the hills of Assam, especially in the Shillong Plateau, winters can be rather cold and for about 40-60 days in a year there is white frost and the temperature may go down to as much as 0° or 3°C. or 32° to 38°F. However, there is one factor in Assam which makes the climate very unpleasant especially in the plains and the sub-montane region. This factor is the extreme humidity which used to come with the monsoon. In the plains of Assam, the temperature in summer may be only about 90°F. but the humidity may be so high that one will perspire and feel very uneasy especially during the periods between two bouts of rainfall. The year broadly comprises of the cold season and the rains. There is practically no autumn, because as soon as the rains stop winter begins; and as soon as winter ends, spring with its Northwesters comes along. Here it may be truly said, with apologies to Shelley, that if winter comes, spring cannot be far behind. From the middle of November to the middle of February, the climate of the plains of Assam is delightful, the sky is clear, the sun though bright has little power and the air is cool and pleasant. Sometimes fogs hang over the country, but by diminishing the periods during which the earth is exposed to the influence of the sun's rays, they help to keep the country cool. From March to May, moderate showers from the Northwesters accompanied by thunder-storms may be temporarily frightening, but they prevent the temperature from rising and they settle down the unwanted dust. They also help to make the vegetation green and give Assam that touch of magic for which it is always famous to those who have come to see it. During the height of the rains, the climate in the plains and sub-montane regions is decidedly oppressive. The air is absolutely saturated with moisture and the damp heat is very trying indeed.

34. As far as the rainfall is concerned, some parts of Assam claim to have the maximum precipitation in the world. The moisture-laden south-west monsoon from the Indian Ocean gathers more water vapour from the Bay of Bengal and is then precipitated to the maximum in the hills of Assam. This is due to the convergence of the Himalaya mountains with the hills of Burma and Assam. It is said that maximum precipitation generally takes place at an elevation of about 4,000 ft. above mean sea level and that is perhaps why the southern slopes of the Shillong Plateau from 3,000 to 4,500 ft. high have the highest rainfall in the world. Cherrapunji used to hold a record rainfall for the world for more than 100 years, which is about 500 inches or about 12,000 mms per annum; but recently a motorable road has been made to another village called Mawsynram about 15 miles west of Cherrapunji as the crow flies and in 1956, the P.W.D. of the Government of Assam reported a rainfall of 18,415 mms. During the last few years, Mawsynram has beaten Cherrapunji as being the rainiest place in the world. The Cherrapunji region cannot be described as being a wet place, leave alone the question of its being the wettest; but the plains of Assam can aptly be described as being the wettest places in summer because of the stagnant floods. But in the hills of Assam, and especially in the Cherrapunji-Mawsynram region, all the water would be drained out to the Sylhet district of East Pakistan within one or two hours of the cessation of the rain. What is most surprising is the fact that workers who are soaked to the skin while labouring in the day-time in the rain, do not suffer from sickness even if they dry their clothes in their own bodies. Sunshines between two bouts of rainfall in Cherrapunji present a sight worth seeing in one's lifetime. One hour after a heavy shower and the sun shines brightly overhead,

water falls can be seen cascading down into the gorges all around the place. Seen from a nearer place, each waterfall has a rainbow of its own. In the plains of Assam, rainfall varies from about 70 inches in the lower Assam region to about 200 inches per annum in the upper Assam region. Tea requires higher plain land plus enough water—that is why tea grows very well in Upper Assam apart from the fact that it is indigenous in that area. Tea requires some water even during the winter or the spring months and this it gets from the northwesters.

35. I append herewith charts and tables showing the rainfall of Assam during 1951-60 as well as the average annual rainfall, the average monthly temperature at important centres in 1960 and the temperature of important centres in Assam from 1951 to 1960—the period covered by the Census. These figures speak for themselves and justify the observations already made by me.

TABLE 1·5

Statement showing the distribution of Average Monthly Rainfall in Assam in the year 1960

(IN MILLIMETRES)

Name of District 1	January 2	February 3	March 4	April 5	May 6	June 7	July 8	August 9	September 10	October 11	November 12	December 13	Annual Total Rainfall 14
Goalpara . .	0·00	0·00	35·53	8·13	428·13	392·93	607·53	164·03	878·93	60·93	0·00	1·47	2,577·61
Kamrup . .	0·00	0·10	22·50	24·85	313·15	202·60	419·55	485·45	264·85	57·20	8·00	1·50	1,799·75
Darrang . .	0·00	4·74	34·14	33·22	319·94	427·80	527·12	394.30	309·82	27·38	12·72	3·50	2,094·68
Lakhimpur . .	3·82	40·14	36·84	117·50	197·84	366·88	586·06	368·22	328·04	31.94	5·56	18·32	2,101·16
Nowgong . .	0·00	2·00	32·66	26·04	257·00	262·28	392·16	457·36	221·06	32·48	12·84	0·00	1,695·88
Sibsagar . .	1·24	21·90	37·34	42·46	296·86	368·76	439·48	405·68	260·54	56·24	20·32	8·06	1,958 88
Cachar . . .	0·00	17·18	17·72	119·30	430·22	677·60	842·42	614·30	297·10	152·42	8·20	0·00	3,176·46
Garo Hills . .	0·00	10·15	70·80	4·55	513·50	416·60	780·50	260·75	938·00	67·65	2·25	0·00	3,064·75
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	0·00	19·46	78·42	80·16	867·38	764·88	1703·60	1058·80	987·76	249·42	148·18	3·45	5,961·51
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	0·00	1·20	16·20	54·30	277·50	622·50	410·80	354·70	237·70	161·20	96·50	0·00	2,232·60
Mizo Hills . .	0·00	0·83	16·23	28·63	312·40	525·20	495·00	297·77	316·40	210·70	67·10	9·70	2,279.96
Assam (Average) .	0·46	10·70	36·22	49·01	383·08	457·09	654·93	441·94	458·20	100·69	34·70	4·18	2,631·20

TABLE 1·6

Average Annual Rainfall in Assam

(IN MILLIMETRES)

Districts 1	1951 2	1952 3	1953 4	1954 5	1955 6	1956 7	1957 8	1958 9	1959 10	1960 11
Goalpara	2,871·46	2,923·81	3,191·30	2,886·20	2,922·38	2,878·44	2,033.87	2,738·37	2,637·23	2,577·63
Kamrup	1,609·10	1,902·45	1,558·05	1,433·07	1,775·66	2,066·06	2,042·56	1,731·13	1,682·07	1,799·75
Darrang	2,214·52	2,643·09	2,313·35	2,530·01	2,480·47	2,180·34	2,204·86	2,202·94	2,476·42	2,094·68
Lakhimpur	2,358·06	2,515·64	2,682·83	2,982·30	2,899·98	2,420·59	2,682·26	2,828·06	2,673·24	2,101·16
Nowgong	1,629·68	2,189·06	1,686·02	1,707·73	1,859·63	1,845·71	1,622·40	1,624·80	1,731·70	1,695·88
Sibsagar	1,953·78	2,419·10	2,290·47	2,268·06	2,560·28	2,346·81	2,745·58	2,272·98	2,433·48	1,958·88
Cachar	3,462·95	3,649·84	3,931·58	3,500·67	4,239·78	3,788·83	3,886·06	3,823·86	4,292·44	3,176·46
Garo Hills	2,781·73	3,499·09	2,976·28	2,654·73	2,903·74	3,269·11	2,354·60	3,202·10	3,455·40	3,064·75
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills . .	9,421·04	7,468·58	7,843·39	9,693·71	7,941·73	9,775·77	6,483·40	5,714·98	5,679·52	5,961·51
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	..	..	..	2,490·54	2,933·45	2,332·22	2,195·40	2,731·70	2,789·10	2,232·60
Mizo Hills	3,578·93	3,263·37	3,020·40	3,300·93	3,493·30	4,023·47	2,301·63	2,583·47	3,024·67	2,279·97
Assam (Average)	3,188·12	3,247·40	3,149·37	3,222·45	3,273·67	3,357·03	2,777·96	2,859·49	2,988·66	2,631·20

N. B.—Average of the centres for which complete data are available.

RAINFALL OF ASSAM
1951 to 1960

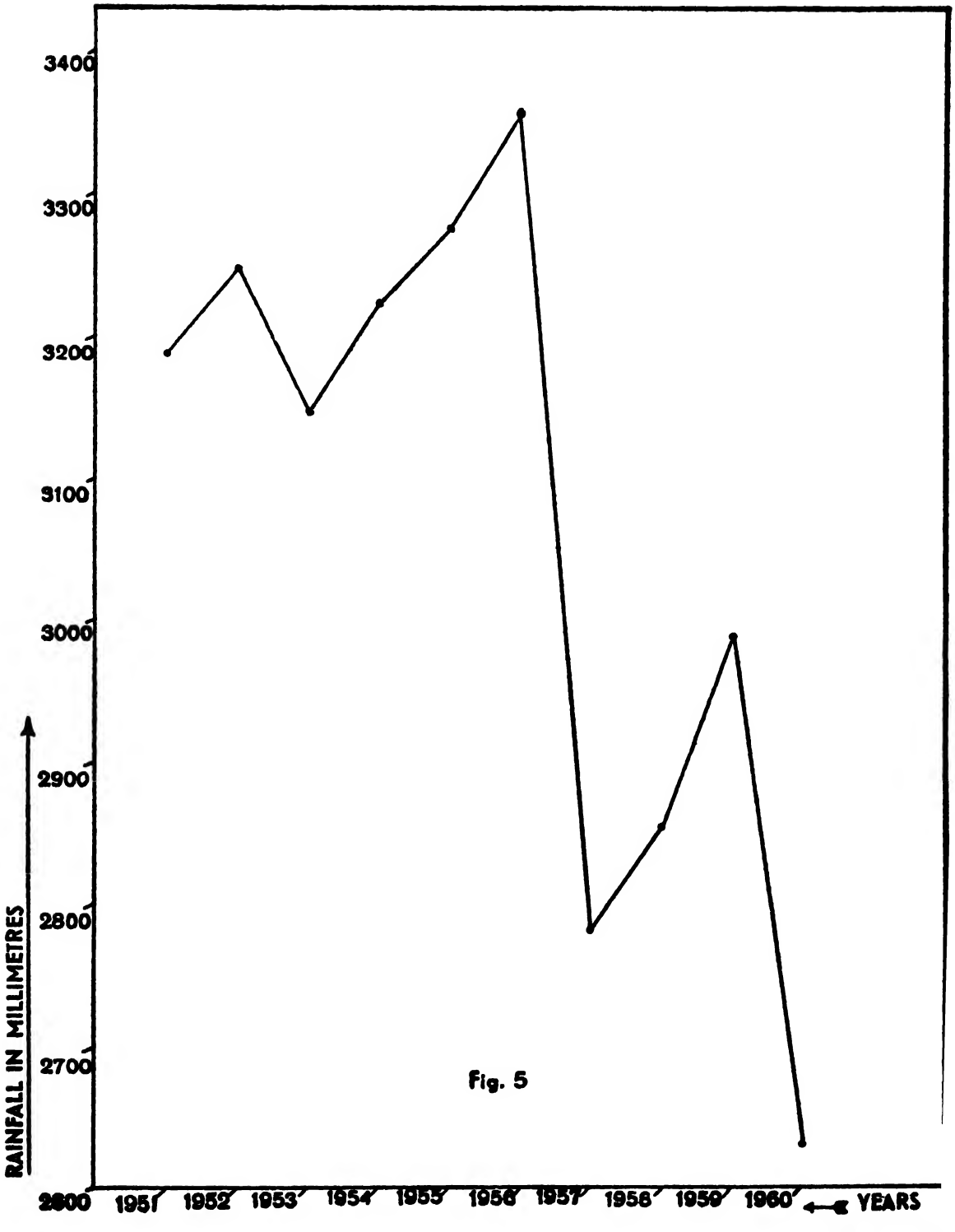

Fig. 5

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Average monthly Temperature at important centres in Assam in 1960

Source :—METEOROLOGICAL CENTRE AND INDIAN TEA ASSOCIATION

TABLE 1.7

TEMPERATURE IN °C

Name of the Centre	January Mean Max.	January Mean Min.	February Mean Max.	February Mean Min.	March Mean Max.	March Mean Min.	April Mean Max.	April Mean Min.	May Mean Max.	May Mean Min.	June Mean Max.	June Mean Min.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Shillong	16·2	3·0	19·6	7·7	20 3	9 1	26 9	16·0	25·6	17·1	24·0	17·5
Cherrapunji	16·9	8·0	20·0	11·3	20·0	12 0	24·2	16 3	23·6	17·3	22·6	18.1
Silchar	23 4	11·7	27·6	14·8	28 1	17·0	33·2	22·0	31·7	23·5	30·9	24·7
Chandighat T. E.	27·2	13·9	31·7	17·2	33·3	18 3	37·2	21·7	35 0	23 3	33·9	24·4
Gauhati	24·5	10·5	28·5	14·9	29·5	17·1	36·1	21·6	32·7	23 7	32·1	25·7
Borjhar	24·4	7·9	28·6	12·3	29·4	15·2	36·0	20·2	32 9	23 3	31·9	25·4
Haflong	21·8	10·9	25·7	14·8	26·7	15·9	30·3	20·3	29·8	21·1	28·4	21·5
Lumding	25·1	6·9	29·6	11·7	31·2	13·9	37·4	20·3	35·6	22 9	33·5	24·8
Loongsoong T. E.	22 1	10·8	26 5	14·8	28·2	16 9	34 2	22·3	31·6	23 7	31 8	26·0
Dibrugarh	24·8	8·6	26·6	14 5	28 4	16·5	30·1	19·7	30 7	22·4	30·7	23·9
Powai T. E.	23·3	7·2	26 1	11·1	27·2	11·1	29·4	16·1	30·0	21 7	31 7	24·4
Sibsagar	24·5	8·6	26·7	14·3	28·1	16 4	31·7	19 8	31·4	22 7	31·9	25·1
Tocklai	23 5	7·5	26·6	13 4	28·4	15 5	32·4	19·4	30·9	22·4	31·2	24·3
Tura	24·8	11·1	28·7	15·2	28.3	16·1	34·9	22·1	33·1	22·8	29 2	20·7
Tezpur	25·0	10·7	28 1	15·6	29 2	17 2	35·0	21 8	32·6	24·2	31·7	25·3
Bhooteachang	23·9	10·0	27·2	15·6	28 9	16 7	32 2	21·1	30 6	22 8	31·1	25·0
Dhubri	22·7	12·0	27·6	16·0	28 7	18·0	36 8	22·7	33·0	24 2	30 9	25·2
Aijal	21·4	11·8	24·7	15 4	25·2	16·0	29 8	19·8	28·5	19·5	25·8	19·6
Assam	23·1	9·5	26 7	13 9	27·7	15·5	32·6	20·2	31·1	22·1	30 2	23·4

Name of the Centre	July Mean Max.	July Mean Min.	August Mean Max.	August Mean Min.	September Mean Max.	September Mean Min.	October Mean Max.	October Mean Min.	November Mean Max.	November Mean Min.	December Mean Max.	December Mean Min.
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Shillong	23·8	18·3	25·0	18·3	23·1	16 9	22·6	13·1	18·1	9·7	16·8	5·5
Cherrapunji	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Silchar	29·6	24·6	32·0	25·2	30·8	25·0	31·0	23·1	27·4	17·4	24·4	14·5
Chandighat T. E.	33·3	24·4	36·7	25·6	34·4	24·4	35·0	23·9	32·2	16·7	30·0	14·4
Gauhati	31·7	25·9	33·1	26·4	31·0	25·4	31·4	23·3	28·0	17·5	26·1	15·3
Borjhar	31·7	25·7	33·1	26·0	30·6	25·1	31·1	22·7	27·7	16·2	25·9	13·5
Haflong	27·0	21·2	29·7	22·1	28·1	2·17	27·8	19·7	24·2	15·0	22·8	13·0
Lumding	32·8	25·0	34·0	25·2	32·6	24·2	31·3	21·2	27·3	14·8	26·5	11·3
Loongsoong G. E.	30·4	25·3	32·8	26·4	28·9	25·3	30·1	22·4	26·6	17·0	23·9	14·1
Dibrugarh	30·7	24·3	32·7	25·1	31·0	24·0	31·8	21·8	28·1	15·5	25·7	12·4
Powai T. E.	30·6	24·4	32·2	25·0	31·1	23·9	30·0	20·6	27·2	14·4	23·9	12·2
Sibsagar	32·2	25·4	32·9	25·7	31·5	25·3	31·0	22·0	27·8	12·1	25·8	12·2
Tocklai	31·5	24·7	32·0	25·5	31·2	24·7	30·8	22·1	27·1	15.4	25·4	12·2
Tura	28·5	20·6	30·2	21·4	29·0	20·0	29·9	17·8	26·8	13·5	24·9	11·6
Tezpur	31·4	25·3	32·7	25·9	31·4	25·1	32·9	22·7	29·3	16·8	27·2	14·2
Bhooteachang	31·1	25·0	31·7	25·6	30·6	24·4	30·0	21·7	27·8	17·2	26·1	15·6
Dhubri	30·3	25·9	31·6	27·1	29·0	25·3	29·9	22·7	26·3	18·2	24·5	15·7
Aijal	23·9	19·3	26·5	20·1	25·5	19·9	25·4	18·7	23·2	15·2	21·3	12·8
Assam	30·0	23·8	31·7	24·5	30·0	23·6	30·1	21·2	26·8	15·4	24·8	13·0

Temperature of important centres in Assam from 1951—1960

Source :—METEOROLOGICAL CENTRE AND INDIAN TEA ASSOCIATION

TABLE 1.8

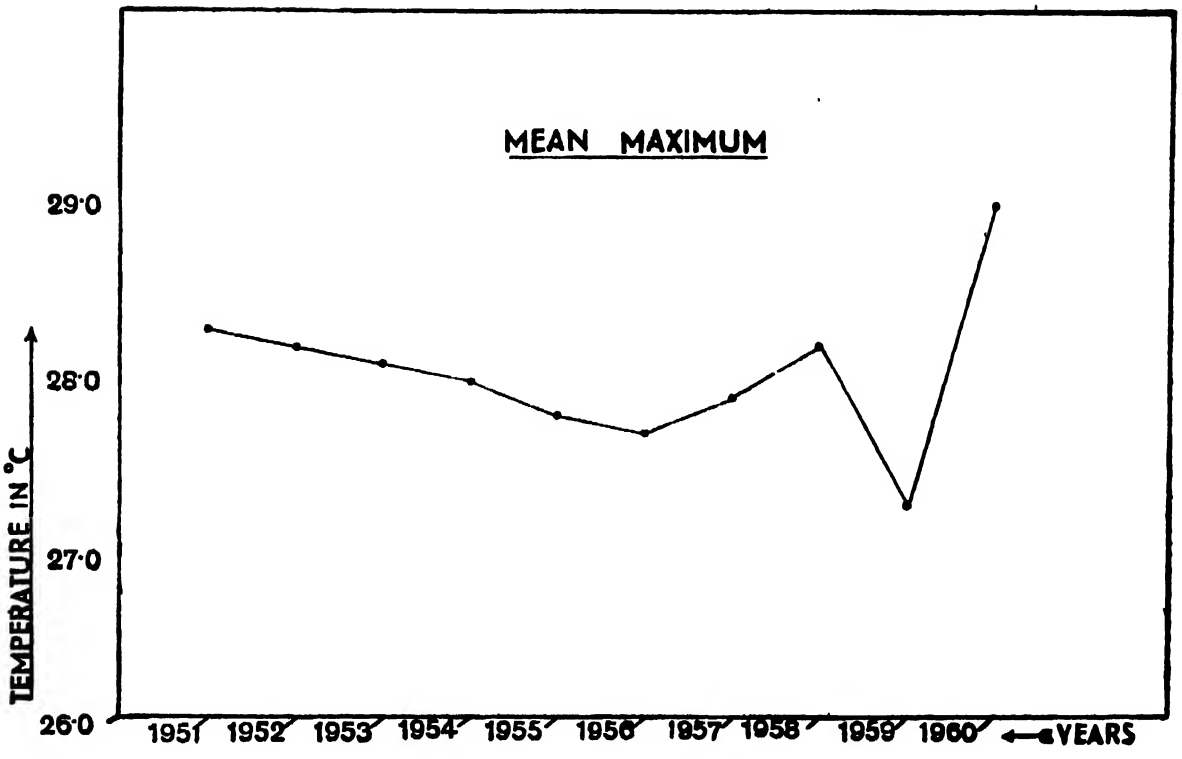
TEMPERATURE °C

Name of Centre	1951 Mean Max.	1951 Mean Min.	1952 Mean Max.	1952 Mean Min.	1953 Mean Max.	1953 Mean Min.	1954 Mean Max.	1954 Mean Min.	1955 Mean Max.	1955 Mean Min.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Shillong	21·1	12·3	21·1	12·4	21·2	12·2	21·2	12·3	21·1	11·6
Cherrapunji	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20·3	14·3
Silchar	29·6	19·4	29·9	20·1	30·0	20·3	29·9	20·4	29·7	19·8
Chandighat T. E.	31·4	20·7	32·4	20·8	30·7	20·7	31·9	20·8	32·1	20·0
Gauhati	29·2	19 3	29·6	19 3	29·3	18·9	29·4	18·6	30·5	17·1
Borjhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29·2	19·0
Haflong	..	..	..	..	..	..	25·2	17·6	25·3	17·4
Lumding	30·9	17·8	28·5	18·3	30·1	18·0	30·9	18·5	30·2	18·1
Loongsoong T. E.	27·8	20 3	28·1	20·7	28·5	20·8	28 0	20·4	27·9	20·5
Dibrugarh	27·6	18·8	28·3	19·5	27·9	19·2	26·9	19·0	27·7	19·1
Powai T. E.	25·7	19·1	25·7	19·3	26·0	18·0	26·5	17·7	27·1	17·9
Sibsagar	28·3	19·1	27·6	19·6	27·4	19 5	28·0	19·4	28·3	19·2
Tocklai	28 1	18 2	28 4	18·8	28·4	18·5	28·0	18·5	28·1	18 6
Tura	28·5	19·7	28·2	19·6	28·2	19·7	28 5	19·9	28·5	19·9
Tezpur	29·3	19·7	29·8	20 1	29 5	20 0	28 9	20·0	29·2	20 1
Bhooteachang T. E.	28·3	17·7	27·3	19·1	26 9	18·5	26.2	18·4	27·4	18·1
Dhubri	28 5	20·7	28 5	21 0	28 5	2·07	28 7	21·0	28·4	20·9
Aijal	..	..	..	16·5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assam (Average)	28·2	18·8	28 1	19·0	28 0	18·9	27·9	18 8	27·7	18·3

Name of Centre	1956 Mean Max.	1956 Mean Min.	1957 Mean Max.	1957 Mean Min.	1958 Mean Max.	1958 Mean Min.	1959 Mean Max.	1959 Mean Min.	1960 Mean Max.	1960 Mean Min.
1	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Shillong	21·1	12·0	21·2	12·0	21·8	12·5	21·0	22·1	21·8	12·6
Cherrapunji	20·7	13 8	20·6	13·7	20·9	14·5	20·2	14·0	..	..
Silchar	30·2	19 9	29 7	19·4	29·5	20·4	28·2	20·0	29·2	20·3
Chandighat T.E.	32·3	20·8	33·1	20·3	33·3	20·4	32·2	20·9	33·3	20·7
Gauhati	29·7	20·2	29·3	20·2	29·7	20·8	28·2	20·3	30·3	20·6
Borjhar	29·1	19·2	29·4	19·1	29·2	19·5	28·8	19·3	30·2	19·4
Haflong	25·5	17·4	25 5	16·7	26·4	16·9	25·8	16·9	26 9	18·1
Lumding	30·2	18·2	30·7	18·3	31·1	18·8	30·1	18·3	31·4	18·5
Loongsoong T. E.	28·1	20·8	28·1	20·7	28·3	21·2	27·5	19·9	28·9	20·4
Dibrugarh	28·1	19·1	27·8	18·1	28·2	19·3	28·0	19·0	29·3	19·1
Powai T. E.	25·4	18·2	26·2	18·1	26·3	19·6	27·7	18·0	28·5	17·7
Sibsagar	28·4	19·5	28·2	19·2	28·6	19·9	28·1	19·2	29·6	19·1
Tocklai	28·2	18·3	28·2	18·7	28·9	19·3	28·0	19·0	29·3	18·9
Tura	28·1	19·6	28·7	19·8	28·7	20·2	27·9	18·6	29·0	17·7
Tezpur	29·5	20·2	29·3	19·7	29·7	20·6	29·0	20·0	30·5	20·4
Bhooteachang T. E.	28·0	18·1	27·4	17·2	29·5	19·1	28·0	19·3	29·3	20·1
Dhubri	26·0	21·1	28·8	21·0	28·5	19·8	27·8	20·9	29·2	21·1
Aijal	..	..	..	..	..	..	23·8	16·5	25·1	17·3
Assam (Average)	27·6	18·6	27·8	18·5	28·1	19·0	27·2	18·4	28·9	18·9

TEMPERATURE OF ASSAM

1951 to 1960



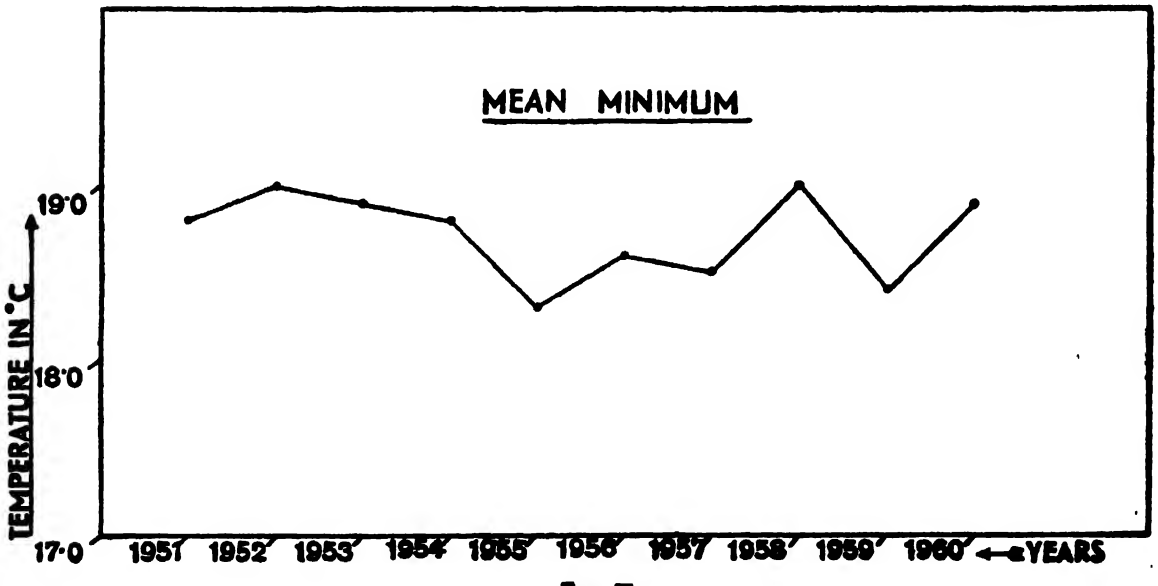


Fig. 7

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36. *Forests*—To many people outside its boundaries, Assam conjures up a vision of a big land with jungles, rhinoceroses and Nagas, but it ranks thirteen—i.e., almost at the bottom of the major States of India in point of area. Nor is Assam a land entirely of forests because out of its fortyseven thousand square miles of area, only 6,396 square miles are Reserve Forests and about 12,000 square miles what the forest people used to call 'Unclassed State Forests'. Unclassed State Forests in Assam may mean anything from a treeless plain to some areas covered with only shrubs. The Dhebar Commission mentions that the Forest Departments claim some uncultivated areas in some places of India as 'Unclassed State Forests' and that they have found in Spiti that 600 sq. miles of such area hardly contain 600 trees.

37. Reserve forests and protected forests are administered and sustained by the Forest Department of the Government of Assam and that they are being worked very carefully with the object of attaining a sustained yield of timber and minor forest produce. Forests are also being used as agencies for the prevention of soil erosion, controlling floods and the conservation of water supplies. The forests of Assam contain many valuable trees like sal (shorea robusta) which is extensively used for railway sleepers and building purposes. The most useful timbers are sal, coniferous pine trees, deciduous bonsum, nahor, hollong, hollock etc., apart from many other varieties which are valuable timbers for furniture and for building purposes. Hollong tree is eminently suitable for the manufacture of veneer which is extensively demanded by the tea estates for use as tea chests. Many plywood factories have been opened up in Upper Assam for the purpose of making packages for the tea industry and these packages with tea in them are sent all over the world. It may also be noted that Assam is one of the greatest producers of tea in the world and the sun never sets where Assam tea does not go. Another timber in Assam which is not useful either as fuel or as timber because of its soft texture, has been found to be of the utmost usage for the manufacture of match-sticks. This tree is known as simul (bombax malabaricum). One of the most interesting activities of the Forest Department is the fact that they are cutting jungles of not very useful timbers and replace them by planting valuable timbers like teak, sal, ipeca, etc. Teak saplings have been imported into Assam from Burma and in many places, they have grown very well, thanks to the efforts of the Forest Department. Teak takes about 50 to 70 years to mature and one forest officer told me during our joint tour that he was planting the same for the benefit of his grand-children. Of the minor forest produce, bamboo and cane are among the most useful. Bamboo is used for building purposes and practically for everything that the people in Assam need, while at the same time, it can also be used as pulp for the paper manufacturing industry. Cane is extensively used for binding and for furniture some of which are of exquisite designs and beauty.

38. Most of the Unclassified State Forests are in the hill areas and such forests are really being used by the hill tribes for shifting cultivation by the slash-and-burn method locally known as jhuming. With all the assumption that Assam is a land of forests, the people of Assam are increasingly finding it difficult day by day to secure wood as fuel. As a matter of fact large areas of forests are being denuded day by day that the real cry of the day is for more conservation of trees within reserve forests. In many places, the people of Assam are now switching to coal and coke for cooking purposes due to the scarcity of firewood. The high cost of fuel is also adding much to the already high cost of living of the common man in Assam. But more conservation of forests is easier said than done. The population of Assam is increasing by leaps and bounds and the question of conserving more lands for forests appears to be unreal because of the increasing needs of human beings for land and fuel. More lands are being put to the plough, but Assam has to depend on some import of rice to feed its people.

39. *Wild Life*—What is true of forests as aforesaid is more true of wild life in Assam. Had it not been for protection within certain reserves of which the Kaziranga is the most famous, the rhinoceroses would have been extinct long ago. Hunters may go miles and miles in unclassified forests of Assam and may not find any game at all. There are many

people with guns in Assam and wild life is gradually diminishing with the danger of becoming extinct. There are poachers even in reserve forests and game sanctuaries.

40. The animals mostly found in Assam are elephants, deer of different types, bisons, buffaloes, tigers, leopards, wild pigs, bears and the ubiquitous rhesus monkeys which are found in the plains of Assam. In the hills of Assam, monkeys are killed because of their depredations and so their number in the hill areas is rather small; but in the plains of Assam, monkeys are not killed and so there are plenty of them although they are not so daring as the monkeys of Simla. Needless to say, rhinoceros is the most unique animal of Assam and more will be said of it later. In the reptile world, cobras, pythons and other kinds of snakes are found in plenty especially in the plains of Assam and the sub-montane regions. Among the birds, the most common are crows, vultures, hornbills, storks of various kinds, among them the most majestic being the big adjutant bird, pelicans, cormorants, egrets, cranes, wild fowls, pheasants, peacocks, pigeons, wild dogs, quails, partridges, parrots and various kinds of small birds many of whom have beautiful plumages. Most of these birds and animals can be found in the games sanctuaries or reserve forests for reasons already stated. I give below a list of more well-known game sanctuaries in Assam

1. THE KAZIRANGA WILD LIFE SANCTUARY

41. This game sanctuary lies almost entirely between the Assam Trunk Road and the river Brahmaputra from the eastern part of Nowgong to the Golaghat subdivision of the Sibsagar district. It has an area of about 166 sq. miles and from the air, it does not look very different from a paddy field because of the fact that there is practically no tree except a simul tree here or a broad-leaved tree there, and it is almost entirely covered with grass and reeds, the height of which is about 8 to 15 feet. The land in this area is a fairly level and low-lying country dotted with numerous swamps of the savana type interspersed with patches of trees here and there wherever some higher land occurs. One cannot go into this reserve except on the back of elephants and in some areas, only the heads of riders can be seen above the tall grass. When I first saw this game sanctuary from the trunk road, I thought it to be only a grassy patch and that not much danger lurks about it. Actually, this sanctuary is a sylvan world conglomerated with quite a large number of wild denizens. The exhibition par excellence of this sanctuary is the great Indian one-horned rhinoceros, about 384 of which are said to exist in this protected area. The Government of Assam has built a fine tourist bungalow near the trunk road and one can go in a car from the bungalow up to a place about two miles inside the sanctuary where some sort of observatory has been built by the Forest Department. Here one can climb up the observatory and have a general view of the wide grassy stretch around him with the Mikir Hills in the background on the one side and the Brahmaputra and the eastern Himalayas on the other side. One can then climb on the back of one of the elephants which are hired by the Forest Department. Once on the back of an elephant, one enters the tall grass and the swamps, and he feels that the grassy area is after all a different world of its own. Within one or two furlongs of the observatory, one may come across an opening in the tall grass with muddy pools and short soft grass and immediately one can see one or two rhinoceroses either looking wildly at the elephant and the riders or running into the thickets of the tall grass and vanishing almost into thin air. Occasionally, one finds a rhino bold enough to come out of the thicket and expose itself to the full view of the riders. Some rhinos do not mind being photographed even at short range while some may present a challenging attitude and even charge at the elephant. On the backs of the wallowing rhinos can be seen beautiful egrets picking up the ticks from the backs of their prehistoric friend. The armours of the rhinos should be seen to be believed and one is reminded of the drawings of prehistoric animals when one looks at these beasts. Here and there in the openings can be seen wild pigs, either running or wallowing in the mud, or running towards the thickets of reeds. Some areas of the sanctuaries are burnt in the month of February-March and by April or so, soft green grass appears on the burnt areas. In such

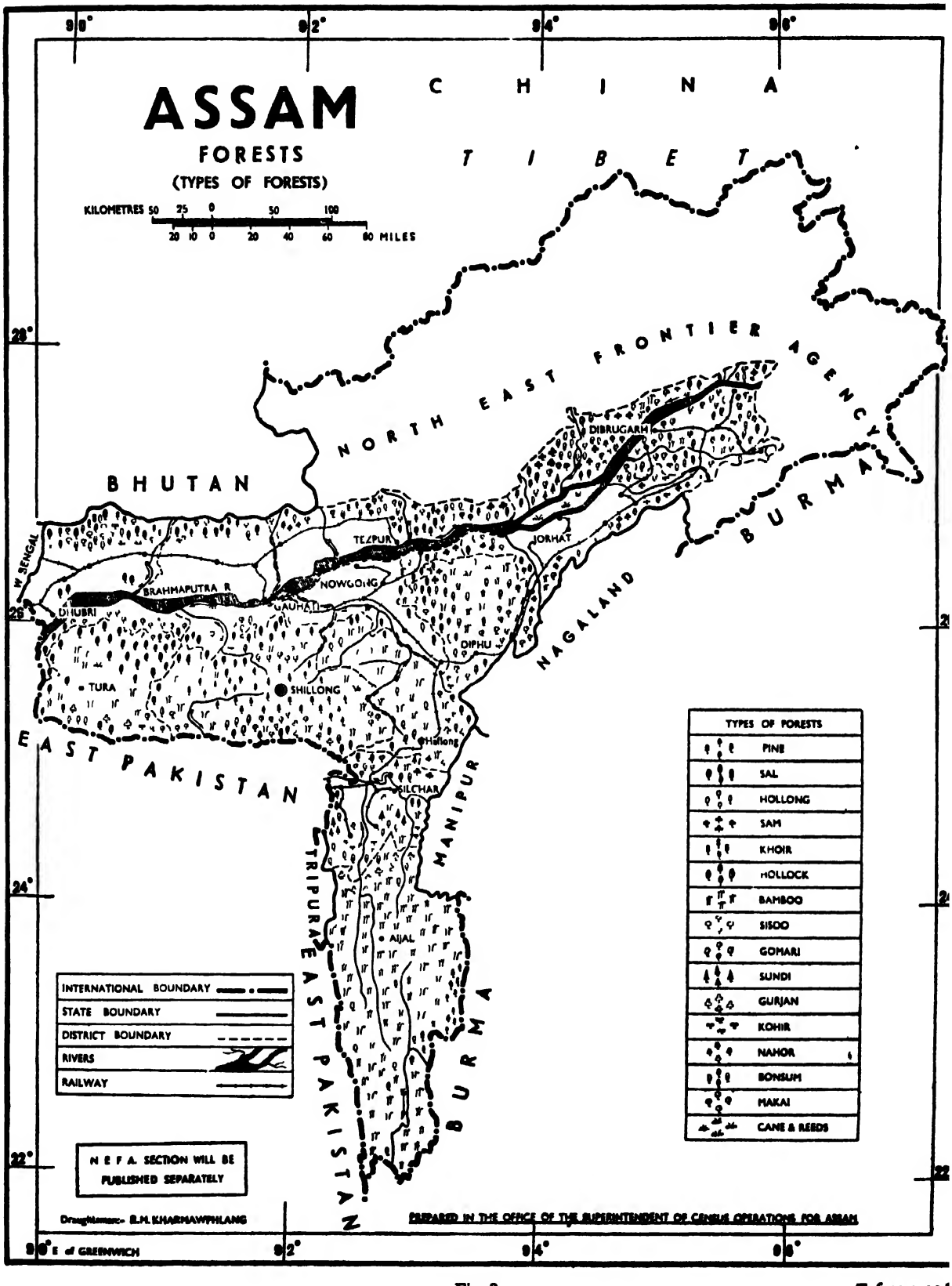

Fig. 9

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areas can be seen spotted deer, running about helter-skelter with the approach of the elephant with its riders. As one rides deeper into the grassy jungle, one can see big swamps full of fish, and in the horizon one can see big swamp deer running about or swimming in the beels. If one has the courage to go deeper still into this strange world, one can come across a herd of wild buffaloes or a herd of wild elephants. Elephants in herds generally run away at the sight of human beings, but wild buffaloes are rather dangerous because they may charge at the elephants or human beings. Tigers are generally too cunning to be seen by elephant-riders, but here and there, in open spaces, the elephant picks up beautiful horns which must belong to the deer whom the tiger might have killed and eaten. Kaziranga is a place worth seeing at least once in a life-time.

2. THE MANAS GAMES SANCTUARY

42. The Manas Sanctuary with an area of 105 sq. miles lies on the bank of the river Manas in North Kamrup. From the point of view of scenic beauty, this sanctuary can be described as exquisite with a variety of scenery and approaches of tree forests evenly distributed along with open savanna at the foot of the Bhutan Hills. It is said that nearly a thousand wild elephants, about a thousand wild buffaloes, about 50 bisons and a few rhinos share their abode in this place along with numerous swamp deer, wild pigs, tigers, leopards and other wild animals and beautiful birds.

3. SONAI RUPA WILD LIFE SANCTUARY

43. The Sonai Rupa Wild Life Sanctuary has an area of 85 sq. miles with a network of perennial streams. Wild tracts of thickly grown saccharum and alpinia contain in them hundreds of elephants and buffaloes along with pigs, deer, bisons, tigers and a few rhinos. This sanctuary is in the Darrang district.

4. POBA WILD LIFE SANCTUARY

44. The Poba Wild Life Sanctuary with an area of 20 sq. miles is mainly a reserve of wild buffaloes. This sanctuary is in the North Lakhimpur subdivision.

5. THE ORANG RESERVE

45. The Orang Reserve with an area of 24 sq. miles stands on both banks of the river Brahmaputra opposite to each other on an open flat grassy land This is also in the Darrang district.

6. LAOKHOWA WILD LIFE RESERVE

46. The Laokhowa Wild Life Reserve with an area of 27 sq. miles is in the Nowgong district about 15 miles from Nowgong town towards the north. It has about a dozen rhinos along with other wild life familiar to this belt of Assam.

7. GARAMPANI SANCTUARY

47. The Garampani Sanctuary with an area of 5.8 sq. miles is the abode of elephants, deer and thousands of birds. This Sanctuary is in the Golaghat subdivision of the Sibsagar district.

48. *Soil*—The general characteristic of Assam's soil is acidity. Soils on the hills are acidic. New alluvial soils representing the lands of the river banks are less acidic; they are often neutral and even alkaline. The phosphoric content is good in the upper Brahmaputra Valley where tea is grown, but definitely low in the lower Assam Valley. The percentages of nitrogen and organic matter are satisfactory. They are particularly high in low lying soils. Soils of the Surma Valley are not much different from those of the Brahmaputra Valley except for some local variations. The Cachar district is characterised by an abundance of marshes and lakes, the soils of which contain a large percentage of organic matter. The soils of the hill districts contain a high proportion of nitrogen and organic matter. Acidic alluvial soils are suitable for cultivation of tea. Heavy clays with a high percentage of nitrogen in lowland areas give a good return of rice, while sandy loams above inundation level give a good yield of jute. In the hills, fruit trees respond quickly to heavy clays which have a high percentage of organic matter.

49. The district-wise soil description for the State of Assam is given below:—

Districts

1. Goalpara.—Almost entirely alluvial soil.
2. Kamrup.—(N to S) (i) 3/4th alluvial soil, (ii) 1/4th laterite soil.
3. Darrang.—Almost entirely alluvial soil.
4. Lakhimpur.—(N W to S E) Northern half—alluvial soil, Southern half—laterite soil.
5. Nowgong.—(N to S) (i) 1/3rd alluvial soil, (ii) 1/3rd middle belt of laterite soil, (iii) 1/3rd laterite soil.
6. Sibsagar.—(N to S) (i) Thin belt of alluvial soil, (ii) Mainly laterite soil.
7. Cachar.—Red soil.
8. Garo Hills.—(S to N) (i) Red soil, (ii) Laterite soil.
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.—(S. to N) (i) 2/3rd Red soil, (ii) Laterite soil.
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.—(S to N) (i) Laterite soil, (ii) Laterite soil.
11. Mizo Hills.—Red soil.

50. *Agriculture and Land Utilisation*—Land Utilisation statistics in Assam are not at all satisfactory. I have tried to collect the figures from all sources—the Director of Agriculture, the Director of Statistics, the Revenue Department of the Government of Assam, the Director of Land Records, the Settlement Officers, the Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers and the Block Development Officers—but either the figures are not available or they are not acceptable especially when they are examined critically in my office as well as in the Office of the Registrar General. Formerly, the Director of Agriculture used to publish the agricultural and land utilisation statistics, but lately whenever I asked him about such figures, he would simply refer me to the Director of Statistics. On the other hand, the Director of Statistics can compile only such figures as are supplied to him by the Director of Agriculture or by the district authorities. I am therefore reluctantly led to believe that the figure supplied to me are at best mere estimates wherever they are at all available, but in many cases, the figures are not at all available. Most of the figures were supplied by the Deputy Commissioners and the Subdivisional Officers who have to depend on the Land Records staff for this information. In the hill districts of Assam the figures are by and large guesses. The so-called 'village papers' which are available in some States of India do not exist in Assam. I think the only reliable figures of land utilisation are those supplied by the Tea Companies in respect of lands utilised for the plantation of tea. As far as utilisation of land as forests is concerned, the figures for Reserve Forests are supplied by the Chief Conservator of Forests, and my collecting staff think that these are fairly accurate. When it comes to Unclassed State Forests, the figures is also more or less a mere estimate. Whatever figures are available are those supplied by the Director of Statistics and these are given in Table 1.9 below:—

Land utilisation Statistics of the State 1957-58

TABLE 1.9

FIGURES IN ACRES

State/District	Total Area	Forest	Area not available for cultivation	Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	Fallow Lands	Total cropped area	Area sown more than once	Net area sown
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	30,170,880	10,990,640	3,556,640	877,509	959,227	6,246,549	891,006	5,355,543
Goalpara	2,549,120	517,686	1,115,470	136,700	135,780	795,185	184,574	610,611
Kamrup	2,455,680	1,088,254	161,050	36,880	76,320	1,319,860	243,742	1,076,118
Darrang	2,151,040	405,045	492,850	135,430	134,800	862,768	95,739	767,029
Lakhimpur	3,153,280	1,131,000	928,790	194,350	175,276	620,433	33,155	587,278
Nowgong	1,386,880	274,277	210,700	38,020	46,250	713,346	114,926	598,420
Sibsagar	2,211,840	710,139	320,480	235,229	189,050	786,620	46,622	739,998
Cachar	1,719,680	605,746	327,300	100,900	201,751	574,834	110,183	464,651
Garo Hills	2,015,360	92,383	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	200,869	23,550	177,319
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	3,549,440	170,665	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	140,668	18,420	122,248
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	3,772,800	1,010,525	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	102,746	7,305	95,441
Mizo Hills	5,205,760	4,984,920	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	129,220	12,790	116,430

N.B.—(i) Figures for cultivable waste for all the districts are not available.

(ii) Permanent pastures and grazing land, miscellaneous tree crops and groves have not been included under net area sown and fallow lands in case of Hill Districts.

51. It may be seen that the above table classifies land under the following main heads:—

(1) *Forests*—The figure given in column 4 shows that in the whole of Assam the area under forests is 10,990,640 acres or 17,173 sq. miles. Of this, the total area under Reserve Forests is about 6,396 sq. miles and such forests are not open for settlement and the cutting of trees is also controlled by the Forest Department. The remaining area of about 11,000 sq. miles, which is more or less an estimate only, consists of Unclassed State Forests, most of which lie in the hill areas and are being used by the tribal people for jhum or shifting cultivation. According to this system of cultivation, trees and shrubs are cut during December-January, burnt during February-March and the ground is sown with hill paddy and other crops with the coming of the first rains. The system can produce good crops only in the first year and in the remaining two or three years, not much crop can be grown there. Thereafter the people shift to other areas for their cultivation leaving the former land fallow for at least 5 or 6 years during which time shrubs and bamboos generally come up in the fallow area.

(2) *Area not available for cultivation*—The Statistics department told me that such areas are meant for homesteads, roads, factories, rivers, ponds, towns, villages and so on.

(3) *Other uncultivated lands excluding current fallows*—I am told that such lands are used neither for homestead nor for the cultivation of eatables but are otherwise used for growing bamboos and other kinds of trees or for such other works as the households will put it excluding cultivation.

(4) *Fallow lands*—As the name suggests, are lands left fallow because currently of low yield and will be used again after sometime.

(5) *Total cropped area*—Such lands are used for cultivation of all kinds of crops and the total area under column 8 includes the areas shown under columns 9 and 10. I am told that tea plantation is also included in this heading.

52. It may be noted that in the hill districts of Assam, the data under columns 5, 6 and 7 are not available. It may also be noted that the figures in Table 1.9 relate only to the year 1957-58 as the latest figures are not at all available. The total geographical area of Assam in 1957-58 stated to have been given by the Surveyor General of India is 30,170,880 acres. Thus the total crop area and the net sown area comes to about 20.7 per cent and 17.7 per cent respectively of the total area. Land under forests comes to about 36 per cent. of the total area. This low rate of land utilisation in Assam is partly due to the difficult terrain of the hill areas and the existence of many rivers, lakes and marshy areas in the plains.

53. I give below another Table 1.10 collected from the Statistics Department of the Government of Assam which shows the area under crops for the year 1957-58. This table shows the breakdown of different crops in Assam such as rice, cereals, millets, pulses as well as total non-food crops. This table also shows that the cropping pattern in Assam is more or less the same as in other States of India, food crops occupying about 81.4 per cent. of the total cropped area. It may also be seen that tea plantations occupy 390,910 acres or about 6.3 per cent. of the total area under all crops. In other words, 81.4 per cent. of the crop area is under food crops and 18.6 under non-food crops. Among the food crops, rice cultivation constitutes 67.8 per cent. of the total cropped area and this figure does not fail to show that the people of Assam are basically rice eaters. Next to rice comes tea and about 75 per cent. of the total tea acreage is concentrated in the Upper Assam Valley, i.e., only in the districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Darrang, 19 per cent. of the area under tea is in the Cachar district and 6 per cent. in the Lower Brahmaputra Valley. Jute is grown in great quantities in Lower Assam and about two-thirds of the oil seeds are also grown in the Lower Assam Valley. In the hill areas, rice is also the principal crop, but potatoes, fruits, vegetables, and cotton are also grown in these areas as cash crops. Betel nuts and pan leaves are grown in great quantities in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District.

Area under Crops 1957-58

TABLE 1·10

Figures in acres

State/District	Rice	Total Cereals and Small millets	Total Pulses	Total Foodgrains	Total Food crops	Tea	Total Non-Food crops	Total area under cultivation of all crops
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	4,235,774	4,285,936	196,571	4,482,507	5,084,765	390,910	1,161,784	6,246,549
Goalpara	565,585	571,992	22,620	594,612	636,195	4,775	158,990	795,185
Kamrup	918,989	925,414	62,391	987,805	1,137,581	446,977	182,279	1,319,860
Darrang	544,683	548,541	22,130	570,671	683,061	63,711	179,707	862,768
Lakhimpur	403,618	407,307	11,690	418,997	468,859	118,966	151,574	620,433
Nowgong	451,857	453,457	49,619	503,076	544,634	12,980	168,712	713,346
Sibsagar	541,675	541,943	18,028	559,971	630,519	110,372	156,101	786,620
Cachar	459,276	459,276	3,078	462,354	492,126	71,815	82,708	574,834
Garo Hills	120,855	136,435	2,330	138,765	151,825	..	49,044	200,869
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	57,561	64,191	375	64,566	134,356	..	6,312	140,668
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	52,075	56,730	3,760	60,490	78,269	3,822	24,477	102,746
Mizo Hills	119,600	120,650	550	121,200	127,340	..	1,880	129,220

54. *Irrigation*—Assam receives heavy rainfall during the monsoon, and even during the pre-monsoon period, most parts of Assam get some rain from the northwesters. Extensive irrigation by the Government has therefore never been done as is the case with certain States in other parts of India, especially in north India, Central India and Western India. The main crops of Assam, especially rice and jute are entirely dependent upon rain water. In the hill areas of Assam, however, small irrigation channels have been in existence from time immemorial for the wet cultivation of paddy in suitable valleys. Such irrigation channels mainly existed in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and in some parts of the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills and the Garo Hills. In the Mizo Hills, such irrigation channels are known to exist only in the Champhai area which is a small tableland not unlike the Khasi tableland. But though Assam receives heavy rainfall, artificial irrigation is necessary for successful crop production in some parts of the State. This is especially true in respect of the hill districts if the shifting method of cultivation is to be gradually replaced by terraced cultivation. Even in the plains of Assam, some areas are rain-shadow pockets, like the Lanka area of Nowgong district, where the total annual rainfall is generally only about 40 inches and that also may come very late. In such areas irrigation is very essential. The Kaki Reclamation project of Nowgong district has practically failed because of lack of water, but this can be made up if irrigation is done either from the river Kopili or the river Jamuna. Even in the other parts of the plains of Assam, successful winter crop can be grown if there is sufficient irrigation system. Even in the tea estates, I have seen irrigation by pumps being done in the Lower Assam region because of lack of rain during February-March when tea crops require some water at least.

55. I give below two tables which show the area irrigated by sources in the State and the gross area irrigated under different crops in the state of Assam.

Area Irrigated by sources in the State 1957-58

Source : **Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Assam**

TABLE 1·11

Figures in acres

State/District	Canals			Tanks	Tube Wells	Other Wells	Other Sources	Total
	Government	Private	Total					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	163,078	586,372	749,450	6,282	..	325	556,530	1,312,587
Goalpara	18,865	186,205	205,070	125	..	325	18,650	224,170
Kamrup	129,913	32,238	162,151	6,157	..	..	117,200	285,508
Darrang	..	108,650	108,650	..	..	..	..	108,650
Lakhimpur	..	246,700	246,700	..	..	..	98,300	345,000
Nowgong	..	2,850	2,850	..	..	..	122,430	125,280
Sibsagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	61,050	61,050
Cachar	3,652	458	4,110	..	..	..	12,000	16,110
Garo Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	54,000	54,000
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	50,600	50,600
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,648	5,921	16,569	..	..	..	19,880	36,449
Mizo Hills	..	3,350	3,350	..	..	..	2,500	5,850

Gross Area Irrigated under different Crops in the State 1957-58

TABLE 1·12

Figures in acres

State/District	Rice	Wheat	Total Cereals and Millets	Total Pulses	Total Food-grains	Sugarcane	Total Food-crops	Cotton	Total Non-food crops	Total irrigated under all crops
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	1,309,407	..	1,312,287	..	1,312,287	..	1,312,287	..	300	1,312,587
Goalpara	224,170	..	224,170	..	224,170	..	224,170	..	..	224,170
Kamrup	285,508	..	285,508	..	285,508	..	285,580	.	..	285,580
Darrang	108,650	..	08,650	..	108,650	..	108,650	..	..	108,650
Lakhimpur	342,820	..	344,700	..	344,700	..	344,700	..	300	345,000
Nowgong	125,280	..	125,280	..	125,280	..	125,280	..	..	125,280
Sibsagar	61,050	..	61,050	..	61,050	..	61,050	..	..	61,050
Cachar	16,110	..	16,110	..	16,110	..	16,110	..	..	16,110
Garo Hills	54,000	..	54,000	..	4,000	..	54,000	..	..	54,000
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	49,900	..	50,600	..	50,600	..	50,600	..	..	50,600
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	36,369	..	36,369	..	36,369	..	6,369	..	..	36,369
Mizo Hills	5,550	..	5,850	..	,850	..	5,850	.	..	5,850

56. From table 1.11 it may be seen that the Government of Assam has taken up the construction of canals for irrigation only in the districts of Kamrup, Goalpara, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Cachar and that the total area irrigated by Government sources for the whole State is only 163,078 acres. Of the area irrigated by Government canals, 129,913 acres or 79.7 per cent. lie only in the district of Kamrup. Among the Hill districts, Government have set up irrigation channels only in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills. It may also be seen that most canals and irrigation channels shown under column 8 of tables 1.11 are done by private people for their own benefit. In the Garo Hills, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the Mizo Hills, all small scale irrigations are done only by private parties.

57. The Dhebar Commission has reported that in India, the percentage of irrigation is 17 per 100 acres. This Commission also shows that irrigation facilities for the tribal areas exist only in the State of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madras, Orissa and Rajasthan; but even in these States the figures given in table 20 at page 153 of the Report, demonstrate the extreme backwardness of the tribal areas from the point of view of irrigation. The tribal areas have plenty of rainfall. Therefore there can be no difficulty about availability of water for storing. In Assam, the rainfall is very heavy and the crying need of the tribal areas is for extensive small irrigation channels and the terraced method of cultivation if they are to have enough food for their bare existence. The following extract from paragraph 13.35 of the Dhebar Commission Report is worth reproducing here:—

> 13.35. The problem of irrigation in the tribal areas has thus several facets. There are enormous difficulties We have an inescapable duty to stand by the tribals. Since agriculture will be the mainstay of their economy, their holdings will be small and there is chance of further fragmentation, the only solution is extensive cultivation if their economy is to be built up. Intensive cultivation is not possible without irrigation.

58. Table 1.12 shows the gross area irrigated under certain crops, but actually the only crop irrigated is rice. 99 per cent. of the gross area irrigated comes under rice only.

59. *Productivity*—The productivity of land in general in Assam is relatively high. This high productivity is due largely to the unique fertility of the Brahmaputra valley which is in fact the granary of Assam. The Brahmaputra flows through this fertile valley receiving in its course the drainage of the Himalayas in the north and the Assam range in the south. When the river does not get flooded too soon, excellent rice and jute crops are obtained from this tract. Behind this lowland lies the belt of permanent cultivation where a variety of food and cash crops such as rice, jute, potatoes, tobacco, oilseeds and pulses are raised. Overflowing of the river replenishes the soil every year by the deposition of silt. Hence this valley maintains

a high standard of fertility. Beyond this valley is the submontane tract with acidic soils which are ideally suited for tea cultivation. Rice, tea and sugarcane are the main crops in this tract. The entire valley enjoys copious rainfall for three quarters of the year, therefore irrigation is not so essential here for agricultural operations. On the other hand, incessant rains during the monsoon months cause floods which occasionally lead to serious damage to crops. The rainfall conditions in the lower Brahmaputra valley are ideal for rice and jute while those in the upper Brahmaputra valley are ideal for tea.

60. The Cachar valley is the second important crop region of Assam. Despite some differences in land formation and climatic condition, it repeats the broad pattern of the Brahmaputra valley. The rivers of the Cachar valley have at some points raised their beds above the level of the surrounding country, and this condition leads to regular flooding of the nearly areas which remain waterlogged even after the monsoon. Hence agriculture in rainy months is mainly confined to the high lands which are free from water-logging. In winter, however, the depressions grow excellent crops like pulses and oilseeds. The hill slopes leading to the valley grow tea. The soils are generally fertile due to annual depositing of silt. Despite the natural advantages of the terrain and soil fertility, the crop yields in the valley are relatively low, particularly those relating to jute and tea. This is mainly because of climatic handicaps.

61. Agriculture in the hills has a different character. Dry farming of rice, maize, millet, cotton, pineapples, oranges and potatoes is carried on in the burnt-up clearings of forests for a few years. When the fertility produced by ash dwindlings, new clearings are made. This practice of shifting cultivation is wasteful in several ways. It results in deforestation, erosion and loss of fertility. The hilly terrain, poor soils and primitive methods of cultivation are some of the causes of low productivity of agriculture in the hill districts.

62. Table 1.13 below gives the yield rates of principal crops in the different district of Assam in 1960-61.

Yield rates of principal crops 1960-61

TABLE 1.13

Yield in pound/acre as per crop cutting survey

State/District	Rice			Total Rice	Maize	Wheat	Gram	Other Cereals	Other Pulses	Tur or Arahar
	Autumn	Winter	Spring							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Assam	636	933	765	863	386	731	474	434	304	593
Goalpara	636	924	750	826	430	850	550	500	500	640
Kamrup	543	725	800	660	440	720	450	420	300	600
Darrang	680	929	948	870	450	450	500	400	300	650
Lakhimpur	627	1,018	950	990	475	..	..	400	300	540
Nowgong	636	1,011	750	937	430	400	450	..	200	657
Sibsagar	711	926	635	908	440	..	..	..	300	650
Cachar	921	1,112	800	1,072	450	..	..	..	300	650
Garo Hills	633	932	750	752	350	..	550	430	300	546
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	..	932	..	932	300	650	..	350	..	..
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	633	932	700	785	490	492	500	..	300	480
Mizo Hills	..	932	..	932	190	..	300	430	..	..

State/District	Potatoes	Sugarcane	Tobacco	Jute	Castor	Sesamum	Rape and Mustard	Linseed	Cotton
1	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Assam	4,271	30,680	644	1,096	312	420	340	328	64
Goalpara	4,255	31,403	700	921	300	410	364	350	64
Kamrup	4,559	22,474	700	967	300	400	214	320	64
Darrang	3,598	29,162	500	1,315	300	410	407	350	64
Lakhimpur	5,989	31,924	800	1,088	350	400	385	..	64
Nowgong	2,675	23,835	500	1,228	300	480	288	300	64
Sibsagar	5,525	37,465	750	1,088	300	410	572	350	64
Cachar	2,410	33,356	600	1,088	..	430	456	360	64
Garo Hills	4,264	31,403	500	1,088	300	440	338	..	64
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	4,264	..	500	..	..	..	..	..	64
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	4,264	31,403	455	1,088	300	415	338	400	64
Mizo Hills	4,264	31,403	640	..	..	310	..	..	64

63. *Main Crops other than Tea*—The farmers of Assam are dependent upon the cultivation of wet paddy to a larger extent than in other parts of India. Sali or winter paddy which is sown in the middle of the monsoon about August-September of each year, occupies more than three-quarter of the area under paddy, while the remaining paddy land is sown mainly with 'ahu' or autumn paddy and hill paddy during the early rains in March-April. About 83.3 per cent. of the total food crop area in Assam is paddy land and the potatoes, pulses, oil seeds etc.

64. Jute is the only cash crop of the plains of Assam, and after the partition of India, Assam and West Bengal are the main jute producers of India.

65. *Quality of Farming*—This is what Tor Fr. Rasmussen has to say about the quality of farming in Assam.—'The list of defects and deficiencies in the methods of Indian land utilisation is almost infinite. The productivity of the land is extremely low, the methods of cultivation are old fashioned and the small size of the holdings and fragmentation of the fields prohibit efficient production. The social system does not encourage initiative. Capital for investment in improved agricultural practice is not available. A short walk through a village is sufficient to see that Assam is no exception to the general rule. The small garden plots around the farmers' houses are badly cared for. The banana trees yield a small and low quality fruit. Filth and weeds are in abundance. The farmers of Assam harvest their fields only once a year. Yet they are better off than farmers elsewhere in India, because the rains never fail, and Assam has consequently never suffered from famine. In the nineteen-twenties and thirties Assam produced sufficient rice for its own consumption, but since the Second World War, rice and food grains have been imported. Improvement in agriculture could be made so that Assam would again become self supporting in rice and cereals.'

66. *Geology and Minerals*—The following paragraphs on Geology and Mining are supplied by the Directorate of Geology and Mining, Government of Assam. They, on their turn, collected the materials from the Geological Survey of India and other sources. They have also made their own contribution to bring the data up to date. I am grateful to Shri S. K. Barua, Director of Geology and Mining, Assam, for these paragraphs.

67. Of the geological history of the earth, only the early and late periods are recorded in Assam; the Palaeozoic and the greater part of the Mesozoic are missing. Only the Archaean, the late Cretaceous (Maestrichtian to Danian) and Tertiary and Quaternary are represented in Assam.

68. The geological succession is given in the table below from top downwards :—

TABLE 1.14

Recent and Pleistocene	Charali beds		Sand and silt
Ploicene	Dihing Series 2,000 to 6,000 ft.		Namsang Beds
Miocene	Tipam Series 3,600 to 14,000 ft.		Girujan Clays Tipam Sand stone
	Surma Series 500 to 13,000 ft.		Bokabil Stage Bhuban Stage
Oligocene	Barail Series 3,000 to 15,000 ft.	Titak bat Stage Borgolai Stage	Coal measures
Upper Eocene	Kopili Stage 1,500 ft.		Sandstone and shale Prang Limestone, Narpuh Sandstone Umlatdoh Limestone
Middle Eocene	Sylhet Limestone Stage, 800 ft.		Lakadong Sandstone with coal, Lakadong Limestone

TABLE 1.14—*concld.*

Recent and Pleistocene	Charali beds	Sand and Silt
Lower Eocene . . .	Therria Stage 300 ft.	Cherra Sandstone with coal
Upper Cretaceous . . .	Danian Langpar stage Maestrichtian Mahadev stage	Limestone, Calcareous shale etc. Arkose Conglomerate
Middle Jurassic . . .	..	Sylhet Trap, Mylliem granite with tourmaline and flourite veins
Pre-Cambrian and Dharwar .	..	Khasi greenstone, Scoriaceous lave and ash beds, Quartzites, sandstones, shales, slates, conglomerate, blue quartzites
		Aplites, Streaky gneisses, Hornblende—hematite-schist, Amphibilites, Hornblendebiotite gneises, Biotite-gneises Garnet-granulites

69. Pre-Cambrian rocks occur over the whole of the Shillong Plateau including the Garo Hills and the Mikir Hills except for the southern edge where rocks of younger ages outcrop. Outcrops of the Pre-Cambrian rocks are also seen near Tezpur, Silghat, Gauhati, Goalpara and Dhubri. Near Tezpur, Gauhati and Goalpara, the Brahmaputra is confined within these Pre-Cambrian rocks.

70. The Pre-Cambrian rocks occupy an area of 47,614 Km.^{2}

71. Although a fair knowledge of the stratigraphy of Assam is known through the labours of the Geological Survey of India and the Assam Oil Company, the same cannot be said of her mineral resources, which is still *terra incognita*. Of the major minerals, namely, coal and gas, limestone, sillimanite and corundum, refractory clay, kaolin, glass-sand, silica-rock, gold, copper, salt, felspar, vermiculite, fluorspar, beryl, iron and pyrite reported to occur in the State, coal, oil and gas, limestone, refractory clays, fireclay, glass-sand, salt, gypsum and pyrite occur in the younger sedimentary rocks belonging to the late Cretaceous and ertiary. The rest occurs in sedimentary and igneous rocks of Pre-Cambrian age.

72. Of these only four, namely, coal, oil and gas, limestone and sillimanite are being exploited at present. Among minor minerals, brick and tile clays, road metal and railway ballast from various types of rocks such as quartzite, trap, gneisses, granite, rubbles and kermstones from Shillong quartzites and Cherra sandstones are being used.

73. The geographical disposition of the sedimentary rocks determine the location of extraction of the minerals contained in them.

74. The details of some of the minerals mentioned above are given below:—

1. COAL.

75. Coal occurs in three horizons in the stratigraphical column; namely, Cherra (Tura) Stage, Lakadong Sandstone Stage and in the Tikak Parbat Stage.

76. The coal seams of Garo Hills, Borsora, Laitryngew, Mawbehlarkar, Umreling, Bapung and Mikir Hills belong to the Cherra (Tura) Sandstone Stage.

77. The hidden coalfield in Garo Hills extending from south of Tura, the district headquarters, to Baljong, south east of the district, contains at least one 1.5m (5 ft.) seam over an area of 518 km^2 and has a reserve of 1,000 million tons of coal. At Walong two seams are seen.

78. In West Daranggiri Coalfield, drilling has proved the existence of a main seam of average 1.5 metres thickness with a reserve of 125 million tons. The field extends into the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District which has not yet been explored.

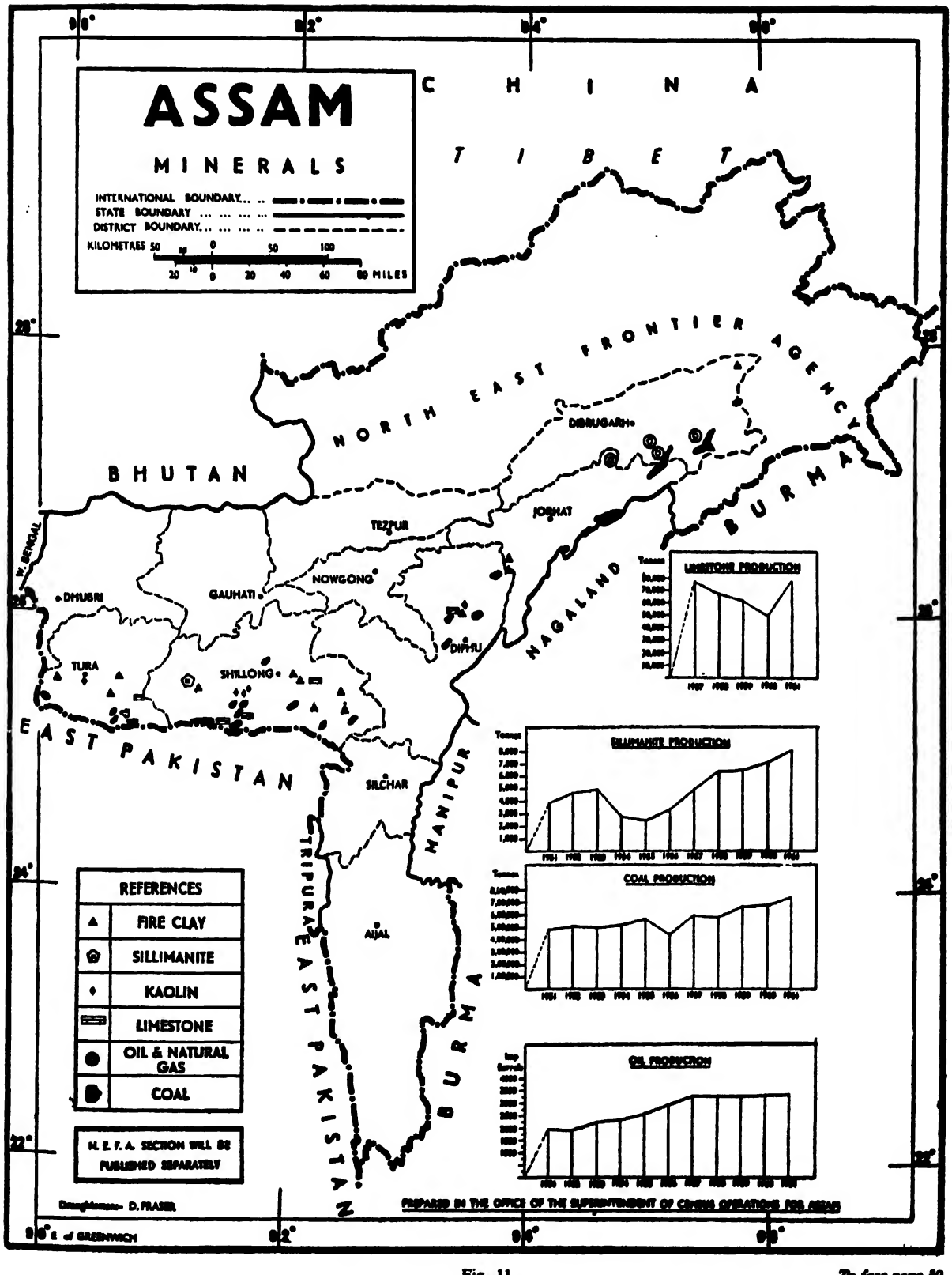

Fig. 11

To face page 30

79. Coal of the next higher horizon occurs at Lakadong. Sandstone occurs at Mawmluh near Cherrapunjee, Thanjinath near Pynursla and at Lakadong.

80. The Mawmluh coalfield is nearly worked out. The Thanjinath field is being worked. Lakadong is still a virgin field.

81. Coal occurs in the Tikak Parbat Stage of the Barail Series. The botton 120 metres of this stage is very carbonaceous, and includes one seam in the Makum Coalfield varying in thickness from 18 metres to nearly 30 metres and another 6 metre thick besides a number of thinner ones.

82. To the southeast the seams thin out, but are still workable. This coal-bearing horizon is of great areal extent as revealed in the oil wells drilled at Naharkatiya and Rudrasagar.

83. In a north east-south west direction it extends from Tipongpani to Nichuguard, a distance of 300 Km. On the west 50 Km away from the main outcrop, 5 seams of coal varying in the thickness from 45 metres to 1.5 metres are encountered in the Disangmukh oil-well from 2,860 metres to 3,030 metres in depth. In the Naharkatiya well No. 39, 7 seams were met varying in thickness from 0.3 metre to 1.5 metres.

84. From the evidence available in the oil wells, it is abundantly clear that folding has not only brought the coal seams near the surface where erosion has exposed them on surface for exploitation, but has greatly enriched them in rank and value by metamorphism.

85. In the Makum coalfield alone the reserves have been estimated at 1,000 million tons. The reserves estimated in the Namphuk area is 600 million tons.

86. The chemical composition of the coals from the different coalfields is given in the table below :--

TABLE 1.15

Coalfield (1)	Composition in percentage by weight						
	M (2)	Ash (3)	V M (4)	F C (5)	S (6)	C V (7)	
1. Walong—							
(a) Upper seam	3·53	9·6	43·99	43·41	3·06	7,457 Cal.	
(b) Lower seam	2·91	3·40	33·50	60·19	2·14	7,809 Cal	
2. Deranggiri	14·8	7·7	37·3	46·9	.	4,136 K. Cal.	
3. Lai Lyngew	1·4	11·5	41·2	45·9	..	12,710 BTU	Coking Index 26 BSS
4. Umreling (Slack)	6·06	16·09	47·37	32·48	..	..	Non-coking
5. Mipung	4·20	2·30	41·30	52·30	..	12,900 BTU	.
6. Mawbehlarkar	4·18	20·06	36·12	39·64	2·16	9,819 BTU	
7. Koilajan	6·70	18·80	49·00	25·50	4·20	11,020 BTU	
8. Dilli Collieries—							
(a) Seam 1	6·30	1·40	42·80	49·50	1·31	12,990	BTU
(b) Seam 2	5·30	4·10	43·90	46·70	2·58	12,740	,,
(c) Seam 3	5·90	5·50	41·60	47·00	4·68	12,150	,,
(d) Seam 4	5·60	6·30	40·50	47·60	4·53	11,730	,,
9. Namdang	2·10	19·30	35·40	43·00	5·57	14,308	,,
10. Borgolai	2·40	4·80	42·20	50·60	2·35	13,670	,,
11. Ledo	1·80	2·46	40·15	55·59	..	..	..
12. Tipong	2·50	5·90	43·70	50·80	2·52	13,870	BTU
13. Disangmukh borehole	16·30	1·70	37·00	37·40	..	..	..

2. OIL

87. Like coal, oil also occurs in three stratigraphical horizons in the geological column. The earliest field to be exploited was the Digboi oilfield in the northest corner of the State and till the Naharkatiya oilfield was discovered in 1953, this remained the only oilfield in independent India with an annual production of 0.27 million tons.

88. Here oil comes from twenty separate sands occurring at intervals throughout a thickness of over 3,000 feet of the Tipam Stage.

89. In the Badarpur oilfield, there were 5 oil-bearing sands, four of which were in the lower part of the Lower Bhubans and the fifth at the top of the Barail Series (Renji stage). The production rose to 1,000 barrels per day in 1920 but fell to 360 barrels; and due to the high water/oil ratio of 50/1 the field was abandoned. In the Masimpur oilfield also oil was found in the Lower Bhubans. This oilfield was poor and the production decreased from mere 25,780 gallons in 1928 to 520 gallons in 1930. Structurally though complex a proper assessment of the prospect of the Masimpur structure does not appear to have been done as yet since the required drilling to 10,000 feet has not been done.

90. The Kulerai oilfield, is next to the Patharia oilfield, which is now in Pakistan. Testing in the Patharia oilfield during 1951 and 1953 failed to find oil.

91. All this was rather disappointing but the discovery of oil at Naharkatiya in 1953, has radically changed the prospects for oil in Assam. In the past, oil was found in higher horizons, namely, in the Tipams and the Surmas—although a little was found in the top of the Barails and in sharply folded anticlines. At Naharkatiya oil was found in the Barails, in very gently folded beds with definite dips on the flanks, but rather indefinite pitches, and oil was found not only in structural traps but also in fault traps and especially in areas with a thick cover of alluvium and at greater depth than tested before.

92. Subsequently oil was found at Moran and again at Rudrasagar.

93. Extensive drilling following aero-magnetic and seismic surveys has shown that the basement is not only warped to give the structural traps for oil in the overlying beds but is itself tilted eastward and rises to the surface in the Miju Hills to the north forming in their front the deepest furrow at the head of the valley. The whole of the alluvial tract in Upper Assam has become oil prospective. If what a team of German experts has opined is true that although oil today is found in the Barails, it must have originated in horizons further below, the prospects become vast indeed.

94. In the Naharkatiya oilfield (including Moran) the reserves of crude oil are estimated at 47 million metric tonnes, and of associated and dry gas 790,000 million cubic feet.

95. Oil also occurs at the foot of the Shillong Plateau near the Khasimara river and Narpuh Reserved Forest, which both areas acquire importance with our changed outlook on oil prospects in Assam, especially in view of the fact that close to these occurrences in East Pakistan natural gas in commercial quantities has been found at Rashidpur and Haripur.

96. The limestone deposits in Assam belong to the two geological periods, the Cretaceous and the Middle Eocene. In the Middle Eocene, limestones occur at three horizons. One of the largest outcrops is at the foot of the Khasi Hills ranging for a distance of 64 km. from Theriaghat to Chargaon, west of the Jadukata river. This is the famous Sylhet limestone of trade. It belongs to the Prang horizon of the Sylhet Limestone Stage and contains about 500 million tons. To the west are the Siju Limestones of Garo Hills. The Mawmluh limestone of Cherrapunjee belongs to the Lakadong horizon and has a reserve of 40 million tons. The Garampani limestone on the Kopili is of Prang horizon and the Lumshnong limestone of Umlatdoh horizon.

97. The Koilajan limestone with a reserve of 30 million tons is of Lakadong limestone horizon.

98. The 15 m. thick Umstew, Mawkma and the Laitryngew limestone belongs to the Upper Cretaceous.

99. The composition and reserves of the different limestones are shown in the table below:—

Composition in Percentage by weight

Locality	Composition in Percentage by weight					
	CaO	MgO	Fe_2O_3	Al_2O_3	Insolubles	Reserves
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1 Therriaghat	50·00	1·20	..	.	..	500 million tons
2 Kommorah	51 97	1·16	1·11	.	1·90	
3 Siju . .	50·82	1 07	1·01	1·63	3·10	..
4 Umstew .	50·78	1 55	0 90	.	6·73	..
5 Mawkma .	53·20	2 04	0 90	..	1 51	..
6 Garampani	50·43	1 37	1 43	.	3 77	..
7 Koilajan .	47·00	1·29	.	..	8·16	31 million tons
8 Mawmluh .	51·24	1 90	0 30	..	1·30	42 million tons

3. SILLIMANITE

100. Geologically the sillimanite and corundum deposits belong to the Archaean. The deposits are situated at Nongstoin in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and are about 118 km. to the south-west of Gauhati. The average composition of the sillimanite is 35 pct. SiO_2 62.28 pct. alumina, 1.74 pct. Fe_2O_3; 0.18 pct. titania, trace of lime and 0.13 pct. MgO. The mineral has a specific gravity of 3.23 and the reserves have recently been estimated at two million tons.

101. The Assam sillimanite is in the form of massive rock from which cubes can be sawn for direct use in furnaces. The largest boulder of massive sillimanite found here was estimated to weigh 300 tons.

4. REFRACTORY CLAY

102. Stratigraphically the white refractory clays occur at the base of the Eocene forming at places the basal bed of the Therria Stage. The clay itself is a sorted decomposition product of the Archaean gneisses. These occur at many places in the Garo and Mikir Hills. Recent analysis of the clay is 44.64 pct. SiO_2 3, 49 pct. Al_2O_3, 1.98 pct. Fe_2O_3, 1.91 pct. TiO_2, 0.16 pct. CaO, trace of MgO, 0.05 pct. K_2O, 0.03 pct. Na_2O and 14.20 pct. loss on ignition. It has a refractoriness of Orton Cone 33 to 34, and as reported by the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, is quite suitable for the manufacture of refractories.

5. FIRE-CLAY

103 Fireclay occurs with the coal seams in Makum Coalfield. The refractoriness of the clays varies from Orton Cone 20 to 30.

6. KAOLIN

104. This is a very recent find and like the kaolin of Cornwall is a product of kaolinization of the Mylliem granite. Three deposits have been located, one near Mawphlang, one near Thadlaskein and the third near Laitlyngkot. Only the Mawphlang kaolin has been investigated. The clay after washing has the following composition:

49.55 pct SiO_2, 36.97 pct. Al_2O_3, 043 pct. Fe_2O_3, CaO nil, 0.41 pct. Alkalies and 12.63 pct. loss on ignition.

After firing the material was white and showed slight vitrification at 1400° C.

7. GLASS-SAND

105. One deposit of glass sand is reported from east of the Simsong near Siju, where the sand has the following composition; 98 pct. SiO_2, iron in trace, 1.60 pct. Al_2O_3, CaO and MgO traces and loss on ignition 0.44 pct.; but the deposit is rather inaccessible. Recently deposits of glass sand have been found near Laitryngew coalfield. The composition of the sand is 99.41 pct. SiO_2, 0.21 pct. Al_2O_3, 0.12 pct. Fe_2O_3, trace of TiO_2, CaO and MgO nil, traces of alkalies. These are now under test by the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta.

8. SILICA ROCK

106. Deposits of silica rock have been located about 16 km. from Shillong. An analysis of the rock gave the following results: 97.46 pct. SiO_2, 1.18 pct. Al_2O_3. 0.44 pct. Fe_2O_3, and 0.48 pct. CaO.

9. GOLD

107. Alluvial gold occurs in many of the rivers of Assam such as the Dikrang, Borpani, Subansiri, Sissi, Dihing, Dibong, Jagio, Noa-Dihing in the Lakhimpur District; the Dhansiri, Disoi, Jongi and Buri Dihing in the Sibsagar District, the Bhoroli, Burigang and Bargang river, in the Darrang District.

108. The source of the gold has not been traced so far, but it is likely that these sources are not within the geographical boundaries of the State. Although gold-bearing sand used to be panned in ancient times it is now no longer an economic proposition.

109. Recently, gold has been found in the rocks at Mawphlang, 15 miles south-west of Shillong.

10. COPPER

110. Occurrence of copper has been reported from three places, one near Baraduar in Kamrup District, another near Mahamaya Hills in Goalpara District, and the third at Ryngud in the Cherrapunjee area. The first two occur in rocks of the Archaean age. Because of the small and scattered show of the ore and the concealed nature of the host rock, the occurrences have not received so far the attention due to them, but a beginning has been made.

11. SALT

111. Brine springs occur in Cachar and Mizo Districts in various places and salt was made in the past in the north-west corner of the Hailakandi valley. Similarly, salt was made near Sadiya and Borhat in Lakhimpur District. When salt became easily available in the market, these occurrences in rather difficult terrain lost their importance. Now that the country has been opened out and possibility of industrial uses of salt is foreseen, these occurrences require detailed investigation.

12. FELSPAR

112. Felspar occur almost ubiquitiously in the gneissic areas of the Khasi, Garo and Mikir Hills. Samples taken from one deposit in Mikir Hills gave the following analysis; 63.63 pct. SiO_2, 20.49 pct. Al_2O_3, 0.66 pct. Fe_2O_3, CaO nil, MgO trace, 6.24 pct. Na_2O, 8.70 pct. K_2O and 0.28 pct. loss on ignition.

13. VERMICULITE

113. Vermiculite has been found near Nartiang in the Jowai Subdivision of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

14. FLUORSPAR

114. Recently flourspar has been detected in small veins in the Mylliem granite. The present discovery has importance far greater than the possible occurrence of commercial deposits of the mineral. Together with kaolinization of granite and the occurrence of veins of tourmalines, it points to the possible occurrence of valuable deposits of pneumatolytic origin and especially as the batholith has not been exposed to its barren core by erosion.

15. BERYL

115. Beryl has been reported from some of the pegmatite veins in the gneissic area in the Mikir Hills.

16. GYPSUM

116. Crystals of selenite have been found near Longloi in the Mikir Hills but no deposits have been discovered so far. It has, however, been reported that gypsiferous shale occurs in the Dimasa Reserve Forest in the Mikir Hills.

17. IRON-ORE

117. Quartz-magnetite rocks have been reported from near Hahim in Kamrup District. These rocks belong to the Dharwar system. Systematic prospecting in the area is being taken up.

18. PYRITE

118. During investigation of the Laitryngew coalfield last field season, officers of the Directorate were able to locate a deposit of pyrite in the coalfield, where the pyrite-bearing sandstone is one metric thick and the content of pyrite in the bed is 12 pct. Analysis of a sample of the pyrite gave 36.24 pct. sulphur.

19. PRODUCTION OF MINERALS

119. The total value of the major minerals produced in the State during 1960 was Rs. 675,29,000. The output and value of each individual mineral are as follows: 663,000 tonnes of coal valued at Rs. 187,57,000; 49,000 tonnes of limestone valued at Rs. 3,81,000; 118,304,000 gallons of crude oil valued at Rs. 479,73,000; 530,482,492 cubic feet of natural gas valued at Rs. 21,74,160 and 7,000 tons of sillimanite valued at Rs. 3,38,000. Contribution from the mining section to the State National Income of Assam constituted 1.6 per cent. during 1960-61.

120. Of the output of coal, 44 per cent. was consumed by the railways, 14 per cent. by steam ships, 19 per cent. by the tea gardens and 23 per cent. by miscellaneous consumers during 1962. 48,440 tons of limestone were used for the manufacture of cement in East Pakistan, and the rest for the production of lime, also in East Pakistan.

121. The average number of labour daily employed in the mines of the above minerals was 5,741 distributed as follows: Coal 3,684; limestone 202; oil and natural gas 1,721 and sillimanite 134.

122. The productivity of persons engaged in mines other than oil wells was Rs. 7,250. Revenue from mines and minerals is budgetted at Rs. 1,55,59,000 for 1963-64 forming 1.8 per cent. of the total State revenue.

20. EXISTING MINERAL INDUSTRIES

123. At present coal-mining, both opencast and underground, oil and gas production, limestone and sillimanite quarrying, quarrying of clay, road metal and railway ballast are the only type of mining in the State. The mineral-based industries are bee-hive, coke making, oil refining, distribution of gas for industrial purposes (such as power generation and tea drying) calcining of petroleum coke, stone-crushing, brick and tile making, household clay hollow-wares. A thermal plant of 69 MW capacity and a fertilizer plant with a capacity of 50,000 tonnes of urea and 100,000 tonnes of ammonium sulphate a year and a 5 MW thermal plant based on site coal are now under construction and will go into production in 1965.

21. PROSPECTIVE INDUSTRIES

124. Planning means holding before the mind's eye a picture of development through stages based mainly on available resources. Of the mineral resources of the State, an audit has been given above. Some of the industries for which there are potentialities are enumerated below.

125. (a) *Cement*—All limestone in Assam is cement-grade. Of these deposits, those at Mawmluh and Koilajan are eminently suitable for manufacture of cement from the points of communication and occurrence of coal, clay and water in close proximity.

126. At Mawmluh, coal and clay occur within 3 miles of the limestone deposit. The place is connected with a good surfaced road and power of the required quantity will be available at reasonable rate. Water is also available.

127. At Koilajan, all the other raw materials including water are available at site. The place is only 15 miles from the nearest railhead and is a good site for location of a cement factory.

128. (b) *Calcium Carbide*-Limestone of suitable quality is available in the State as will be seen from the analysis given under "Limestone" above. In fact, Sylhet Limestone is imported to Calcutta to mix with other limestone to raise the grade for production of calcium carbide. Petroleum coke for electrodes or for admixture with the coke is produced at Gauhati. Bee-hive coke is available at Margherita and also charcoal of low phosphorus content as per analysis below:—

Moisture . . .	7.8 per cent.
Ash	3.0 per cent.
Volatile Matter .	21.3 per cent.
Fixed Carbon . .	67.9 per cent.
P_2O_5 . . .	0.057 per cent.

129. With the commissioning of the Umiam Project, power will also be available.

130. (c) *Pottery*—The raw materials for a pottery high grade china clay, felspar and quartz silica rock are available as will be seen from the analysis of the different minerals given earlier. At present about 500 to 600 tons of crockery and other porcelain articles are imported into the State. A preliminary project report into the State. A preliminary project report is being drawn up by Japan Consulting Institute in Calcutta.

131. (d) *High Tension Insulator*—Here also the raw materials for the manufacture of high tension insulators are available in the State. Endeavours are being made to have pilot plant tests made of the indigenous raw materials at the Government Porcelain Factory at Bangalore.

132. (e) *Glazed stone-ware pipes*—With a growing awareness in sanitary conveniences among the people, and the growth of a number of industrial towns as Duliajan, Namrup,

etc. the demand for stone-ware pipes is daily growing. The best location is close to Koilajan where the required materials occur and railway transport is available. The chemical composition of the raw-materials have been given under the appropriate heads.

133. (f) *Clay refractories*—The demand for clay refractories in Assam is of the order of 5,00,000 numbers annually, mostly for the tea gardens. The thermal plants also require these but the demand has not been surveyed. The white clay at Koilajan are quite extensive and will meet the demand both for stone-ware pipes and refractories. With an industrial complex growing around Koilajan other conveniences will follow.

134. (g) *Glass-wares*—To-day Assam is importing about 500 tons of glass-ware annually, a demand that will easily support an economic plant. Glass sands are locally available as mentioned above under the appropriate head. Good quality limestone is also available. Heavy soda ash will have to be brought from outside. Good quality coals is also available. Tank furnaces are the present practice for glass melting for glass bottles. Sillimanite blocks are the lining materials which are produced in the State. Gauhati would be a good location for the plant.

135. (h) *Petro-Chemicals*—In the Naharkatiya-Moran oilfield, a reserve of 790,000 million cubic feet of natural gas both associated and dry has been proved, which will ultimately give a daily output of nearly 100 million cubic feet. Of this daily output about 20 million cubic feet will be required by the oilfield, 19 million cubic feet will be consumed by the Fertilizer plant, 21 million cubic feet by the Thermal plant and 4 million cubic feet by the Gas Distribution Scheme leaving a balance of 46 million cubic feet on which petro-chemical industries can be based.

136. The composition of the piped gas will be as follows:—

Methane . .	90.40 per cent
Ethane . . .	5.08 per cent.
Propane . . .	2.84 per cent.
Iso-butane . .	0.47 per cent
N-Butane . .	0.66 per cent
Iso-pentane . .	0.55 per cent.
N-pentane . .	0.55 per cent
Hexenes + . .	0.55 per cent
Carbon dioxide .	Nil
Hydrogen Sulphide .	Nil
Acid . . .	Nil

137. Acrylic fibre, polyethylene, carbon-black, synthetic rubber are the main products envisaged.

138. *Industries*—Assam's industries can be classified into four groups according to the basic raw materials processed: (i) Agro-based industry, (ii) Mineal-based industry, (iii) Forest-based industry and (iv) Miscellaneous. The first group can again be sub-divided into (a) Tea manufacturing, (b) Food processing and sugar and (c) Textiles; while the second group can be sub-divided into (a) Metallic industry, (b) Non-metallic and (c) Chemical industry.

139. *Tea Industry*—The major industry of Assam is the manufacturing of tea. It forms nearly 64 per cent. of the net income of the industrial sector. Assam State's income is largely influenced by the boom and slump of its tea industry. The tea industry is, in a way, the economic barometer of Assam. The tea industry of Assam has a place of special importance in the Indian economy as a substantial earner of foreign exchange. In 1955-56 Assam tea had the distinction of earning the peak income in foreign exchange, amounting to Rs. 79.4 crores for the country. Tea industry contributes a great deal of income to the Central Government through various taxes such as excise duty, export duty and cess under the Tea Act.

140. *Food Processing*—Food processing industries consists largely of rice, oil and flour mills along with a few bakery, fruit canning and dairy units. Rice mills are largely concentrated in Kamrup and Nowgong districts. The majority of the oil mills function jointly with the rice mills. Factories other than bakery under the food processing group are seasonal in character.

141. *Sugar Manufacturing*—The only sugar factory of Assam was opened at Baruabamungaon in Sibsagar district, with a capacity of 800 tons a day. Although Assam has

enormous potentialities for cane cultivation, and is almost ideal for sugar manufacture, the expansion is being delayed partly because of the severe competition from Khandasari and gur which are practically untaxed. Moreover, cane growing is so scattered that feeding a sugar mill regularly in normal crushing season is difficult. Because of the high cost of production, the sugar mill has been more or less a losing concern.

142. The textile industry of Assam consists of cotton ginning and baling centres, weaving institute and knitting mills. In spite of the traditional skill in handloom products, the industry is perhaps the least developed industry in Assam.

143. *Metallic Industry.*—The metal-based industry comprises of engineering works, railway workshops, motor vehicle repairing works and so on. About half of the workers in this category of industry are employed by the railway workshops. There are two fairly big engineering workshops at Tinsukia and Digboi. The majority of the factories are small-sized and ill-equipped, devoted mainly to repairing services. During the Second Plan period a few engineering workshops, mostly small, have come up in the private sector. A re-rolling mill in Gauhati and a steel mill in Tinsukia of Lakhimpur district were started. Two bicycle factories have also been established, one at Gauhati and the other at Nowgong. Besides, many small and medium-sized units manufacturing various products such as aluminium utensils, cycle parts, trunks and buckets, tube-well pipes, etc. are also in operation.

144. The following is a list of different types of registered factories under this group:—

Railway workshops	9
Tramway workshop	1
Marine Engine building and repairing	1
Repairing of Motor vehicles and Cycles	33
Bicycle	2
Basic metal (Ferros)	2
Tube-making and wire-drawing	1
Non-Ferros	1
Trunks, etc.	6
Locks	1
Bolts, nuts, etc.	2
Welding	2
Others	4
General and jobbing engineering	54
Agricultural implements	2

145. *Non-metallic Industry*—The pre-eminent non-metallic industry is oil-refining at Digboi. The Digboi oil field is producing approximately 0.27 million tons of oil per year and supplies one-tenth of India's petroleum consumption. This oilfield is considered a declining one and may not be able to continue operation beyond ten years. Two new Assam oilfields, one at Nahorkatiya and the other at Moran, are being developed giving rise to two refineries—one at Gauhati and the other at Barauni with capacities of 0.75 million tons and 2 million tons of petroleum per year.

146. *Chemical Industry*—Up to the end of the Second Five Year Plan, Assam's chemical industry was specialised in manufacturing of match. The match industry based on simul tree is a high revenue yielder and has an expanding internal market. There are at present three match factories—one in Goalpara, one in Cachar and the other in Lakhimpur district. The bigger one is located at Dhubri in Goalpara district.

147. The Central Government has taken over the utilisation and development of natural gas. A thermal power plant and a fertiliser plant are coming up in the public sector during the Third Plan period at Namrup near Nahorkatiya. A cement plant with an installed capacity of 400 tons a day is also coming up in the public sector at Cherrapunji.

148. *Forest-based Industries*—Saw milling and plywood industry fall in this group. Till

1950-51 saw milling was the only industry in this group. It was only from 1955-56 that a few plywood factories started functioning. At present there are 149 saw mills and 24 plywood factories operating in Assam.

149. *Miscellaneous Industries* - This group comprises of printing presses, bricks and tiles, ice manufacturing, distilleries, electric light and power, water supply stations, etc. The following is a list of such industries with the number of units shown against each type: —

Types	*No. of units*
Distillery (spirit)	1
Printing Presses	22
Electricity light & power . .	29
Brick & tiles manufacturing . .	2
Stones dressing & crushing . .	1
Manufacturing of ice . . .	1
Water supply stations . . .	4

150. *Fisheries*—Assam is one of the major fish producing States in India so far as fresh water fish is concerned. Fishery statistics are completely lacking, but it is estimated by the State Fisheries Department that the present total annual production is of the order of 0.5 million maunds, or a little over 18,000 metric tons. Imports of fresh fish from East Pakistan during 1952-56 are believed to have averaged about 7,000 tons per annum. The figures of present imports are not known, but it is probable that approximately the same quantity of fish is still reaching Assam from this source, either by legitimate trade or through smuggling across the border. Against this, there are exports of over 2,000 tons of fresh fish to West Bengal; and some quantities of dry fish possibly of the order of 15,000 maunds in terms of fresh fish, to Manipur and NEFA. If the assumption about present imports from East Pakistan is correct, the balance of imports over exports would be about 0.12 million maunds. The net availability of fish in Assam is thus about 0.62 million maunds. The *per capita* consumption for the fish-eating population is about 6.20 lbs. per annum, against the all-India figure of about 9.5 lbs.

151. The demand for fish in Assam is very large and practically every one in Assam eats fish. Every kind of fish from the tiny minnows to the large-sized cat fishes and carps are consumed in one form or other. A considerable section of the people are professional or amateur fishermen, and the culture of fish in household tanks and ponds is a traditional occupation in many parts of Assam.

152. The main sources of fish production in Assam are the natural fisheries of the rivers and their tributaries and beels. Most of these fisheries are owned by Government. The most important riverine system for fisheries in the State is the Brahmaputra and its tributaries. The Barak river also contributes an appreciable quantity of fish. Hilsa fish is of considerable quantity in the Brahmaputra and Barak rivers. The present total catch of riverine fish in Assam is estimated by the Fisheries Department to be at 0.23 million maunds per year, valued at Rs. 137.1 lakhs.

153. The total area of beels in Assam is not known, but is believed to be very large. The total catch from beel fisheries is estimated by the State Fisheries Department to be at 0.25 million maunds per year. Some beels have been reclaimed and are under reclamation. Three beels, one each in Cachar, Kamrup and Tezpur districts, with a total area of about 120 acres have been reclaimed at a cost of Rs. 31,000 approximately.

154. During the last few years, the Fisheries Department in Assam has been undertaking a programme for the reclamation of derelict tanks, swamps and other water areas and converting them into fish farms. Many of the reclaimed swamps, ponds and tanks are being managed departmentally and in at least some of these, the production is low and the cost of production is believed to be rather excessive. Besides reclamation, the Fisheries Department have been undertaking other developmental work, an account of which target and achievements is given below for the Second Five Year Plan period.

Allotment and expenditure for centrally assisted and miscellaneous sources
Second Five Year Plan 1956-61

TABLE 1.16

(Rs in Lakhs)

Name of Scheme	Plan outlay (1956 61)	1956-57		1957 58		1958-59		1959-60		1960 61	
		Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation (P C Adjusted)	Expenditure (Actual)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A.—*Centrally Assisted-Group-4—Fisheries—*											
Dist Staff Organisation	3 32	0 36	045	0 50	0 449	0 72	0 605	0 839	0 839	1 15	1 02
Demonstration Fish Farm	6 65	1 10	0 485	1 25	1 184	1 99	1 978	2 00	1 698	2 13	2 31
Seed Collection, distribution	5 70	1 70	0 543	0 90	1 68	1 05	0 931	1 58	1 297	1 36	1 09
Dev of Forest Fisheries	0 95	0 20	0 11	0 15	0 143	0 15	0 14	20	0 103	0 15	0 08
Dev of Hill Fisheries	0 95	0 20	0 111	0 20	0 13	0 18	0 291	0 189	0 297	0 30	0 52
Training and Research Organisation	4 75	0 90	0 111	0 80	0 626	0 85	0 687	0·833	0 693	0·90	0 41
Reclamation of Natural Fisheries	9 02	1 31	0 29	1 75	1 512	1 90	1 138	2·048	1 675	1 60	1 75
Dev and Organisation of Fishermen Cooperative	1 90	0 13	0·009	0 25	0·193	0 55	0 212	0 476	0 257	0 50	0 26
Dev of Fisheries in Umtro Project	0 48			0·10	0·095	0 14	0 074	0 12	0 037	0 10	0 05
Survey of Fisheries and Collection of Statistics										0 14	
Issue of Loan	2 38	0 50	0 475	0 50	0 423	0 50	0 495	0 50	0 45	0·70	0 70
Total .	36 10	5 40	2 179	6 40	5 435	7 73	6 151	8 485	7 346	9·03	8 19
B —*Misc Development Scheme*											
Head Quarter Staff .	1 90	0 16	0·077	0 25	0 175	0 33	0 268	0 34	0 288	0 37	0 30
Conservation Fisheries .	0 95	0 05	0 039	0 15	0 02	0 15	0 019	0 175	0·058	0 10	0 03
Total .	2 85	0 21	0 116	0 40	0 195	0 48	0 287	0 515	0·346	0·47	0·33
GRAND TOTAL .	38·95	5 61	2 295	6 80	5 63	8 21	6 438	9 00	7 69[illegible]	9 50	8·52

Central assistance received for Centrally assisted scheme
Second Five Year Plan 1956-61

TABLE 1.17

(Rs. in Lakhs)

Name of Group/Scheme	1955-56			1957-58			1958-59			1959-60			1960-61			Remarks
	Total	Loan	Grant	Total	Loan	Grant	Total	Loan	Grant	Total	Loan	Grant	Total	Loan	Grant	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Group 4—Fisheries	2,023	2,014	0,009	3,088	1,737	1,351	3,41	3,27	0,16	5,63	2,69	2,94	6,12	2,86	3,26	

N.B.—1. The Central assistance as sanctioned by the centre for the year 1958-59 and 1959-60 has not yet been accepted by the Department. The matter has already been referred to the Finance Department and their decision is awaited.

155. *Tribes and Castes*—Assam is a land of many Castes and Tribes. Besides the Castes and Tribes who are indigenous to the State, Assam is also a land where various Castes and Tribes from various parts of India have come to live and make it their home. Most of the tribes have come from Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and West Bengal to work in the tea gardens. Originally, they were imported into Assam by the Controller of Emigrant Labour in the days when it was not possible to get any local labour to work in the tea gardens. Later, when Assam has become more developed, many of these tribes came of their own accord to join their kith and kin in Assam. Many of them have settled themselves on lands either in the tea-garden areas or outside tea estates and they are now called ex-tea-garden labourers. The number of such tribes is now so big in Assam that it is no longer necessary to recruit any further labour from outside for work in the tea gardens. Since they have not been separately censused in 1941, 1951 and 1961, it is not possible to gauge their exact number now, but by projecting from the available data of 1931, it may be assumed that their number is not less than 16 lakhs now in Assam. Tea-garden tribes are not recognized as Scheduled Tribes in Assam under the provisions of the Fifth and Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.

156. Among the non-scheduled castes of Assam, the most numerous are Assamese and Bengalis of the higher castes. Muslims have no castes and they have been classified as 'Others' in the same category as the Hindus of higher castes and tea-garden tribes. Tribals may belong to any religion, but Scheduled Castes must belong only to Hindu or Sikh religions. It therefore follows that on conversion to any other religion, a Scheduled Caste person ceases to be Scheduled Caste.

157. Only Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have been enumerated in the 1961 Census. It is perhaps necessary to know who are the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes of Assam. The Constitution of India has not defined the term 'Scheduled Tribe' or 'Scheduled Caste', but according to Article 342, the President may specify by public notification a List of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists Modification Order, 1956. Assam has a list of 16 Scheduled Castes with 9 synonyms and a list of 35 Scheduled Tribes with 45 sub-tribes and synonyms. The Scheduled Castes are : 1. Bansphor. 2. Bhuinmali or Mali. 3. Brittial-Bania or Bania. 4. Dhupi or Dhobi. 5. Dugla or Dholi. 6. Hira. 7. Jalkeot. 8. Jhalo, Malo or Jhalo-Malo. 9. Kaibartta or Jaliya. 10. Lalbegi. 11. Mahara. 12. Mehtar or Bhangi. 13. Muchi or Rishi. 14. Namasudra. 15. Patni. 16. Sutradhar; and the Scheduled Tribes are:—

1. In the Autonomous Districts:

1. Chakma. 2. Dimasa (Kachari). 3. Garo. 4. Hajong. 5. Hmar. 6. Khasi and Jaintia (including Khasi, Synteng or Pnar, War, Bhoi or Lyngngam). 7. Any Kuki Tribes, including (i) Biate or Biete (ii) Changsan (iii) Chongloi (iv) Doungel (v) Gamalhou (vi) Gangte (vii) Guite (viii) Hanneng (ix) Haokip or Haupit (x) Haolai (xi) Hengna (xii) Hongsungh (xiii) Hrangkhwal or Rangkhol (xiv) Jongbe (xv) Khawchung (xvi) Khawathlang or Khothalong (xvii) Khelma (xviii) Kholhou (xix) Kipgen (xx) Kuki (xxi) Lengthang (xxii) Lhangum (xxiii) Lhoujem (xxiv) Lhouvun (xxv) Lupheng (xxvi) Mangjel (xxvii) Misao (xxviii) Riang (xxix) Sairhem (xxx) Selnam (xxxi) Singson (xxxii) Sitlhou (xxxiii) Sukte (xxxiv) Thado (xxxv) Thangngeu (xxxvi) Uibuh (xxxvii) Vaiphei 8. Lakher 9. Man (Tai-Speaking) 10. Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes 11. Mikir 12. Any Naga Tribes 13. Pawi 14. Synteng.

2 In the Tribal Areas other than the Autonomous Districts:—

All Tribes of North East Frontier Agency including:

1. Abor 2. Aka 3. Apatani 4. Dafla 5. Galong 6. Khampti 7. Khowa 8. Mishmi 9. Momba 10. Any Naga Tribes 11. Sherdukpen 12. Singpho.

3. In the State of Assam excluding the Tribal Areas:—

1. Barmans in Cachar 2. Boro-Borokachari 3. Deori 4. Hojai 5. Kachari including Sonwal 6. Lalung 7. Mech 8. Miri 9. Rabha.

158. It may be noted that the Scheduled Castes are regarded as such throughout the State of Assam, but the Scheduled Tribes are

confined to certain Scheduled Areas within the State. A Scheduled Tribe of the Autonomous District can be regarded as such anywhere within the four Autonomous Districts of Assam Proper, but he cannot be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe if he goes outside the precincts of the Autonomous Districts. For example, a Khasi cannot be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe in the Kamrup district; similarly a Miri or a Rabha cannot be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe if he lives in the Autonomous Districts This is the strict interpretation of the President's Order.

159. The Scheduled Castes of Assam number 732,756 whereas the Scheduled Tribes number 2,064,816 of whom, 1,111,506 are Scheduled Tribes living in the Autonomous Districts and 953,310 are Scheduled Tribes living in the Plains Districts of Assam.

160. *Important Events 1951-1961*—The second Great Earthquake of Assam occurred on August 15, 1950 and its immediate effect was not very great although some damages occurred in Upper Assam. The long-range effect of this Earthquake, however, was keenly felt in Assam during the decade 1951-61. The epicentre of earthquake was near Rima just above the Indo-Tibetan border, and in most parts of the eastern Himalayas, heavy landslides occurred blocking mountain streams and rivers and causing lakes to be built up in the Himalayas. From about 1951 onwards, many of these lakes burst open carrying an immense amount of earth, sand and debris into the plains of Assam. Actually, most parts of the Dibrugarh subdivision between the Bramhaputra and the foothills in the Saidya region have been converted into wide sandy stretches which can be seen for miles and miles from the air. Where sands and debris have covered, the plains at the foothills have been converted into deserts and even trees have been suffocated and dried up leaving nothing but dead branches which can be seen from the air. The bed of the river Brahmaputra has risen above its normal depth all along the Brahmaputra valley, but especially in the area within the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts, that steamers can no longer ply beyond Neamati Ghat near Jorhat. The main channels of the Brahmaputra have been diverted here and there due to this considerable silting up of its beds so that erosion took place in some areas. Thus a good deal of Dibrugarh town was eaten up by a new channel of Brahmaputra which literally joined the Dibru river and many Government and private buildings had to be either salvaged or were swallowed up by the river some time in 1952-53. Had it not been for the extensive protection works built at great cost, the whole of Dibrugarh town might have been eaten up The whole of Sadiya town and its surrounding areas were eaten up by the Brahmaputra and people living there had to be rehabilitated elsewhere in the south bank during the decade. Lower down the Brahmaputra, Tarabari and Palasbari were greatly eroded by the river Brahmaputra. Because of the great silting up of the bed of this mighty river, the normal discharge of the Brahmaputra cannot be carried down to the sea as before and so annual floods have become regular features of Assam due to the aftermath of this earthquake. It is not known how long will this silting up continue or how long the river can deepen its channel to its original depth. Dredging is beyond the capacity of the people and the Government of India at this stage.

161. Another event worth mentioning during the intercensal period is the language disturbance in Assam which took place in July 1960. This event affected only the Assamese-speaking and Bengali-speaking population of the State for various reasons including historical ones. The brisk preparation for the 1961 Census might have aggravated the tension which existed for many decades. Unfortunate as the event was, it ended happily, smoothly and rather abruptly and passions that were roused faded away. The Census of 1961 was not affected. Nor was the proportion of speakers of any language.

162. *Main Developmental Works*—Some of the main development works which have benefited the State and which can be seen by the common man are worth mentioning in this Report. Amongst such moderate achievements are the oil refinery near Gauhati, the Brahmaputra bridge between Pandu and Amingaon, the extension of the metre-gauge railway from Rangapara North to North Lakhimpur, the Umtru-Hydel project, the starting of the Umiam-Hydel project and the

construction of many miles of roads in various parts of the State.

163. The Burma Oil Company made many drillings for oil in the Nahorkatiya and Moran region at the beginning of the decade and many oil-bearing wells were found. Subsequently, Oil India Limited made more drillings of deep wells some of which are found to be oil bearing although some are wild cats. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission also made some drillings in the Rudrasagar area of Sibsagar and some oil is found there. As the oil wells in the Digboi region are gradually drying up, some crude oil from the Nahorkatiya region has been pumped to the Digboi refinery belonging to the Assam Oil Company Limited. The Nahorkatiya and Moran oil wells can however produce many million tons of crude oil and so the question of refining the Assam crude oil arose. Ultimately it was decided that the refining of oil should be done in the public sector by the Indian Refineries Ltd. and two near refineries are set up in Noonmati near Gauhati and at Barauni. The Noonmati Oil refinery near Gauhati was built as a result of this arrangement and it has a capacity of 0.75 million tons per annum at present. The crude oil is brought into Noonmati by pipe lines from Nahorkatiya. Similarly crude oil from Assam will also be pumped into the Barauni refinery which is nearing completion.

164. The Brahmaputra is a mighty river which virtually bisects the Brahmaputra Valley into two parts from east to west. The need to bridge this mighty river to join the two parts of the Valley has been felt by the people of Assam for a very long time, but nothing was done till after independence. Between 1951 and 1961, this magnificent bridge has been built up and has already proved a great blessing to the people of Assam.

165. The Umtru-Hydel project has been constructed during the decade with Canadian collaboration by damming the river Umtru at a point about two miles from the Shillong-Gauhati road. This is a small hydel project built in an area of great scenic beauty of the Khasi Hills, but the amount of electricity generated is rather very small and is used largely to supply some power to the Gauhati region. The Umiam-Hydel project has been started during the decade and is now nearing completion. This project is comparatively much bigger than the Umtru-Hydel project although by all-India standard it is a small one. The lake to be formed by this Umiam project will be a real lake submerging all the low lying parts of the Khwan-Umsaw area and converting the hillocks therein into beautiful islands when the dam is complete. There is no doubt that this lake will be very beautiful and will attract tourists. Another advantage of this dam is that the excess water after generating electricity will be taken to the Umtru river thereby augmenting the water supply and the power potential of the Umtru-Hydel project.

166. To the common man in Assam in general, and to the hill folks of Assam in particular, communication is the most essential thing for their economic and social well-being. The two Five Year Plans in Assam have seen the construction of hundreds of miles of new roads in many parts of the State and even in some of the hitherto inaccessible areas of the Hill districts. This has proved to be a great boon to the people of Assam and especially to the hill people. But what has been achieved is only a fraction of the real needs of the people. Roads in many parts of the State, and especially in the hill areas, are yet in a raw state and require to be metalled and surfaced. Bridges also have to be built in great numbers if the roads are to be used during the monsoon. At least five times more roads are required to be built and improved in future Five Year Plans. Roads will bring the tribal people into contact with the rest of the people of India and will also help the backward people economically with adequate safeguards from exploiters. This will break the isolation of the tribal people and help bring about emotional integration.

167. Apart from the above visible developmental works, the establishment of two engineering colleges and one more medical college has helped the State to get some technical personnel for manning the developmental works, the hospitals and dispensaries many of which have been established all over the State during the two Five Year Plans. The extensive health facilities established during the two Five Year Plans have greatly reduced the rate of mortality as a result of which natural increase of population has been greatly augmented during the decade.

168. In the sphere of administration, the establishment of five District Councils for the Garo Hills, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, the Mikir Hills, the North Cachar Hills and the Mizo Hills under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India has been a great achievement for giving effect to the tribal policy of the Government of India. All these District Councils were formed between the middle of 1951 and the end of 1952, and they have provided the tribal people living within the Autonomous Districts with a simple administrative set-up of their own which would safeguard their tribal customs and ways of life and secure to them maximum autonomy in the management of their characteristically tribal affairs. The District Councils have executive and legislative powers with respect to such matters as the administration of land, the management of forests not being reserved forests, the use of any canal or water course for the purpose of agriculture, the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation, the establishment of village or town committees or councils and their powers, the appointment of succession of chiefs or headmen, inheritance of property, marriage, social customs and many other matters relating to the welfare of the tribal people within the Autonomous Districts. While the incomes from their own sources are very meagre, both the Government of India and the Government of Assam are helping the District Councils with grants for carrying out the administration and developmental works within the provisions of the sixth Schedule

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

PART A

DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY

1. *Introductory.*—Having introduced Assam to the general reader and having given the salient features of the State in respect of such items as physical features, geographical position, topography, geology, climate and rainfall, forest, agriculture, crops, industries, crafts and the various castes and tribes which all make Assam, we shall now discuss the various data and facts thrown out by the 1961 Census. As Assam is one of the major units of India, all description about it should perhaps first show its place in the all-India context because that alone will give it a sense of having come within the mosaic of the national pattern without losing its distinctiveness.

2. *Ranking in area and population.*—As the first task of the Census is to know about human beings in terms of numbers and certain demographic details, I would like, in the first instance, to focus on the population of Assam *vis-a-vis* the total population of India as well as the percentage of its area to that of other States of India. The total population of India is 439,234,771 but that of Assam is 11,872,772 or the total population of Assam is only 2.70 per cent. of the total population of India. In other words, Assam stands at the bottom of all the major States of India with the exception of Jammu and Kashmir in terms of population. In terms of area also, Assam is smaller than most major States of India excepting West Bengal and Kerala. I give below table 2.1 which shows Assam in the context of all-India pattern in terms of the percentage of population and area for 1961 as well as for 1951.

Rank of the State among the States and Union Territories of India in terms of population and area 1961 and 1951

TABLE 2.1

Rank in Population 1961 1	Name of State 2	Per cent of India's Population in 1961 3	Per cent of India's area 4	Rank in area 5	Rank in Population in 1951 6	Density 1961 7	Density 1951 8	Rank in Density 1961 9	Rank in Density 1951 10
1.	Uttar Pradesh	16.79	9.27	4	1	648	555	8	7
2.	Bihar	10.58	5.45	8	2	694	579	6	8
3.	Maharashtra	9.00	9.63	3	3	334	271	12	12
4.	Andhra Pradesh	8.19	8.63	5	4	339	293	11	11
5.	West Bengal	7.95	2.78	14	6	1,021	760	5	5
6.	Madras	7.67	4.08	11	5	672	601	7	6
7.	Madhya Pradesh	7.37	13.76	1	7	192	154	19	19
8.	Mysore	5.37	6.01	6	8	319	263	13	13
9.	Gujarat	4.70	5.78	7	9	290	229	16	15
10.	Punjab	4.62	3.85	12	10	429	341	10	10
11.	Rajasthan	4.59	10.74	[illegible]	11	153	121	20	20
12.	Orissa	4.00	4.90	9	12	292	243	15	14
13.	Kerala	3.85	1.22	16	13	1,127	903	4	[illegible]
14	Assam	2.70	3.85	13	14	251	187	18	[illegible]
15.	Jammu and Kashmir*	0.81	4.37	10	15	66	61	23	[illegible]
16	Delhi	0.61	0.05	24	16	4,640	3,044	1	[illegible]
17.	Himachal Pradesh	0.31	0.87	17	17	126	104	21	21
18.	Tripura	0.26	0.34	20	18	277	155	17	18
19.	Manipur	0.18	0.70	18	20	90	67	22	22
20.	Goa, Daman and Diu	0.14	0.12	23	19	438	417	9	9
21.	Nagaland	0.08	0.52	19	22	58	33	24	25
22.	Pondicherry	0.08	0.01	26	21	2,040	1,753	3	3
23.	N.E.F.A.*	0.08	2.56	15	N.A.	11	N.A.	27	N.A.
24.	Sikkim	0.04	0.23	22	23	58	49	25	24
25.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	0.01	0.26	21	25	20	10	26	26
26.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	0.01	0.02	25	24	209	217	14	16
27.	Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	0.01	0.001	27	26	2,341	1,888	2	2

*Surveyor General's Area has been taken into account for calculating the percentage of India's Area and the Density as the State Survey figures are not available.

3. From the above table, it is seen that Assam ranks 13 among the States and Union Territories of India in respect of area and its rank in terms of population for 1961 is 14. In 1951 also, Assam ranked 14 in point of population. This shows that despite the fact that the rate of decennial increase in Assam is the highest among the States of India, its ranking in terms of population remains the same because other States have also had enough increase in their population. It may also be noted that although Assam has an area of more than three times that of Kerala, the population of Kerala is 169 lakhs against Assam's 118.7 lakhs. It is also seen that while the area of West Bengal is much less than that of Assam, the population of West Bengal is almost three times that of Assam. Punjab has almost the same area as Assam, but its population is about 80 per cent. more than that of Assam. The main reason for this variation is the fact that about half of Assam Proper consists of hilly areas which cannot sustain a bigger population. In terms of plains areas, the population of Assam is comparable to any other State in India. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are bigger in area than Uttar Pradesh but the latter has by far the largest population in India.

4. The following is a table showing the State's population, the natural rate of increase, sex ratio and density of population per sq. km. as compared with those of India, Egypt, Canada, Mexico, USA, Argentina, Venezuela, Japan, Pakistan, Thailand, Greece, Hungary, United Kingdom, Poland, Yugoslavia, Australia and New Zealand.

(The figures have been taken from the 1961 demographic year book)

TABLE 2.2

1961 Continent and Country	Latest Census	Population			Annual rate of increase	Sex-ratio	Density per square kilometer of are
		Persons	Males	Females			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
India	1-3-61	439,234,771	226,293,201	212,941,570	2 0	941	138
Assam	1-3-61	11,872,772	6,328,129	5,544,643	3.0	876	97
Egypt	20-9-60	26,059,000	.	..	2.4	..	26
Canada	1-6-61	18,238,247	..	..	2.6	..	2
Mexico	8-6-60	34,923,129	17,415,320	17,507,809	3.1	1,005	18
U.S.A.	1-4-60	179,323,175	88,331,494	90,991,681	1.7	1,030	19
Argentina	30-9-60	20,008,945	10,034,544	9,974,401	1.2	994	7
Venezuela*	26-2-61	7,523,999	3,729,490*	3,632,213*	4.3	974	8
Japan*	1-10-60	93,418,501	45,871,194*	47,535,636*	1.0	1,036	252
Pakistan*	1-2-61	93,831,962	49,308, 5 (1)	44,411,968 (1)	1 9	901	98
Thailand*	25-4-60	26,257,848	12,729,018*	12,790,947*	4.3	1,005	51
Greece	19-3-61	8,387,201	.	..	0 9	..	64
Hungary	1-1-60	9,976,530	4,815,838	5,160,692	0.6	1,072	107
Poland	6-12-60	29,731,009	14,374,400*	15,356,600*	1.8	1,068	95
U.K.*	23-4-61	52,675,556 *	25,478,000*	27,198,000*	0.5	1,068	215
Yugoslavia*	31-3-61	18,538,150 (2)	9,029,000*	9,510,000*	1.1	1,053	72
Australia	30-6-61	10,508,191	5,312,284	5,195,907	2.2	978	1
New Zealand	18-4-61	2,414,984	1,213,376	1,201,608	2.1	990	9

* Provisional.

1 Excludes the foreigners, numbering 111,369 for both sexes.

2 Reason for discrepancy between this figure and sum of frequencies for male and female is rounding of figure for the latter.

5. From table 2.2 it may be seen that the rate of annual increase is greatest in Venezuela and Thailand where it is 4.3 per cent Assam comes next with 3 0 per cent. per annum. This big annual increase cannot be due to excess of births over deaths alone, but it must be also due to immigration as well as to some under-enumeration. In the case of Assam, the Census Actuary has worked out that the birth rate is 49.3 per thousand and the death rate is 26 9 per thousand for the last decade. The natural increase therefore comes to 22.4 for the last decade or 2 24 per annum. The excess of 1.21 per annum may therefore be entirely due to movement of population from other States and neighbouring countries into Assam as well as to some amount of under-enumeration in the areas which were difficult of access in 1951. I do not know what are the factors responsible for the high annual increase in Venezuela and Thailand.

6. *Sex ratio.*—As far as sex ratio is concerned, Assam has the smallest number of 876 females per 1,000 males. This may be due to the fact that migrants into Assam did not bring their wives with them. It may also be due to greater mortality among women than men among the people of India. Moreover India has not suffered from two world wars to deplete its manpower.

7 *Density and sizes of districts.*—The density of population per sq. km. is greatest in two island kingdoms of the world, Japan (252) and the United Kingdom (215). These two kingdoms are comparatively smaller than many countries in area but they are among the most industrialised and the most advanced countries in the world With big capacity for production of consumer goods and a big mercantile trade, they can afford to sustain such a big population within a small area. Assam being largely an agrarian area can support a population of only 97 per sq. km.

8 Having compared the above data with some countries of the world, it will be rewarding if we compare Assam with the other States of India in respect of similar data as per Table 2 2A below:

TABLE 2.2A

India/State Union Territory and other Areas	1961 Census Population			Annual % Rate of increase	Sex Ratio	Density (Population per sq. km. of area)
	Persons	Males	Females			
1	2	3	4	5		7
India	439,234 771	226 293 201	212 941,570	1 78	941	138
Andhra Pradesh	35 983,447	18,161 671	17 821 776	1 46	981	131
Assam	11,872 772	6 328,129	5 544 643	3 00	876	97
Bihar	46 455 610	23 301 449	23 154,161	1 82	994	248
Gujarat	20,633,350	10 633 902	9,999,448	2 41	940	112
Jammu and Kashmir	3,560 976	1 896 633	1 664,343	0 91	878	26
Kerala	16 903 715	8 361 927	8 541,788	2 24	1,022	435
Madhya Pradesh	32,372,408	16 578,204	15 794 204	2 19	953	74
Madras	33 686,953	16,910,978	16 775 975	1 13	992	259
Maharashtra	39 553 718	20 428 882	19 124 836	2 14	936	129
Mysore	23 586 772	12 040,923	11,545 849	1 97	959	123
Orissa	17 548,846	8,770 586	8 778,260	1 82	1,001	113
Punjab	20,306,812	10 891 576	9 415 236	2 33	864	166
Rajasthan	20,155 602	10 564,082	9 591 520	2 36	908	50
Uttar Pradesh	73 746,401	38 634,201	35 112 200	1 55	909	230
West Bengal	34,926,279	18,599 144	16 327 135	2 88	878	394
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	63,548	39 304	24,244	7 45	617	[illegible]
Delhi	2,658,612	1,489,378	1 169 234	4 30	785	[illegible]
Himachal Pradesh	1,351 144	702 697	648 447	1 99	923	[illegible]
L. M. & A. Islands	24,108	11,935	12,173	1 38	1,020	[illegible]
Manipur	780,037	387,058	392,979	3 05	1,015	[illegible]
Tripura	1,142,005	591,237	550,768	5 98	932	[illegible]
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	57,963	29,524	28,439	3 39	963	117
Goa, Daman and Diu	626,667	302,534	324,133	0 50	1,071	169
Pondicherry	369,079	183,347	185 732	1 50	1,013	707
N.E.F.A.	336,558	177,680	158,878	N A	894	4
Nagaland*	369,200	191,027	178,173	1 32	933	23
Sikkim	162,189	85,193	76,996	1.69	904	22

*The area of Tuensang district in Nagaland is different in 1951 and 1961 Censuses Thus for the purpose of Annual % Rate of increase the populations of 1951 and 1961 of Tuensang have been excluded.

9. The following is a table showing the most populous and least populous districts and the average population of districts in each of the States of India in 1961:

TABLE 2.3

State	Most Populous District		Least Populous District		Average Population of Districts
	Name	Population	Name	Population	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Andhra Pradesh	Guntur	3,009,900	Adilabad	1,009,292	1,799,172
Assam	Kamrup	2,062,572	Mizo Hills	266,063	1,079,343
Bihar	Darbhanga	4,413,027	Dhanbad	1,158,610	2,732,683
Gujarat	Surat	2,451,624	Dangs	71,567	1,213,726
Jammu and Kashmir	Anantang	654,368	Ladakh	88,651	395,664
Kerala	Kozhikode	2,617,189	Trichur	1,639,862	1,878,191
Madhya Pradesh	Bilaspur	2,021,793	Datia	200,467	752,847
Madras	Salem	3,804,108	Nilgiri	409,308	2,591,304
Maharashtra	Greater Bombay	4,152,056	Wardha	634,277	1,521,297
Mysore	Bangalore	2,504,462	Coorg	322,829	1,241,409
Orissa	Cuttack	3,060,320	Baudh Khondmals	514,427	1,349,911
Punjab	Ferozepur	1,619,116	Lahaul and Spiti	20,453	1,0[illegible],780
Rajasthan	Jaipur	1,901,756	Jaisalmer	140,338	775,215
Uttar Pradesh	Meerut	2,712,960	Uttar Kashi	122,836	1,365,674
West Bengal	24-Parganas	6,280,915	Darjeeling	624,640	2,182,894

10. The following is another table showing the largest and smallest districts and the average size of districts in each of the main States of India:

TABLE 2.4

State	Largest Districts		Smallest Districts		Average area of District in Sq. mile
	Name	Area	Name	Area	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Andhra Pradesh	Kurnool	9,209	Hyderabad	2,997	5,303
Assam	Mizo Hills	8,143	Nowgong	2,200	4,296
Bihar	Ranchi	7,035	Dhanbad	1,109	3,937
Gujarat	Kutch	16,567	Dangs	689	4,180
Jammu and Kashmir*	Ladakh	37,754	Kathua	1,024	5,963
Kerala	Kozhikode	2,570	Alleppey	708	1,667
Madhya Pradesh	Bastar	15,128	Datias	786	3,931
Madras	Salem	7,051	Madras Corp.	49	3,858
Maharashtra	Chanda	10,088	Greater Bombay	169	4,549
Mysore	Bijapur	6,567	Coorg	1,590	3,887
Orissa	Koraput	9,919	Balasore	2,507	4,629
Punjab	Kangra	6,293	Simla	222	2,490
Rajasthan	Jaisalmer	14,995	Dungarpur	1,460	5,073
Uttar Pradesh	Mirzapur	4,263	Rampur	917	2,109
West Bengal	24-Parganas	5,638	Calcutta	40	2,137

* Surveyor General's figures as State Survey figures are not available.

11. The following Tables are showing:

Districts which have had a higher percentage increase than the average for the State 1901-61

TABLE 2.5

District	Percentage increase 1901-1961	1921-1961	1951-1961
1	2	3	4
Average for the State	+219.79	+130.19	+34.45
Kamrup	+249.58	+170.12	+38.39
Lakhimpur	+321.57	+148.98	+38.85
Goalpara	+233.77		+39 32
Darrang	+283.39	+168.36	+39.64
Nowgong	+364.94	+204.21	+36 51
Sibsagar	..	.	..
Cachar	..	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	..	..	..
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	+585.40	+867.47	+69.08
Garo Hills	..	..	.
Mizo Hills	+222.76	+170.37	+35.61

Districts which have had a lower per cent increase than the average for the State 1901-61

TABLE 2.6

District	Percentage increase 1901-1961	1921-1961	1951-1961
1	2	3	4
Average for the State	+219.79	+130.19	+34.45
Goalpara	..	+102.93	..
Kamrup	..	.	..
Darrang	..	..	..
Lakhimpur	..	.	..
Nowgong	.	.	..
Sibsagar	+152.13	+83.24	+24.43
Cachar	+118.70	+83.42	+23.53
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	+128 51	+89.98	+27.10
Garo Hills	+122.19	+71.50	+26.91
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	..	..	..
Mizo Hills	..	..	..

Districts arranged according as their population are above or below the average population of a district for the State

TABLE 2.7

Average population of district – 1,079,343

Name of District above average 1	Population 2	Name of District below average 3	Population 4
Goalpara	1,543,892	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	442,152
Kamrup	2,062,472	United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	279,726
Darrang	1,289,670	Garo Hills	397,228
Lakhimpur	1,562,842	Mizo Hills	264,643
Nowgong	1,210,761		
Sibsagar	1,508,390		
Cachar	1,378,476		

Districts arranged according as their areas are above or below the average area of a district for the State

TABLE 2.8

Average area of a district – 4,296 sq. miles

Name of District above average 1	Area (in sq. miles). 2	Name of District below average 3	Area (in sq. miles). 4
Lakhimpur	5,012	Goalpara	3,979
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	5,554	Kamrup	3,811
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	5,883	Darrang	3,307
Mizo Hills	8,143	Sibsagar	3,476
		Cachar	2,680
		Garo Hills	3,152
		Nowgong	2,200

12. Table 2.3 and Table 2.4 give us a graphic comparison and contrast between certain districts of Assam and similar districts of other States of India; while Table 2.5 to Table 2.8 give us the peculiar characteristics of the various districts of Assam. In weighing these characteristics, the following factors may be taken into consideration.

13. Assam is a land of hills and plains and plains areas are very populous because of their fertility and capacity to support a large population whereas the hill areas are very scarcely populated because of the poor soil and the unhealthy nature of almost all parts of the sub-montane regions. Moreover, the hill areas of Assam are autonomous with separate district councils having wide powers in respect of land and other matters under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. People from outside the autonomous areas cannot settle in the autonomous districts without the permission of the district councils and such a permission is rarely given, especially in the interior. The most populous district of Assam is Kamrup with a

population of 20.6 lakhs and the least populous is the Mizo Hills with a total population of only 2.7 lakhs as against the average of 10.8 lakhs. It may also be noted that while Kamrup district is 3,811 sq. miles in area, that of the Mizo Hills is 8,143 sq. miles or more than twice the area of the Kamrup district, but the population of the Mizo Hills is only about one-eighth of the Kamrup district. The main reason for this disparity is the fact that the Mizo Hills consists of parallel ranges running north to south and the terrain is very difficult. Few houses can be built only at certain suitable places on top of the hills, while the hill sides are used for the slash-and-burn method of cultivation where a big area can support only a small number of people. Moreover, the settling of the non-Mizos in the district is practically forbidden. There are practically no roads in the Mizo Hills until very recently and even then, these roads are of the roughest type being almost entirely of earth work without metals. On the other hand, Kamrup district lies almost in the centre of the Brahmaputra Valley and has communications by rail, road, river and air. Most of the areas are flat lands suitable for paddy and jute cultivation. The Kamrup district can therefore support a large population even on the products of agriculture alone; but it also has growing industries and a big inland trade. That is why there is a noticeable tendency to have lop-sided concentrations of population in the Kamrup district.

14. Compared to other States of India, the most populous district of Assam compares favourably with the most populous district in other States of India. No comparison can obviously be made with Greater Bombay or 24-Parganas district of West Bengal which consist almost entirely of industrial areas. In terms of area also, the biggest district in Assam is more or less of the average size inasmuch as there are seven other States in India which have districts which are smaller than Mizo Hills in Assam. In terms of average area also, the average area of the districts in Assam is more or less of the average of the States in India. It may however be noted that the districts in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are comparatively smaller in size because the average area of their districts is only about 2,100 sq. miles which is less than the smallest district of Assam. This also partly accounts why the Uttar Pradesh has a large number of districts compared to Assam. Even in Assam, there is a case for making certain districts smaller in area than they are now. Some sub-divisions in Assam have areas bigger than many districts in some of the States of India. It may also be noted that 10.5 million people live in seven plains districts but only 1.3 million live in the hills whose area is almost as that of the plains. The entire population of the plains is well above the average whereas the population of the hills is much below the average.

15. The following is a table showing the number of districts and their total populations which are above or below the average population of district for each State 1961:

TABLE 2.9

State	Number of districts in the State which are above the average population of district for the State.	Population comprised in districts mentioned in column 2.	Number of districts in the State which are below the average population of district for the State.	Total population comprised in districts mentioned in column 4.	Number of districts which are within 20 per cent (%) of the average population of district for the State.	Total population comprised in districts mentioned in column 6.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Andhra Pradesh	10	22,225,178	10	13,758,269	11	20,075,312
Assam	7	10,557,603	4	1,315,169	2	2,500,431
Bihar	9	31,414,419	8	15,041,191	6	17,334,716
Gujarat	7	12,571,241	10	8,062,109	4	4,569,741
Jammu and Kashmir	4	2,416,370	5	1,144,686	1	326,061
Kerala	2	4,558,417	7	12,345,298	8	14,286,526
Madhya Pradesh	16	17,701,448	27	14,670,960	17	12,321,091
Madras	8	25,933,389	5	7,753,564	4	10,396,452
Maharashtra	10	20,484,032	16	19,069,686	13	19,064,184
Mysore	9	15,391,052	10	8,195,720	6	7,269,550
Orissa	6	11,221,169	7	6,327,677	4	5,626,923
Punjab	10	14,105,092	9	6,201,720	8	8,878,552
Rajasthan	13	13,724,250	13	6,431,352	9	6,964,404
Uttar Pradesh	24	46,101,676	30	27,644,725	24	32,670,154
West Bengal	6	21,154,333	10	13,771,946	3	6,339,905

16. The following is a table showing the number of districts and their total areas which are above or below the average area of district for each State, together with their respective populations, 1961 :

TABLE 2.10

State	Number of districts in the State which are above the average area of district for the State	Total area comprised in districts mentioned in column 2.	Proportion of the population living in these districts to the population of the State	Number of districts in the State which are below the average area of district for the State.	Total area comprised in districts mentioned in column 5.	Proportion of the population living in these districts to the population of the State	Number of districts which are within 20 per cent of the average area of district for the State	Total area comprised in districts mentioned in column 8	Proportion of the population (8) living in these districts to the population of the State.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Andhra Pradesh	10	67 100	47 82	10	18 [illegible]	[illegible]	9	50 135	42 70
Assam	4	24 592	21 66	7	22,665	78 34	4	16 278	56 25
Bihar	9	46 877	51 21	8	20 099	48 79	5	19 444	36 84
Gujarat	4	30,362	25 94	13	40 694	74 06	10	19 917	67 28
Jammu and Kashmir	1	37,754	2 49	8	15 911	97 51			
Kerala	5	11 024	58 26	4	1 979	41 74	2	3,807	21 99
Madhya Pradesh	15	91 977	47 74	28	77 065	52 26	18	68,642	39 25
Madras .	8	41 584	74 54	5	8,570	25 46	4	15 509	33 31
Maharashtra	12	70 965	47 84	14	47,115	52 16	12	52,910	39 83
Mysore	10	49,526	59 08	9	24 320	40 92	9	34,088	51 36
Orissa . . .	4	26 466	33 56	9	13 706	66 44	8	34,351	64 47
Punjab . .	7	28,007	40 44	12	19 298	59 56	5	11,862	31 14
Rajasthan .	9	78,659	40 28	17	51 231	59 72	5	23,078	25 04
Uttar Pradesh .	18	58,140	37 79	33	55,719	62 21	19	40,887	46 07
West Bengal	6	21,033	51 79	10	13,161	48 21	5	10,667	22·27

17. From the above tables, it may be seen that four districts, *viz.*, Mizo Hills, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Lakhimpur districts of Assam have a total area of 24,592 square miles whereas the remaining six plains and one hill districts of Assam have 22,665 square miles, but only 21.66 per cent. of the total population live in the four districts as against 78.34 in the other districts. There is therefore no equitable distribution of the districts from the point of view of area within Assam or even as compared to many other State of India. The districts with smaller areas are a distinct asset to development especially from the point of view of transport, communication and educational facilities. A very big district like the Mizo Hills with a very poor communication cannot be developed properly as compared to other districts with smaller areas and better facilities of communication. If the area of a district is too big, it is not possible for a Deputy Commissioner to properly administer it and it is almost impossible for him to look to all developmental activities in such wide areas. Even if the population is comparatively smaller, there is a case for smaller administrative units because people can live only where there are developmental facilities.

18. *Concentration of population in villages and towns.*—The following are two tables for comparison of concentration of population by size of villages and towns in the States of India.

Persons per 10,000 of population in villages and towns of selected population sizes

TABLE 2.11

State	Total 10,000	(a) Villages with Less than 200	200—999	1,000—4,999	Over 5,000	(b) Towns and Town-groups of Class III to VI	(c) Towns and Town-groups of Class II	Cities and Town groups of Class I
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Andhra Pradesh	10,000	145	1,646	5,561	904	852	148	744
Assam	10,000	878	5,150	3,140	63	549	49	171
Bihar	10,000	473	3,592	4,353	740	371	108	363
Gujarat	10,000	176	2,723	4,052	473	1,155	301	1 120
Jammu and Kashmir	10,000	688	4,724	2,827	95	549	..	1 117
Kerala	10,000	N	9	926	7,554	744	174	593
Madhya Pradesh	10,000	858	5,431	2,231	51	754	117	558
Madras	10,000	24	855	5,147	1,306	1,134	431	1 103
Maharashtra	10,000	177	2,747	3,657	597	795	194	1,833
Mysore	10,000	275	3,150	3,877	465	1,031	281	921
Orissa	10,000	1,141	5,600	2,576	51	419	130	83
Punjab	10,000	226	2,871	4,372	517	979	437	598
Rajasthan	10,000	554	4,134	3,386	298	892	120	616
Uttar Pradesh	10,000	457	4,151	3,795	311	435	151	700
West Bengal	10,000	311	2,870	3,831	542	628	435	1,383
A. and N. Islands	10,000	2,646	4,811	328	..	2,215	..	..
Delhi	10,000	10	347	768	..	..	..	8,875
Himachal Pradesh	10,000	4,468	4,602	457	..	473	.	..
L. M. and A. Islands	10,000	33	395	9,572	..	..	..	..
Manipur	10,000	1,261	3,585	4,134	152	.	68	..
Tripura	10,000	2,461	4,297	2,340	.	421	81	..
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	10,000	201	4,168	5,631	..	..	.	..
Goa, Daman and Diu	10,000	10	631	6,061	1,692	1,606	..	..
Pondicherry	10,000	262	2,881	3,989	457	2,411	..	..
N. E. F. A. (a)	10,000	4,367	3,964	1,493	153	..	..	..
Nagaland	10,000	905	5,524	3,052	..	519	..	..
Sikkim	10,000	1,022	8,110	446	..	422	..	..

(a) The distribution of 781 persons of N. E. F. A. is not available in different sizes of villages. The distribution of population therefore comes to only 9,977 and not 10,000.

Per cent of village and towns among all villages and towns (including cities and town groups respectively of selected population sizes)

TABLE 2.12

State	Total 100	Villages: Less than 200	200—999	1,000—4,999	Over 5,000	Total 100	Towns: Towns and Town groups Class III to VI.	Towns and Town groups of Class II.	Towns and Town groups of Class I.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Andhra Pradesh	100	22	39	37	2	100	91	4	5
Assam	100	41	50	9	N	100	94	2	4
Bihar	100	31	52	16	1	100	87	6	7
Gujarat	100	17	57	25	1	100	91	6	3
Jammu and Kashmir	100	35	55	10	N	100	95	..	5
Kerala	100	N	1	29	70	100	90	5	5
Madhya Pradesh	100	37	56	7	N	100	94	2	4
Madras	100	5	32	59	4	100	88	8	4
Maharashtra	100	19	57	23	1	100	90	5	5
Mysore	100	23	57	19	1	100	93	4	3
Orissa	100	46	48	6	N	100	93	5	2
Punjab	100	23	53	23	1	100	90	7	3
Rajasthan	100	32	56	12	N	100	93	3	4
Uttar Pradesh	100	29	56	15	N	100	86	7	7
West Bengal	100	27	53	19	1	100	77	16	7
A. and N. Islands	100	82	18	N	..	100	100	..	..
Delhi	100	9	54	37	..	100		..	100
Himachal Pradesh	100	83	17	..	..	100	100	..	..
L. M. and A. Islands	100	10	10	80	..	..	..	..	..
Manipur	100	57	33	10	N	100	..	100	..
Tripura	100	74	23	3	..	100	83	17	..
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	100	11	60	29	..	..	..	..	..
Goa, Daman and Diu	100	3	24	67	6	100	100	..	..
Pondicherry	100	22	56	21	1	100	100	..	..
N. E. F. A.	100	84	15	1	N	..	..	..	..
Nagaland	100	37	54	9	..	100	100	..	..
Sikkim	100	30	69	1	..	100	100	..	..

Note :—N means Negligible.
.. „ Nil.

19. From table 2.11 it may be seen that most of the people of Assam live in villages having a population between 200 and 999 followed by those living in villages between 1,000 and 4,999. There are very few villages in Assam having a population of 5,000 souls. On the contrary, there are many small villages having a population of less than 200 especially in the Garo Hills and other hill areas where the slash-and-burn (*jhuming*) method of cultivation is practised. Under this system of cultivation, people cut down trees and shrubs about November-December and then set fire to the debris by about March. By the coming of the first rains, the burnt area is cleared of big debris, the ground made more even and seeds are planted in the ashes. Good crop of hill paddy is obtained in the first year and some other crops can be had in the second and third year. Thereafter people have to shift to other areas for this method of cultivation. As a result of this shifting system villages are practically broken up periodically and so their sizes are of necessity very small wherever such a method of cultivation is still practised. Even in the plains of Assam, villagers want to live as near their cultivation as possible, and this is one of the main reasons why the size of villages is rather small. In other words, there is a tendency in Assam for more people to live in a large number of small villages. It is only in places where safety is not guaranteed that the people have a tendency to agglomerate in bigger villages for the sake of security even if they have to go some distance away for cultivation. In some cases, social customs make people live in permanent villages even if their cultivations are far away. For example, the Khasis and Lushais generally live in bigger and more established villages because of their customary tradition. But where people live in fixed villages, and have cultivations far away, they generally have some sort of temporary sheds in the fields which they use from the cultivation season up to the harvesting season. Generally men used to stay in such temporary field sheds. In areas where animals, and specially elephants are abundant, the field houses take the peculiar feature of being built on top of big trees so that they may not be molested by these wild animals.

20. As far as the urban population is concerned, most townsfolk in Assam live in towns and town groups having a population between 2,500 and 50,000. Most of the towns in Assam are of this size only and that is why most urban people live only in Class III to Class VI towns as they are classified according to the Census. There is only one Class II town having a population between 50,000 and 99,999 and that is Dibrugarh. Class I towns are those having a population of 100,000 and above, and there are only two such towns in Assam. The first is the Shillong Town Group with a population of 103,998 and the second is Gauhati with a population of 100,707. The small size of the towns in Assam is due to the lack of industrialisation in the State. As a matter of fact, most of the towns are generally for administrative purposes and the amount of trade carried on in each one of them is also mostly only for the town itself or for its immediate vicinities.

21. Compared with other States of India, Assam has too few villages with over 5,000 people and too few towns of Class I and II. It is remarkable that Kerala has no village with less than 200 population, very few villages up to 1,000, but a huge number of villages with a population of over 5,000. It is also remarkable that Kerala has very few towns of Class I and II. I am told that the area of villages in Kerala are rather biggish and the houses are scattered. On paper, Delhi appears to be the most urban territory in India, but that is simply due to the fact that Delhi territory really consists of Delhi and its immediate vicinities. Among major States, Maharashtra has the greatest urbanisation, but that is also partly due to the fact that Greater Bombay really has an area of 186 square miles. West Bengal comes next to Maharashtra in respect of urbanisation, but if area to area is compared, West Bengal is perhaps the most urbanised in India. Urbanisation closely follows industrialisation, so urbanisation can be an index of industrialisation.

22. It is also remarkable that in most States in India people have a tendency to agglomerate in villages of the size between 200-4,999. On the other hand, most towns in India are either of the Class I category or of the Class III to VI category.

23. *Ranking of districts of Assam*—The following is a table showing the ranking of districts within the State in terms of population and area in 1961 and 1951.

TABLE 2.13

Rank in population in 1961	District	Per cent. of State's population in 1961	Per cent. of State's area in 1961	Rank in area in 1961	Rank in population in 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Kamrup	17 37	8·06	6	1
2.	Lakhimpur	13 17	10·61	4	2
3.	Goalpara	13 00	8 42	5	5
4.	Sibsagar	12 70	7 36	7	3
5.	Cachar	11 61	5·67	10	4
6.	Darrang	10 86	7 12	8	6
7.	Nowgong	10 20	14 66	11	7
8.	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	3 89	11 75	3	8
9.	Garo Hills	2 59	6 67	9	9
10.	United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	2 36	12 45	2	11
11.	Mizo Hills	2 24	17 23	1	10

24. Basing on the same ranking of population, the following is another table showing the percentage change of population from decade to decade from 1901 to 1961 :

TABLE 2.14

Rank in Population in 1961	State Division/District	Decade percentage Change						
		1901—1961	1961—1951	1951—1941	1941—1931	1931—1921	1921—1911	1911—1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	ASSAM	+219·79	+34·45	+19·28	+20·08	+19 54	+19 01	+16 73
	ASSAM PLAINS DIVISION	+224.96	+34 26	+19 84	+18 70	+19 95	+29·59	+17·62
1.	Kamrup	+249 58	+38 39	+17·89	+29·43	+27·92	+14·20	+13 33
2.	Lakhimpur	+321 57	+38 85	+17·94	+22 70	+23·92	+34·07	+26 29
3.	Goalpara	+233 77	+39 32	+9·25	+14·83	+15 76	+26 92	+29·97
4.	Sibsagar	+153·13	+24·43	+16 51	+11·48	+13·38	+19·06	+15·57
5.	Cachar	+118·70	+23·53	+24·66	+11·38	+6 94	+5 32	+13 21
6.	Darrang	+283 39	+39·64	+24 25	+26·07	+22·68	+27·69	+11·89
7.	Nowgong	+364·94	+36·51	+36 65	+15·37	+41·35	+31·94	+15·84
	ASSAM HILLS DIVISION	+183.58	+35·96	+14·88	+31·96	+16·07	+7 26	+10·51
8.	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	+128·51	+27·10	+9·44	+14·60	+19·18	+3·49	+16·23
9.	Garo Hils	+122·19	+16 91	+8·28	+17·11	+6 57	+12 71	+14·94
10.	United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	+585·40	+69·08	+24·02	+306·17	+13·60	+5·92	—33·12
11.	Mizo Hills	+222 76	+35·61	+28·42	+22·81	+26·42	+7·90	+10·64

25. Increase in population from the above tables it is seen that in terms of ranking in area, there has been no change since 1951. In terms of population, Kamrup and Lakhimpur districts have retained the first and second place respectively, but Goalpara district has come up from the fifth place in 1951 to the third place in 1961 thereby displacing Sibsagar to the fourth place and Cachar to the fifth place. The spectacular ranking of Goalpara district in 1961 calls for a very interesting analysis of movement of population in Assam from 1901 to 1961 because the movement in the decade 1951-1961 cannot be treated in isolation. It is significant that the percentage change of population in Goalpara

district was rather heavy in the decade 1901-1911 inasmuch as the percentage increase was 29.97 whereas in other districts the changes are below 17 per cent. excepting in the Lakhimpur district where it is 26.29. This can be partly explained by the analyses of my predecessors that a large number of muslim immigrants began to pour into Assam from the first decade of this century. In respect of the Lakhimpur district, the significant size of the percentage is largely due to the fact that there was large-scale importation of tea-garden labourers into this district in that decade. From 1911 to 1951, the percentage increase of population in the Goalpara district gradually came down to 26.92, 15.76, 14.83 and 9.25 for the decades 1911-1921; 1921-1931; 1931-1941 and 1941-1951 respectively. The gradual decrease of the percentage change in the Goalpara district is more than compensated by the increase in the Kamrup, Nowgong, Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. In the decade 1911-1921, Goalpara went down to 26.92 whereas Nowgong jumps up from 15.84 to 31.94; Darrang from 11.89 to 27.69; Lakhimpur from 26.29 to 34.07 and Kamrup from 13.88 to 14.20. In the next decade 1921-1931, the increase suddenly fell down in Goalpara from 26.92 per cent. to 15.76 per cent., but the increase in Kamrup district is almost double from 14.20 per cent. to 27.92 per cent. and in Nowgong to 41.35 per cent. The next decades also show that while the percentage change in Goalpara keeps on decreasing, there has been significant increase in the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley excepting Sibsagar. This variation confirms the opinions of my predecessors that muslim immigration began in the turn of the twentieth century and kept a steady march upward in the valley to 1961. The smallest percentage increase in Goalpara district in the decade 1941-1951 which stands at 9.25 per cent. was probably due to the communal disturbances which affected the Goalpara and Kamrup districts in 1960. However there has been a heavy increase of population in the decade 1941-1951 in Nowgong and Cachar districts whose percentage goes up from 15.95 to 36.65 and 11.38 to 24.66 respectively. It therefore appears that the displaced muslims of Goalpara and Kamrup districts have gone not only to Pakistan but also to Nowgong and Cachar. It is also significant that the decrease in Goalpara is only from 14.83 in 1931-1941 to 9.25 in 1941-1951 whereas the increase in Nowgong and Cachar districts has been very spectacular as already pointed out above. The increase in Cachar district during 1941-1951 is however also largely due to the influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan. To some extent, the refugees went to Nowgong district also. This analysis suggests large-scale muslim influx into Assam from 1901 to 1951 and the curious movement of population, both Hindus and Muslims, during the decade 1941-1951. All these movements however swelled the overall population of Assam.

26. The most spectacular increase of population in Assam happens to occur during 1951-1961 because during this decade the percentage increase is as high as 34.35 whereas the highest increase before this decade was only 20.08 in 1931-1941. On paper, the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills registers an increase of 69.08 per cent., but an analysis of the actual position of the population shows that there are comparatively very few non-Mikirs in this district. The percentage increase in the Mikir Hills appears to be abnormally big, but in terms of absolute numbers, the increase is only 114,286 which is simply the difference between 165,440 in 1951 and 279,726 in 1961. This district is the most inaccessible and most unhealthy one in previous decades and the local authorities reported to me that the apparent increase is mainly due to the fact that a big number of villages in this district had never been censused before 1961. Many hitherto inaccessible areas in this district have now become accessible thanks to the developmental activities during 1951-1961. After explaining away the peculiar conditions of the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district, it may be seen that the greatest increase in population in 1961 is registered in the Goalpara district where the percentage rises from 9.25 to 39.32. There has also been very significant increase in the Kamrup, Lakhimpur and Darrang districts in 1961 as compared to 1951, while Nowgong shows a steady increase. This fact shows that there has been heavy influx of population to these districts because the rise in absolute numbers is very high bearing in mind the

already large population existing in these districts. In terms of percentage, the hill districts have also shown a big increase, but this is really due to better coverage due to better accessibility and also due to better medical facilities. However, the increase of population in the hills in terms of absolute numbers is only a fraction of the increase in the plains districts of Assam.

27. The following is a table showing the number of police stations, or mauzas in the case of Garo Hills, and the total population which are above or below the average population of police stations for their respective districts in 1961.

TABLE 2.15

District (in Location Code Order)	Total No. of Police Stations	No. of P. S. in the District which are above the average population of P. S. for the District	Total population comprised in P. S. mentioned in Col. 3	No. of P. S. in the District which are below the average population of the P. S.	Total population comprised in P. S. mentioned in Col. 5	No. of P. S. which are within the 20 per cent of the average population of P. S. for the district	Total population comprised in P. S. mentioned in Col. 7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Goalpara	13	9	1,229,458	4	314,434	6	754,802
Kamrup	16	8	1,321,654	8	740,918	8	1,007,920
Darrang	11	4	710,755	7	578,915	4	404,653
Lakhimpur	13	7	1,144,138	6	419,704	2	265,829
Garo Hills	10 (Mauzas)	4	219,512	6	87,716	1	*35,947
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	4	1	243,267	3	218,885	1	99,629
Nowgong	11	6	848,262	5	362,499	4	475,486
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	5	2	137,456	3	142,270	3	174,372
Sibsagar	11	4	843,581	7	664,809	3	353,011
Cachar	12	5	817,305	7	561,171	5	562,602
Mizo Hills	2	1	183,650	1	82,413	.	..

28. In Assam there are no tehsils, taluks or anchals. Our units corresponding to the tehsils are police stations in the case of 10 districts and mauzas in the case of the Garo Hills. In the hill districts, the police stations are very big in area and in some cases, the whole subdivision itself is a police station. For example, the Jowai Subdivision, the Haflong Subdivision, the Aijal Subdivision and the Lungleh Subdivision are themselves police stations which are very big in area. Since this table does not take the area of the police station into consideration, the police stations in the hills appear to have more people than the other police stations in the plains of Assam. Police stations have been established by the Government of Assam partly on the basis of population, partly on the basis of area, but mostly on the basis of crime. The hill areas are generally less criminal than the plains areas and so police stations in the hills are very big in area, and in some cases like the Shillong police station, the population is also the largest. But due to comparative paucity of crime, only one police station is established and only a few police can maintain law and order. Moreover, in the hill districts, there are local chiefs who maintain law and order according to the traditional laws and customs and so police stations are not very much required

29. *Police Station-wise Density*—The density of population in Assam is much less than the other major States of India, it being only 251 persons per square mile. Within the State itself, there are areas of heavy concentration of population and there are other areas where the population is very scarce depending upon the nature of the terrain and the fertility of the soil. As Assam is largely agrarian in economy, the density depends upon suitability for cultivation of the areas concerned. As already stated, the hill districts of Assam which constitute almost half the area of the State have a very difficult terrain and a very poor soil, and so the population in these districts is very scarce. The plain areas of Assam are comparatively fertile and so almost all the people of Assam live in these districts. Even in the plains of Assam, there are certain areas which are too marshy or too much flood affected, like the Dhemaji Police Station in the Lakhimpur district, where only a few people of an enterprising type can live. Table 2.16 gives the names of the districts, the density per square mile and the number of police stations whose densities are above or below the average of the State.

Distribution of General Density (Persons per square mile) in police stations of the State arranged by district.

General Density for the State 251

TABLE 2.16

Name of District	Density per sq. mile	Number of Police Stations whose densities are: Above 100 per cent of the State	76—100 per cent above that of State	51—75 per cent below that of State	26—50 per cent above that of State	Up to 25 above that of State	0—25 per cent below that of State	26—50 per cent below that of State	51—75 per cent below that of State	76—100 per cent below that of State
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Goalpara	388	4	2	1	2	2	2			
2. Kamrup	541	9	5	1		1				
3. Darrang	383	1	3	6			1			
4. Lakhimpur	312	3	3	1	1	1	1	2		1
5. Nowgong	550	6	1	2	1	.	.	1	..	.
6. Sibsagar	434	5	3			1	2		..	..
7. Cachar	514	4	1	3	3	.	1			..
8. Garo Hills	97	2	2	1		1			3	1
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	83	.							2	2
10. United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	48	.							2	3
11. Mizo Hills	33		.							2

30. The following is another Table 2.17 which gives the character of police stations whose densities are higher than the average for the State in 1961.

Character of Police Stations whose densities are higher than the average for the State, 1961.

TABLE 2.17

District	Number of Police Stations whose densities are above that of the State as a whole, 1961. Above 100 per cent (a)	(b)	(c)	76—100 per cent (a)	(b)	(c)	51—75 per cent (a)	(b)	(c)	26—50 per cent (a)	(b)	(c)	Up to 25 per cent (a)	(b)	(c)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Goalpara	1	3	..	2	..	..		1		1	1	..	1	1	..
2. Kamrup	3	5	1	3	2			1		.	..		1	..	.
3. Darrang	1	..	..	1	2		4	2	.	.		.	..	..	..
4. Lakhimpur	1	1	1	1	2	.	.	1		.	..	1	..	1	..
5. Nowgong	4	2	..	..	1	..	2	..		1	..	.	..	..	..
6. Sibsagar	2	3	..	2	1		.			.	.	..	..	1	..
7. Cachar	..	4	..	1	.	.	2	1	.	3	..	..	..	..	..
8. Garo Hills	1	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	.	..	..	..	1	..	..
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Mizo Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(a) Entirely Rural.
(b) Non-industrial each containing at least one non-industrial town.
(c) Industrial police station each containing at least one industrial town.

31. From table 2.16, it may be seen that Nowgong district has the greatest density of population in Assam and 6 out of its 11 police stations have a density above 100 per cent. of the State density. Only one police station, namely Lumding Police Station of Nowgong district, has a density which is below the density of the State. Nowgong district has a very fertile soil and produces rice and jute in huge quantities. It is sometimes called the granary of the State of Assam. There is a huge immigrant muslim population who are very good cultivators and produce a good quantity of paddy and jute per annum. So, although the economy of the district is almost entirely agricultural, it can support a big population. Lumding Police Station has a big area under reserve forest which is not open for cultivation. This is the only reason why the density is less than that of the State.

32. The Kamrup district with 541 persons per square mile comes next in terms of density of population. Here 9 police stations have a density which is 100 per cent. above the average of the State. The reasons for this density are practically the same as those of the Nowgong district with the exception of Gauhati and Jhalukbari police stations which owe their density to urbanisation and industrialisation. Jhalukbari has an area of 15 square miles, but it contains the Pandu and Amingaon railway colonies and the university area, while the Gauhati police station contains Gauhati town and its industrial suburbs. In Tarabari, Baghbor, Barpeta, Nalbari, Rangia and Hajo police stations of Kamrup district, the number of immigrant muslims is very big and they have cultivated almost every inch of the soil although these areas are liable to floods and so the population is very big in these police stations. In Patacharkuchi, Kamalpur, Tamulpur and Chhaygaon police stations of this district, the number of muslim cultivators is fairly big and so the density is also big.

33. Similarly, in all the plains districts of Assam, the population is densest where there are good areas for cultivation of rice, jute or tea. In the Lakhimpur district, Tinsukia, Moran and Doom Dooma police stations have a very big population because apart from being tea areas, they also have some industries which feed the tea estates. Some of these police stations which have concentrations of population are contiguous to each other, but some of them are scattered; but that is immaterial because the density does not depend upon regional grouping but upon the fertility and the habitability of the area. Industrialisation in Assam has also taken place in a rather sporadic manner, and there has been no localisation of industries. Therefore small industries have grown up in places where there are demands for the products. For example, the plywood industry and small iron industries have grown up in certain areas in the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts where there are demands for tea chests and other iron materials by the tea industry. It may also be noted that in the Lower Assam Valley, the largest concentrations of populations exist on either bank of the Brahmaputra which serves as a channel of communication and marketing for the agricultural products. Jute also grows mostly in the swampy areas in the Lower Brahmaputra region because the upper Brahmaputra region, particularly the south bank, is eminently suitable for the cultivation of tea. Some areas of Assam have forest reserves and so the police stations with large areas of such reserves have less people for obvious reasons.

34. From Sadiya to Nowgong, road and rail communications are better in the south bank, while the north bank is not only marshy but also liable to violent floods emanating from the Himalayas. Areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra in this region therefore have larger concentrations of population. The North Lakhimpur subdivision and many parts of the Darrang district have much less population due to lack of good communication as well as liability to violent floods of these areas. From Gauhati to Dhubri, the Brahmaputra plain is larger on the north bank than on the south bank and communications are also better on the north bank in this lower region. This is the reason why from Gauhati downwards, the north bank is also as populous as the south bank.

35. The Cachar district is the only plains area between the Shillong Plateau and the Mizo Hills. Tea, rice and jute are grown in abundance in this district and communications are almost as good as in any plains district in the Brahmaputra Valley. This

district therefore has a large concentration of population—a density of 514 persons per square mile. Moreover, a good number of refugees have moved into Cachar from East Pakistan apart from a big muslim population which is already there.

36. Both the tables above show that in the hill districts, all the police stations have a population of 51 to 100 per cent. below the average density of the State. In the Garo Hills, there are mauzas which on paper, show a high density of population. Although mauzas are treated as administrative units for the purpose of the Census, actually the mauzas of Garo Hills are only revenue collecting units. Some of these mauzas are plain areas which are inhabited almost entirely by the muslim immigrants and they are very small in area while another mauza consists of Tura town and its suburbs only. Mauza No. X contains only Tura town and a few villages around it and has an area of only 7.7 square miles while Mauza No. IX is an area with only 27.3 square miles. The hill portions of Garo Hills have a very small population.

PART B

DENSITY OF CENSUS HOUSES

37. *Definition*—A Census House has been defined as a structure or part of structure, a dwelling, a shop, workshop, factory or place of business, or shop-*cum*-dwelling giving on the road or a common staircase or a common courtyard leading to a main gate or enjoying a separate entrance. A Household means the entire group of persons who commonly live together in the same census house and take their meals from a common mess unless the exigencies of work prevent them from doing so.

38. In Assam, there are 101 households for every 100 houses. That means only one house out of 100 houses has two households in it. In other words, almost all houses in Assam are occupied only by one household and this is largely true in the case of all agrarian economies because in the village, each family occupies a separate house within its own homestead and 92.3 per cent. of the people of Assam live in rural areas. Even the small towns of Assam are more like villages and it is only in bigger towns that some houses are occupied by more than one household. So in the case of urban areas, there are 104 households for 100 census houses.

39 *Density of Rural Census Houses*—The following is Table 2.18 showing the number of occupied census houses per square mile for 1951 and 1961 as no data are available for Censuses earlier than 1951:

TABLE 2·18

State District	1961	1951
ASSAM	43	32
1. Goalpara	65	45
2. Kamrup	64	54
3 Darrang	70	52
4 Lakhimpur	54	43
5 Nowgong	93	63
6 Sibsagar	79	63
7 Cachar	89	76
8 Garo Hills	19	16
9 United Khasi Jaintia Hills	13	9
10 United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	9	5
11 Mizo Hills	5	4

40 The above table shows that in 1951, there are 32 occupied census houses per square mile in the rural areas of Assam and the proportion has increased to 43 in 1961. This is natural bearing in mind the fact that the rural population has increased by over 25 lakhs during 1951-61 Among the districts, Cachar has 89 occupied census houses in 1961 as compared to 76 in 1951; while Mizo Hills has only 5 occupied census houses per square mile in 1961 as against 4 in 1951. This extreme variation is due directly to density of population in the Cachar and Mizo districts. It may however be noted that although the density of population in Nowgong district is more than the Cachar district, yet the number of occupied census houses in the rural areas of Cachar is slightly more than such occupied census houses in Nowgong district. The Kamrup district which also has a density greater than Cachar has much less houses per square mile than Cachar. This shows that the size of families in Kamrup and Nowgong districts is slightly bigger than that in Cachar.

41. The following tables give facts and figures regarding the percentage of households to the number of houses in rural and urban

areas as well as the density of households per square mile in rural and urban areas of Assam, district by district.

TABLE 2·19

State/Division/District	Total	Rural	Urban
ASSAM	101	101	104
Assam Plains Division	101	101	104
1. Goalpara	101	101	105
2. Kamrup	102	101	106
3. Darrang	100	100	104
4. Lakhimpur	100	100	103
5. Nowgong	100	100	104
6. Sibsagar	100	100	103
7. Cachar	103	103	104
Assam Hills Division	104	103	104
8. Garo Hills	103	103	112
9. United Khasi Jaintia Hills	104	104	104
10. United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	104	104	101
11. Mizo Hills	102	102	100

TABLE 2·20

State/Division/District	Total	Rural	Urban
ASSAM	47	43	1,479
Assam Plains Division	80	74	1,530
1. Goalpara	70	66	1,239
2. Kamrup	95	84	1,931
3. Darrang	73	70	1,149
4. Lakhimpur	60	54	1,430
5. Nowgong	100	93	2,006
6. Sibsagar	83	79	1,379
7. Cachar	97	92	1,447
Assam Hills Division	11	10	1,257
8. Garo Hills	20	19	497
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	18	14	1,997
10. United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	9	9	352
11. Mizo Hills	5	5	495

42. From the above tables, it is seen that the density of households per sq. mile is highest in the Nowgong District which is closely followed by the Cachar district and the Kamrup district. These three districts are mostly covered with cultivable plain areas and so we find the highest number of households per sq. mile in them. It is also seen that the lowest density of household per sq. mile can be found in the Mizo Hills which is closely followed by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district. The difficulties of the terrain, the general unhealthiness of the sub-montane areas and the protection of the hill people under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule have probably accounted for the low density.

43. *Density of urban Census Houses*—The following is Table 2·21 showing the distribution of 1,000 Census Households according to the number of rooms occupied in Gauhati, Shillong and Dibrugarh towns which have a population of over 50,000 as well as in other towns combined together :—

TABLE 2·21

Town	Households occupying					
	No definite room	One room	Two rooms	Three rooms	Four rooms	Fives rooms and more
1. Shillong	—	406	263	117	109	105
2. Gauhati	—	532	236	108	55	69
3. Dibrugarh	-	389	274	150	88	99
4. Others (Class III, IV, V & VI)	4	438	299	126	63	70

44. The above table shows that as far as one room occupation by households is concerned, the number is the greatest in Gauhati followed by Shillong and then by Dibrugarh, but as far as the number of households occupying two rooms and three rooms is concerned, the order is reversed—236 in Gauhati, 263 in Shillong and 274 in Dibrugarh and 108 in Gauhati, 117 in Shillong and 150 in Dibrugarh respectively. As far as the number of households occupying four rooms is concerned, Shillong tops the list with 109 households out of every 1,000 followed by Dibrugarh with 88 and then by Gauhati with 55. Similarly as far as the number of households occupying houses with five rooms and more, Shillong tops the list with 105 out of every 1,000 followed by Dibrugarh with 99 and Gauhati with 69. In the case of towns of Class III-VI it may be seen that most of the houses are of the one-room or two-room type while the type of houses having three, four or five rooms and more are comparatively less than the towns of Class I and II. These facts do not fail to show that the congestion in the urban areas is very big. Another significant fact is also that the houses in the towns have a tendency to cluster around a bazar and

people have a habit of living as close to each other as possible in such congested areas. Towns in the plains of Assam have a tendency for ribbon development, *i.e.*, that houses have a tendency to be built on both sides of the main road or national highway. In such cases, towns have length, but very little breadth.

45. In Assam, almost all the towns have only service and administrative localities, and only very few have commercial and transport localities. There is no ward in Class I and II towns which can be described as a purely manufacturing locality. In Gauhati, only wards I, VI and the Railway Colony are commercial and transport localities; while in Dibrugarh wards No. I, V, VI, VII, VIII, X, XII, XIII, XX and XXI fall under this category. In the case of other towns, Pandu, Amingaon, Badarpur, Mariani and Lumding are purely transport localities as they are railway towns Tinsukia is an exception because it has become a town because it has an important railway junction, a distribution centre of the Assam Oil Company and a centre of many small-scale industries which feed the tea and oil industries. Digboi Oil Town is entirely connected with the production and refining of Oil

46 *Distribution of Urban Houses* -The following is a table showing the distribution of 1,000 Census Houses according to use in the towns of Assam. -

TABLE 2·22

Class of Town	Vacant Census Houses	CENSUS HOUSES USED AS						
		Dwelling	Shop *cum* dwellings	Workshop *cum* dwellings	Business Houses and offices	Factories, workshops and worksheds	Schools and other educational Institutions	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I	60	770	61	11	13	6	4	75
II	58	765	52	4	18	7	5	91
Others combined	55	754	69	11	12	9	6	84

47. Only three towns in Assam have a population of 50,000 and over. The towns are Gauhati, Shillong and Dibrugarh. Within the muncipal limit of 5.5 square miles, Gauhati has a population of 100,707 and 24,259 houses Within an area of just under 4 sq. miles, the Shillong Municipality has a population of 72,438 and 18,530 houses while within an area of 3.52 sq. miles, the Dibrugarh Municipality has a total population of 58,480 and 12,181 houses. The above houses within each town have been put to different uses and I shall discuss about each use separately.

48. In Gauhati 18,683 houses were used purely for residential purposes, while 1,470 were used as shop-*cum*-dwellings and 271 houses were used as workshop-*cum*-dwellings. In other words, 20,424 houses were used for occupation by households. In Shillong, 14,829 houses were used purely for residential purposes while 501 were used as shop-*cum*-dwellings and 16 houses were used as workshop-*cum*-dwellings making a total of 15,346 for occupation by households. Dibrugarh has 8,679 houses used purely for residential purposes, 1,097 used as shop-*cum*-dwellings and 99 houses used as workshop-*cum*-dwellings making a total of 9,875 houses for occupation by households In every dwelling, there are 4 93 persons in Gauhati, 4 72 persons in Shillong and 5 92 persons in Dibrugarh showing that the congestion is most acute in Dibrugarh for the time being. With respect to hotels, sarais, dharamsalas, tourist homes and inspection bungalows Gauhati has 201, Shillong 96 and Dibrugarh 52. The best hotels for foreign tourists can however be found only in Shillong. Regarding shops excluding eating houses, Gauhati has 917, Shillong 1,465 while Dibrugarh has 557. As regards business houses and offices, Gauhati has 314, Shillong has 419 and Dibrugarh has 127. In respect of factories, worksheds and workshops, Gauhati has 158, Shillong has 117 and Diburgarh has 108. With respect to schools and other educational institutions including training classes, coaching and short classes, Gauhati has 99, Shillong has 102 and Dibrugarh has 50. Gauhati has 129 restaurants, sweetmeat shops and eating places, Shillong has 58 and Dibrugarh has 28 such places. With respect to places of entertainment and community gathering, Gauhati has 18, Shillong has 24

and Dibrugarh has 23. Gauhati has 101 public health and medical institutions including hospitals, health centres, doctors' clinics and dispensaries, etc. while Shillong has 99 and Dibrugarh has 28 such places. Each of these three towns of Assam can be classified only as residential because in Gauhati 84.2 per cent., in Shillong 82.8 per cent. and in Dibrugarh 81.1 per cent. of all the houses are used only for residential purposes. The same is also true of all the other towns in Assam.

PART C
GROWTH OF POPULATION

49. *Growth of Population in the last 60 years*—I give below a table which will show the gradual increase of population in Assam within the present boundaries from 1901 to 1961. The increase has been shown in terms of absolute population, decade variation, percentage variation and density.

TABLE 2·23

Year	Population	Decade Variation	Percentage variation	Density
1901	3,712,638	—	—	79
1911	4,333,826	+ 621,188	+ 16.73	92
1921	5,157,789	+ 323,963	+ 19.01	109
1931	6,165,612	+ 1,007,823	+ 19·54	130
1941	7,403,396	+ 1,237,784	+ 20·08	157
1951	8,830,732	+ 1,427,336	+ 19.28	187
1961	11,872,772	+ 3,042,040	+ 34.45	251

50. From this table, it may be seen that from the beginning of the century, the increase in population in Assam has been steady between 16.73 and 20.08 in terms of percentage variation from 1901 to 1941. During 1951-61 the increase is spectacular inasmuch as the percentage variation suddenly rises from 19.28 to 34.45. These figures do not fail to show an accelerative growth of Assam's population during the entire period of the present century. The spectacular continuous growth is due not only to natural increase but also to a continuous influx of population into Assam from other parts of India ever since the turn of the century.

51. *Growth of Population Police Station-wise*—In order to enable us to appreciate the growth of population, it is necessary to see where there are concentrations and we can do so by taking smaller units of administration. In Assam there are no tehsils or taluks, and the police stations have always been taken as suitable administrative units for comparability of data. In the case of Garo Hills, however, mauzas or revenue units have been taken as administrative units equivalent to police station. Police stations have been determined largely in terms of crime for a particular area and so the size of police stations in Assam may vary from about 15 sq. miles, as in the case of Jhalukbari police station of the Kamrup district, to the Aijal police station consisting of 4,861 sq. miles or being equivalent to the size of a biggest district in India. These factors should be kept in view when the growth of population is determined in terms of percentage increase or decrease of population in the districts and police stations of Assam in 1951-61.

52. I give below five tables which will enable us to examine the growth of population in Assam.

Percentage increase or decrease of population in Districts and Police stations during 1951-61

(Average increase for the State during 1951-61—34.45)

TABLE 2·24

District	Police Stations	Increase (a) Up to 9·9 Per cent.	(b) 10—19 9 Per cent.	(c) 20—24·9 Per cent.	(d) 25—29·9 Per cent.	(e) 30—39 9 Per cent.	(f) 40—49 9 Per cent.	(g) Above 50 Per cent.	Decrease State Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Goalpara									
	Gossaingaon	..	..	..	..	39 32	..	..	..
	Kokrajhar	..	..	..	..	..	45·47	..	..
	Sidli	..	..	..	..	..	..	50 24	..
	Bijni	..	..	..	..	..	49·63	..	..
	Golokganj	..	..	..	..	..	..	72 17	..
	Bilasipara	..	..	..	..	38·68	..	..	..
	Dhubri	..	..	..	29·53	..	..	..	..
	South Salmara	..	..	22·66	..	..	..	..	..
	Mankachar	..	..	21·69	..	..	..	..	..
	North Salmara	..	..	..	27·34	..	..	..	..
	Lakhipur	..	..	..	..	..	..	52·68	..
	Goalpara	..	..	..	..	39·64	..	..	..
	Dudhnai	..	..	..	..	30·89	..	..	..
		..	..	..	..	..	40·33	..	..

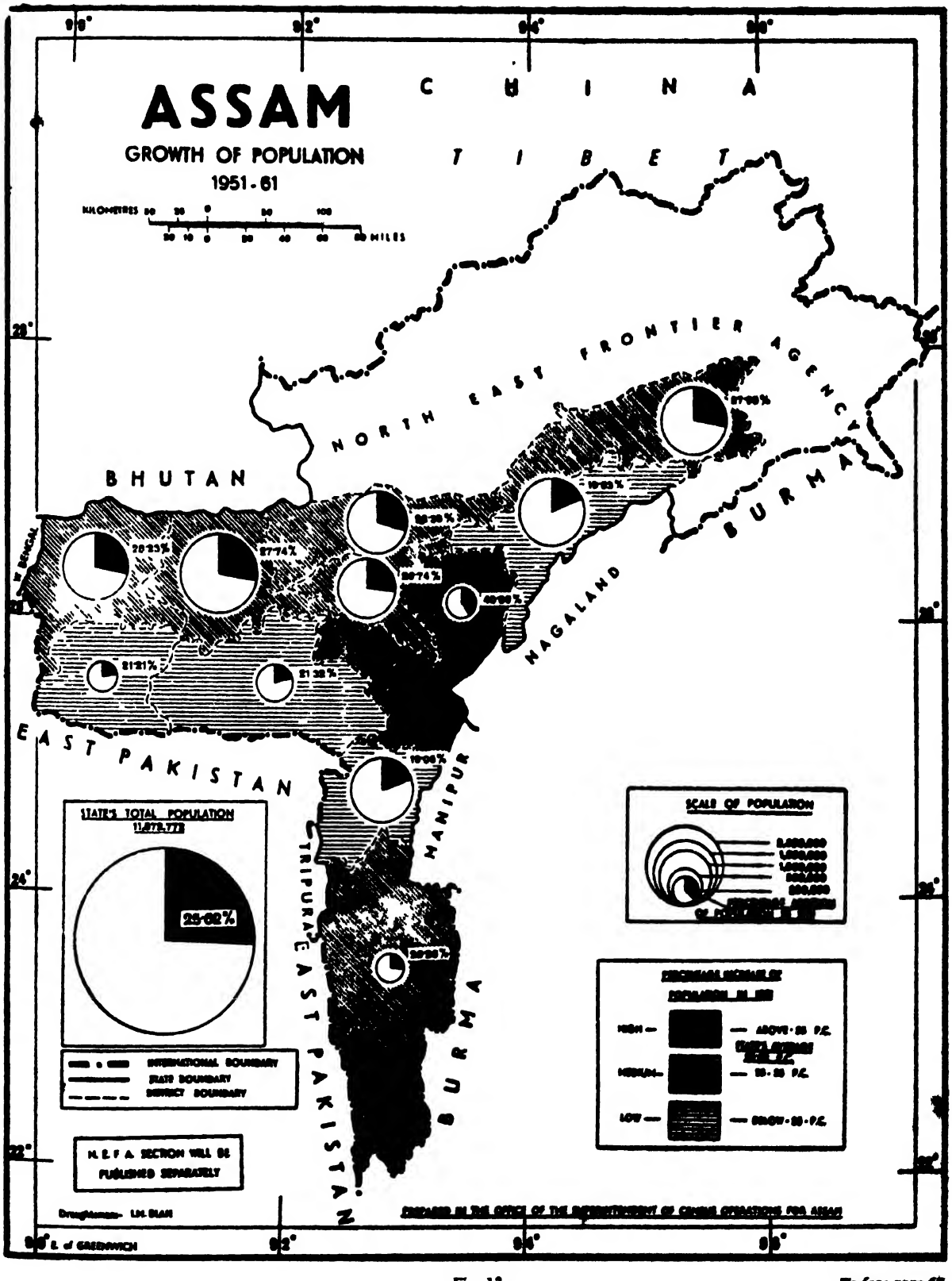

Fig. 13

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TABLE 2·24—*contd.*

District	Police Stations	Increase (a) Upto 9·9 Per cent	(b) 10-19·9 Per cent	(c) 20-24·9 Per cent	(d) 25-29·9 Per cent	(e) 30-39·9 Per cent	(f) 40-49·9 Per cent	(g) Above 50 Per cent	Decrease State Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Kamrup									
	Sorbhog					38·39			
	Patacharkuchi						44·05		
	Barpeta					30·52			
	Baghbar				26·11				
	Tarabari						49·58		
	Barama	7·81							
	Tamulpur						43·99		
	Nalbari							81·90	
	Rangia			20·54					
	Hajo					31·37			
	Kamalpur					33·55			
	Boko				28·46				
	Chhaygaon							59·48	
	Palasbari						42·21		
	Jhalukbari				29·53				
	Gauhati						47·61		
								79·80	
Darrang									
	Paneri					39·64			
	Udalguri							52·52	
	Majbat							75·86	
	Kalaigaon						45·55		
	Dalgaon							62·61	
	Mangaldai						48·10		
	Dhekiajuli			24·52					
	Tezpur						47·23		
	Chutia				27·60				
	Behali					38·90			
	Gohpur			25·63					
							47·47		
Lakhimpur									
	Bihpuria					38·81			
	North Lakhimpur						46·70		
	Dhakuakhana							51·21	
	Dhemaji							49·43	
	Sadiya							95·26	
	Dibrugarh								20·50
	Tinsukia			31·03					
	Doom Dooma					37·44			
	Moran					35·53			
	Bardubi					30·00			
	Digboi						40·77		
	Jaipur							56·17	
	Margherita						42·56		
								54·44	
Nowgong									
	Laharighat					36·51			..
	Dhing					39·43			
	Rupahihat			20·82					
	Kaliabor		19·88						
	Marigaon					30·25			
	Raha						40·22		
	Nowgong					32·41			
	Samaguri					32·11			
	Jamunamukh				29·31				
	Lanka							50·08	..
	Lumding							73·67	..
								52·92	..
Sibsagar									
	Bokakhat			24·43					
	Dergaon				27·99				
	Golaghat			21·04					
	Majuli			24·43					
	Jorhat					21·74			
	Teok				27·12				
	Titabar		18·53						
	Amguri				25·97				
	Sibsagar		15·28						
	Nazira			22·81					
	Sonari			21·43					
						30·13			
Cachar									
	Katigora			23·53					
	Barkhola		18·34						..
	Udarbond		17·27						
	Lakhipur			21·11					..
	Silchar				26·43				
	Sonai			23·89					
	Karimganj			22·78					
	Badarpur		17·23						
	Patharkandi		16·17	..					
	Ratabari			..					
	Hailakandi				26·11				
	Katlichara					28·97			
			..	21·54		..			
			..	..	..	..	49·14		

TABLE 2·24—*concld.*

District	Police Stations	Increase (a) Up to 9·9 Per cent	(b) 10-19·9 Per cent	(c) 20-24·9 Per cent	(d) 25-29·9 Per cent	(e) 30-39·9 Per cent	(f) 40-49·9 Per cent	(g) Above 50 Per cent	Decrease State percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Garo Hills					*26·91*				
	Mauza I								1·22
	Mauza II			20·85					
	Mauza III					38·34			
	Mauza IV				25·87				
	Mauza V		12·92						
	Mauza VI						40·59		
	Mauza VII		17·64						
	Mauza VIII		15·83						
	Mauza IX							88·77	
	Mauza X							185·75	
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills					*27·10*				
	Nongpoh		16·53						
	Shillong					38·18			
	Cherrapunji		13·12						
	Jowai			21·46					
United M & N C Hills								69·08	
	Baithalangso							83·37	
	Howraghat							76·13	
	Bokajan							84·19	
	Diphu							70·35	
	Haflong					36·95			
Mizo Hills						45·61			
	Aizal					35·05			
	Lungleh					36·86			

Rural and Urban components of increase in populations of Police Stations which have shown increase above the State average

TABLE 2·25

Name of District	Name of Police Stations	Percentage increase of Police Stations during 1951-61	Percentage increase of rural population of Police Stations during 1951-61	Percentage increase of urban population of Police Stations during 1951-61
1	2	3	4	5
Goalpara District—				
	Gossaingaon	45·47	45·47	..
	Kokrajhar	50·24	39·48	..
	Sidli	49·63	49·63	..
	Bijni	72·17	72·17	..
	Golokganj	38·68	38·68	..
	North Salmara	52·68	40·48	..
	Lakhipur	39·64	39·64	..
	Dudhnai	40·33	40·33	..
Kamrup District—				
	Sorbhog	44·05	35·08	..
	Baghbor	49·58	49·58	..
	Barama	43·99	41·08	..
	Tamulpur	81·90	81·90	..
	Boko	59·48	59·48	..
	Chhaygaon	42·21	42·21	..
	Jhalukbari	47·61	—60·96	..
	Gauhati	79·80	23·71	148·09

TABLE 2·25—*concld*

Name of District	Name of Police Stations	Percentage increase of Police Stations during 1951-61	Percentage increase of rural population of Police Stations during 1951-61	Percent increase of urban population of Police Stations during 1951-61
	2	3	4	5
Darang District—				
	Paneri	52 52	46 62	..
	Udalguri	75 84	75 84	..
	Majbat	45 55	45 55	
	Kalaigaon	62 61	62 61	..
	Dalgaon	48 19	37 71	
	Dhekiajuli	47 23	41 32	
	Chutia	38 90	38 90	
	Gohpur	47 47	47 47	.
Lakhimpur District—				
	Bihpuria	46 70	43 23	
	North Lakhimpur	51 21	49 26	112 54
	Dhakuakhana	59 43	59 43	
	Dhemaji	95 26	95 26	
	Tinsukia	37 44	25 16	153 17
	Bardubi	40 77	40 77	
	Digboi	56 17	- 5 71	.
	Jaipur	42 54	34 21	
	Margherita	54 44	54 44	
Nowgong District—				
	Laharighat	39 43	39 43	
	Marigaon	40 22	40 22	
	Jamunamukh	50 08	33 90	
	Lanka	73 67	71 67	
	Lumding	52 92	58 19	51 76
Cachar District—				
	Katlichara	43 14	43 14	..
Garo Hills District—				
	Mauza III	38 34	38 34	..
	Mauza VI	40·59	40 59	..
	Mauza IX	88 77	88 77	.
	Mauza X	85 75	—38 81	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District—				
	Shillong	38 18	19 85	75·00
U. M. & N. C Hills District—				
	Baithalangso . . .	83 37	83 37	..
	Howraghat	76·13	76·13	..
	Bokajan	84 19	84·19	..
	Diphu	70·35	70·35	..
	Haflong	36·95	36·16	50·00
Mizo Hills District—				
	Aijal	35·05	31·28	105·14
	Lungleh	36·86	36·86	..

Police station showing high increase due to comparatively high increase in Rural population during 1951-61

TABLE 2.26

District and Police Station	Percentage increase of Police Station	Percentage increase in rural population					
		(a) 10—19·9 Per cent	(b) 20—24·9 Per cent	(c) 25—29·9 Per cent	(d) 30—39·9 Per cent	(e) 40—49·9 Per cent	(f) Above 50 Per cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Goalpara District—							
Gossaingaon P. S.	45·47	..	..	..	..	45·47	..
Kokrajhar P. S.	50·24	..	..	..	39·48	..	..
Sidli P. S.	49·63	..	..	..	..	49·63	..
Bijni P. S.	72·17	..	..	..	..	..	72·17
Golokganj P. S.	38·68	..	..	..	38·68	..	..
North Salmara P. S.	52·68	..	..	..	..	40·58	..
Lakhipur P. S.	39·64	..	..	..	39·64	..	..
Dudhnai P. S.	40·38	..	..	..	..	40·33	..
Kamrup District—							
Sorbhog P. S.	44·05	..	..	..	35·08	..	..
Baghbor P. S.	49·58	..	..	..	..	49·58	..
Barama P. S.	43·99	..	..	..	..	41·08	..
Tamulpur P. S.	81·90	..	..	..	..	..	81·90
Boko P. S.	59·48	..	..	..	..	..	59·48
Chhaygaon P. S.	42·21	..	..	..	..	42 21	..
Darrang District—							
Paneri P. S.	52·52	..	.	..	..	46·62	..
Udalguri P. S.	75·84	..	..	..	..	.	75 84
Majbat P. S.	45·55	..	..	..	..	45 55	..
Kalaigaon P. S.	62·61	..	..	..	..	..	62·61
Dalgaon P. S.	48·19	..	..	..	37·71	..	..
Dhekiajuli P. S.	47·23	..	..	..	..	41 32	..
Chutia P. S.	38·90	..	..	..	38·90	..	..
Gohpur P. S.	47·47	..	..	..	..	47·47	..
Lakhimpur District—							
Bihpuria P. S.	46·70	..	..	..	..	43·23	..
Dhakuakhana P. S.	59·43	..	..	..	..	..	59·43
Dhemaji P. S.	95·26	..	..	..	..	..	95·26
Bardubi P. S.	40·77	..	..	..	..	40·77	..
Jaipur P. S.	42·54	..	..	..	34·21	..	..
Margherita P. S.	54·44	..	..	..	..	..	54·44
Nowgong District—							
Laharighat P. S.	39·43	..	..	..	39·43	..	..
Matigaon P. S.	40·22	..	..	..	..	40·22	..
Jamunamukh P. S.	50·08	..	..	..	33·90	..	..
Lanka P. S.	73·67	..	..	..	..	..	73·67
Lumding P. S.	52·92	..	..	..	..	..	58·19
Cachar District—							
Katlichara	43·14	.	..	..	..	43·14	..
Garo Hills—							
Mauza III	38·34	..	..	..	38·34	..	..
Mauza VI	40·59	..	..	..	..	40·59	..
Mauza IX	88·77	..	..	..	..	..	88·77
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills—							
Baithalangso P. S.	83·37	..	..	..	..	..	83·37
Howraghat P. S.	76·13	..	..	..	..	..	76·13
Bokajan P. S.	84·19	..	..	..	..	..	84·19
Diphu P. S.	70·35	..	..	..	..	..	70·35
Mizo Hills District—							
Lungleh P. S.	36·86	..	..	..	36·86	..	..

Police Stations showing high increase due to comparatively high increase in Urban population during 1951-61

TABLE 2·27

District and Police Station	Percentage increase of Police Station	Percentage increase in urban population					
		(a) 10—19·9 Per cent	(b) 20—24·9 Per cent	(c) 25—29·9 Per cent	(d) 30—39·9 Per cent	(e) 40—49·9 Per cent	(f) Above 50 Per cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Lakhimpur District—							
North Lakhimpur P S	51 21						112·54
Tinsukia P S	37 44						153 17
Doom Dooma P S	35 53						164 34
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District—							
Shillong P S	38 18						75·00
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills District—							
Haflong P S	36 95						50·60
Mizo Hills District—							
Aijal P S	35 05						105 14

Police Stations in which the growth of Rural population has been comparable (i e , within 5 points) with that of Urban population during 1951 61

TABLE 2·28

District and Police Station 1	Percentage increase of Police Station 2	Percentage increase of rural population 3	Percentage increase of urban population 4
Goalpara District	39 32	35 06	151 40
Goalpara P S	30 89	30 22	34 34
Dhubri P. S .	22 66	21 71	25 33
Kamrup District	38 39	30·11	197 10
Barpeta P. S	26 11	25 53	30·90
Darrang District	39 64	37 54	124 02
Tezpur P. S.	27 60	27 56	27 96
Cachar District	23 53	21 54	57 74
Silchar P. S.	23 89	24 64	20·56

53. The average increase in Assam during 1951-61 is already the highest in India being 34.45 per cent. Table 2.25 above shows that there are 51 police stations including 4 mauzas which show an increase more than the average of the State. For example, in some hill areas like the Mikir Hills sub-division, all the four police stations have shown an increase of over 70 per cent. in population in terms of sheer percentage. As already stated elsewhere in the preceding paragraphs, this increase is largely due to under-enumeration in the past, because there are very few non-Mikirs in the Mikir Hills and the fertility of the Mikir people is rather low and the death rate is high. In terms of absolute numbers, however, the increase is not large because the population in this sub-montane area is very scarce. Mauza X of the Garo Hills consists almost entirely of Tura town and its suburbs and the high

percentage is simply due to a certain amount of urbanisation in this area which is again simply due to the fact that Tura has been declared a town for the first time by me in 1961. Mauza IX of the Garo hills consists of 27.3 sq. miles and is inhabited almost entirely by migrants who have come there from East Pakistan from pre-Partition days and possibly after partition also. The percentage increase in these units ranges from 70.35 to 88.75.

54. The percentage increase is the highest in the Dhemaji police station of the Lakhimpur district where the figures stand at 95.26 per cent. This police station consists of a marshy area between the Brahmaputra and the foothill of NEFA and possibly it has been greatly under-enumerated in the past because of its inaccessibility. About half of the police station is occupied by the tribal people known as the Miris.

55. In the other police stations of the plains districts, where the increase is well above the average of the State, the increase is largely due to the influx of population from other parts of India and a neighbouring country. These police stations in the plains already have a very big population and so even a compartively smaller increase in terms of percentage really means a very big population. In this connection it may also be borne in mind that according to the Census Actuary, the birth rate in Assam is 49.3 per thousand and the death rate is 26.9 showing an increase of 22.4 per thousand during the decade 1951-61.

56. In respect of the Jhalukbari and Digboi Police Stations and Mauza X of the Garo Hills, the increase in the percentage of rural population has been shown to be in the negative. This is simply due to the fact that new towns have been declared for the first time in 1961 in these police stations and most parts of the population have been absorbed in these new towns.

57. The percentage increase in terms of urban population is very high in respect of Gauhati, North Lakhimpur, Tinsukia, Shillong and Aijal police stations. In the case of the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati, the increase is due to enlargement of the areas of the towns. North Lakhimpur town appears to have a big percentage increase, but in terms of absolute numbers, the increase has been only from 3,094 in 1951 to 6,576 in 1961.

58. During the last ten years between 1951 and 1961, many parts of Assam have been developed under the impact of the two Five-Year Plans. Roads have been opened up in many areas including the hitherto inaccessible areas, land has been reclaimed in certain areas like Lanka and many administrative centres under the Development Projects have also been opened up in the rural areas. There has been a tremendous improvement in the health of the people during the last decade due to the opening up of many hospitals, dispensaries as well as preventive schemes like the National Malaria Eradication Programme, mass vaccination, etc. All these factors have also helped to enlarge the growth of population.

59. *Decrease of population in certain areas*—From table 2.24, it may be seen that there has been a decrease of population in the Sadiya police station and Mauza I of the Garo Hills. Sadiya town and its neighbouring areas have been completely eroded by the Brahmaputra as an aftermath of the Great Earthquake of 1950. Even areas which have not been eroded have almost entirely been covered with sand and debris coming down from the Himalayas as a result of this earthquake. Many people have therefore to leave this police station to be resettled in other parts of the Lakhimpur district mostly in the south bank. This is the only reason why the population of this police station has gone down by 20.50 per cent. In the case of the Mauza I of the Garo Hills, there has been a decrease of 1'.22 per cent. during the decade. This mauza consists of high barren hills in the Garo Hills, where due to shifting cultivation, there has been little left out of cultivable land and so the Garo people have shifted elsewhere for cultivation. The loss in this mauza has been more than compensated by the increase in the other mauzas where the Garo people have shifted.

60. In the plains of Assam, only Tarabari police station of the Kamrup district has shown a poor increase of 7.81 per cent. only. This is due to the fact that this police station has also been largely eroded by the Brahmaputra during the last decade.

PART D

61. *Natural Growth of Population*—Theoretically the growth of population during a decade is the excess of births over deaths, *i.e.*, the natural increase and the net fresh migration. Thus, the inter-censal population increase can be represented by Births minus Deaths plus Fresh Immigration minus Fresh Emigration.

62. The problem may be discussed more appropriately if we transform the trem of the above equation into rates by dividing both sides by the mean population of the decade The mean population is estimated by taking the average population of the last two Censuses. The equation now becomes :—

Mean Growth Rate = Birth Rate minus Death Rate plus Fresh net Migration Rate = Rate of Natural Increase plus Rate of fresh net Migration.

63. The rate of natural increase is nothing but the difference between the decennial birth and death rates.

64. The calculation of birth and death rates depends mainly on the registration data. In the case of Assam, this work is so grossly deficient that no useful conclusion can be made. For example, from the urban registration data of 1960, birth and death rates of Assam are only 21.1 and 8.0 respectively which is obviously very far from reality.

65. Along with the 1961 Census, a Fertility Survey on a random sample of Census Blocks was conducted to find out the birth rate and other such informations. In the 14th round of National Sample Survey conducted during July 1958—July 1959 and in the Sample Census of 1960, data leading to the calculations of birth and death rates have been collected. But the rates thrown out by these surveys also appear to be low although they have partly succeeded in yielding a better rate than the registered ones.

66. The rates of these three Surveys are given below :—

	Birth Rate			Death Rate		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
National Sample Survey	39·1	..	..	12·1	..	..
Fertility Survey .	41·2	42·3	41·5	..	..	..
Sample Census .	33·8	21·7	33·2	15·1	6·3	14·7

67. The Census Actuary of 1961 has obtained the birth and death rates of different States of India by comparing the figures of the last two Censuses to agree with the all-India birth and death rates of 41.7 and 22.8 respectively. The birth and death rates of different States of India as worked out by him are reproduced below :—

TABLE 2.20

	Birth Rate	Death Rate
Northern Zone -		
Punjab	44.7	18.9
Rajasthan	42 7	19.4
Zonal (Aggregated)	43.6	19.0
Central Zone		
Uttar Pradesh	41.5	24.9
Madhya Pradesh	43.2	23.2
Zonal (Aggregated)	42.0	24.4
Western Zone		
Gujarat	45.7	23.5
Maharashtra	41.2	19.8
Zonal (Aggregated)	42.8	21.4
Southern Zone		
Andhra Pradesh	39 7	25.2
Kerala	38.9	16.1
Madras	34.9	22.5
Mysore	41.6	22.2
Zonal (Aggregated)	38.5	22.3
Eastern Zone—		
Assam	49.3	26.[illegible]
Bihar	43.4	26.1
Orissa	40.4	22.9
West Bengal	42.9	20.5
Zonal (Aggregated)	43.3	23.9
ALL INDIA	41.7	22.8

68. It is seen from Table 2.29 that the birth and death rates in Assam are the highest in India during 1951-1960. Even in 1941-1950, the estimated birth and death rates were 46.7 and 31.8 respectively. It is therefore seen that while during the last decade the birth rate of Assam shows an upward trend, the death rate has fallen sharply from 31.8 to 26.9 amounting to a natural increase of 22.4 during the last decade against 14.9 in the previous decade.

69. The birth rate of a few other countries of the world is given below :—

TABLE 2·30

Country	Year	Birth Rate
1. U.S.A.	1957	25.0
2. U.K.	1957	16.5
3. France	1958	18.2
4. Italy	1957	18.1
5. Australia	1958	22.6
6. Canada	1958	27.6
7. Japan	1957	17.2
8. Indonesia	1950-54	29.7
9. Paraguay	1950-54	46.6
10. Ecuador	1957	47.1
11. Thailand	1953	37.4
12. Philippines	1957	22.0
13. Egypt	1956	47.6
14. India	1960	41.7
15. Assam	1960	49.3

70. From the above statement it is seen that the birth rate of Assam is the highest in the world.

71. As the mean growth rate during the last decade is estimated to be 29.4, the excess rate of 7.0 over the natural increase rate of 22.4 should be due to fresh net migration.

72. The net migration has to be obtained by differentiating the 1951 and 1961 Census figures of persons enumerated in the State but born outside and of persons born in the State but enumerated outside the State. As these figures of immigration and emigration can be had from the State Table and from the other Superintendents of Census Operations, theoretically the net migration rate can be worked out. But these measures of obtaining migration data are very crude mainly because we are considering the birth place information in the table to be life-time migration. This will only be true if the migration is single-staged, *i.e.*, there is only one move directly from the place of birth to the place of enumeration.

73. The table on the duration of residence of the migrants is also difficult to interpret properly. There we have the number of persons residing at the place of enumeration for 10 years or less but born outside the State. These persons came to the place of enumeration during the last 10 years and will be true only if 10 years back they resided in an area outside the State ; but we do not know this from the table ; all that we know is that they were born outside the State. There is no information about their movements since birth to the date of Census enumeration. Those who entered the State more than 10 years back and moved to the place of enumeration within the last 10 years from an area within the State are not fresh immigrants. Moreover, migrants who die before the Census date are not correctly dealt with. By differentiating two Census figures, the net effect is that such deceased persons are treated as in-migrants to their place of birth and as out-migrants from the place of the last Census enumeration. Thus, such cases tend to under-estimate the out-migration from place of birth as also in-migration to place of enumeration. Migrants returning to their place of birth or moving on to other areas before the next Census also are treated as out-migrants from the place of last Census enumeration and as in-migrants to the place of birth. For instance, if displaced or other such persons initially concerntrated in a State, spread out after the 1951 Census to other States, such a distortion would occur.

74. The following is Table 2.31 showing the immigrants into Assam during 1951-61 :—

Statement Showing the net Immigrants in Assam during the decade 1951 61

TABLE 2·31

State District	Population in 1961	Population in 1951	Net increase of population (Col 2 -Col 3)	Immigrants in 1961	Immigrants in 1951	Net immigrants difference of Col. 5 and Col 6
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ASSAM	11 872,772	8,830,732	3,042,040	1,353,581	1 342,741	+10,840
Goalpara	1 543,892	1,108 124	435,768	200,836	174,986	+25,850
Kamrup	2 062,572	1,490,392	572,180	195,484	221,452	-25,968
Darrang	1 289 670	923,962	366 108	199,316	195,476	+ 3,840
Lakhmipur	1 563 842	1 126,294	437 548	231,726	230,011	+ 1,715
Nowgong	1,210 761	886,955	323,806	183,042	203,548	- 20,506
Sibsagar	1 508,390	1,212,224	296 166	89,498	103,503	- 14,005
Cachar	1 378,476	1,115 865	262,611	156,307	152,083	+ 4,224
Garo Hills	307,228	242,075	65,153	11,674	8,949	+ 2,725
United Khasi Jaintia Hills	462,152	363,599	98 553	44,665	36,798	+ 7,867
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	279,726	165,440	114,286	25,199	5,565	+ 19,634
Mizo Hills	266 063	196,202	69,861	15,834	10,370	+ 5,464

75 From the above table it is seen that only 13,437 persons came to Assam during the last decade which is palpably impossible So far as Assam is concerned, the birth-place statistics cannot at all be relied upon In the districts such as Goalpara, Kamrup etc where the rate of increase is abnormally high, birth-place statistics failed to show the expected number of immigrants. I personally noticed in my tours during the enumeration period that in areas where the increase is abnormal, almost all the persons returned their place of birth either as PL (Place of living) or D (within the district of enumeration) or in some cases, other districts of the State of enumeration. As the birth-place information of Assam in the 1961 Census is completely unreliable, the district-wise as well as the State immigration rate or the number of immigrants cannot be calculated even with the least degree of accuracy.

76. So far as the emigration rate is concerned, the type of difficulty is the same as that of immigration rate The figures collected from my colleagues of other States and from the 1951 Census Report show a difference of only 70,120

77 So the net migration figures of Assam have not given any clue to explain the unusual growth of 34 45 per cent during the last decade

78 Now, in order to explain the excess of 7 0 point in growth rate over the natural growth rate, we will have to consider other factors *viz.*, under-enumeration in the last Census and unusual increase of muslim population

79. The birth-place statistics are considered to be fairly accurate in case of displaced persons from East Pakistan and people from other parts of India. It appears that the muslim immigrants who came to Assam from East Pakistan during the decade have not correctly returned their birth-place. Perhaps in many

cases, such muslim immigrants who returned their birth-place correctly in the 1951 Census, have recorded as Assam during this Census; otherwise inspite of the huge number of Hindu displaced persons who came to Assam from East Pakistan during this decade, birth place data failed to show this aspect. As the birth-place data are not cross-tabulated with religion, this factor cannot be properly ascertained from the different tables.

80. In the Census Report of 1951, Shri Vaghaiwalla admitted that there was some amount of under-enumeration in Assam. He said this in his conclusion drawn by him after discussing the various results obtained from the post enumeration check. He also admitted that the post enumeration check was done only in some selected places in the plains and the whole hill areas were left out because of the difficulty of communications as well as the fact that many villages in the hill areas were either inaccessible or difficult of approach.

81. The total population of the Scheduled Tribes in the hill areas in 1951 was 820,846. Allowing for a natural increase of 22.4 per cent., the total population in 1961 of the hill tribes should have been 1,004,716; but the actual population was found to be 1,111,506. So the extent of under-enumeration in the hill areas is about 106,790. In the plains areas of Assam, Shri Vaghaiwalla admitted that about seven persons per thousand were not enumerated and he worked out that the total number of persons left out of the enumeration of 1951 was 60,372 or about 74,000 in 1961 when natural increase is taken into consideration. If this is added to those left out of count in the Hills, the total persons under-enumerated plus their natural increase in 1961 comes up to 180,000. The excess of 7.0 in the growth rate over the natural growth rate for the period 1951-61 comes to about 7 lakhs and so the number of persons who have migrated into Assam must be of the order of 520,000. The number of muslim immigrants into Assam from East Pakistan during this period has been worked out to be about 220,000. So the remaining 300,000 must be Hindu displaced persons and other non-muslim persons who came to Assam from other parts of India. A detailed analysis of the number of muslim immigrants into Assam from East Pakistan is given in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER III

THE URBAN POPULATION

Definition.—Definitions of towns or urban areas have been in existence from the Census of 1911 to the Census of 1961 and all of them are more or less the same; but in the 1961 Census, the definition is more strict because it fixes a density of at least 1,000 persons per sq mile and it also prescribes what should be the urban characteristics before any place can be declared to be an urban area. In the previous Censuses from 1911 to 1951, Superintendents of Census Operations have been allowed to declare any area having a population of 5,000 or more and having certain urban characteristics as a town. In some cases, they have been allowed to declare some areas as towns irrespective of the population if only those areas have certain urban characteristics. All definitions however agree that municipalities, town committees and cantonments should be declared as towns irrespective of their population and other characteristics. The difference in definition in 1961 relates only to the term 'urban characteristics' in respect of towns having no civic authorities.

2. In the 1961 Census, a place is called a town or an urban area if it is a municipality, a town committee or a cantonment or any other area having the following characteristics which qualify it to be called urban—(i) if the population is not less than 5,000; (ii) if the density is not less than 1,000 persons per sq. mile; and (iii) if threefourths of the working population are outside agriculture. All towns of 1961 follow this definition with the following exception. Lala town in the Hailakandi subdivision of the Cachar district was recommended by the Subdivisional Officer for being classified as a town because it is said to have satisfied all the three tests laid down for the place being called an urban area. After final enumeration, it was found that this town had only 4,487 persons; but it is an important trading centre and a railway station and it otherwise has all the characteristics of an urban area, it was classified as a town with the approval of the Registrar General.

3. After the final enumeration, it was found that two other places, Mawlai in the suburb of Shillong, and Sualkuchi in the Kamrup district, have also qualified to be called towns because the tabulation results show that Mawlai had a population of 8,507 within an area of 2 sq. miles and 88 per cent. of its population live by non-agricultural means, and Sualkuchi had a population of 12,086 within an area of 0.52 sq miles and 96 per cent. of its working population are non-agriculturists. I therefore subsequently declared these two places also to be towns for the purpose of 1961 Census with the approval of the Registrar General. Mawlai becomes one of the satellite towns within the Shillong Town Group. My only regret is that Pynthorumkhrah, another suburb of Shillong within the golf-links area, could not be declared as a satellite town simply because slips for its population have already been treated as rural and cannot be separated again from the lot of the Shillong police station without an elaborate resorting involving a lot of time and money. This area is surrounded by the boundaries of the Shillong Town Group on three sides and the famous golf-links are on its fringes and so it should really be classified as another satellite town within the Shillong Town Group. The Census of 1971 may take up this question.

4. *Declassification and Reclassification.*—In Assam, no town has been declassified in successive Censuses excepting Sadiya in 1961. In the case of Sadiya, the declassification is simply due to the fact that the whole town had been eaten up by the river Brahmaputra, and so there was nothing left to be called anything. It also follows as a corollary that no town needs reclassification. Reclassification here means that a town which had once been declassified has again been reclassified; but in general terms, reclassification may also mean

the upgrading or downgrading of any town from one Census to another. Table 3.1 below shows the changes in classification of certain towns from 1901 to 1961 :—

TABLE 3·1

Towns	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1. Shillong Town Group	I	II	III	III	IV	IV	V
2. Gauhati	I	III	III	III	IV	IV	IV
3. Shillong	II	II	III	III	IV	IV	V
4. Dibrugarh	II	III	III	IV	IV	IV	IV
5. Silchar	III	III	IV	IV	IV	V	V
6. Nowgong	III	III	IV	IV	V	V	VI
7. Karimganj	III	IV	V	V	VI	V	V
8. Tinsukia	III	IV	V	V	VI	..	..
9. Dhubri	III	III	IV	V	V	V	VI
10. Jorhat	III	IV	IV	V	V	V	VI
11. Tezpur	III	IV	IV	IV	V	V	V
12. Lumding	III	IV	VI	VI	VI	..	..
13. Barpeta	III	III	IV	IV	IV	IV	V
14. Sibsagar	IV	IV	V	V	V	V	V
15. Golaghat	IV	V	V	VI	VI	VI	VI
16. Aijal	IV	V	..	..	..	..	..
17. Hailakandi	IV	V	VI	VI	VI	VI	.
18. Goalpara	IV	IV	V	V	V	V	V
19. Shillong Cantonment	IV	VI	V	V	..	..	.
20. Doom Dooma	V	VI	VI	VI	VI	.	..
21. North Lakhimpur	V	VI	VI	VI	VI	.	..
22. Gauripur	V	V	V	V	VI	.	..
23. Nalbari	V	VI	VI	..	..	..	..
24. Mangaldai	V	VI	VI	VI	VI	..	..

5. This table shows that all the towns have been upgraded from one class to another higher class from one Census to another; but Karimganj town was reverted from Class V to VI in 1921 and thereafter it has been gradually promoted until it has become a Class III town now.

6. I give below Table 3.2 which shows the number of towns and town groups in each class of town in Assam from 1901 to 1961.

TABLE 3·2

Class of Town	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
I	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
II	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
III	11	6	3	2	..	..	..
IV	8	7	6	5	5	4	2
V	23	5	6	7	6	8	7
VI	11	7	10	9	12	3	4

7. This table shows that most of the towns in Assam are only from class III to class VI categories. In other words, they are mostly small towns under 20,000 population. It is also noteworthy that up to 1941, there were no class I and II towns, while in 1951 there was only one class II town and that is Shillong. In 1961, for the first time in the history of Assam, two towns have been upgraded to Class I, and they are the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati. Only Dibrugarh comes under the category of class II and it has a population of 58,480 which shows that it will take a long time for it to become a class I town. It may also be noted that in 1951, Gauhati had a population of only 43,615, but in 1961, it has a population of 100,707. This increase of population in Gauhati is largely due to the enlargement of its areas from 3 sq. miles to 5.5 sq. miles. Increases of the boundaries of towns are very necessary for the planned development of any urban area. Old Delhi had grown so haphazard that when the British wanted to make it the capital of India, they had to select a new site outside Old Delhi so that they might plan the town according to certain standards of town planning. The city fathers and the Government of Bombay appear to have great foresight because they have extended the boundaries of Bombay City to cover an area of 186 sq. miles and this area known as Greater Bombay is a district by itself with a population of 4,152,056. Within this area no one is allowed to erect any unauthorised structure

and every building erected within the area must conform to the master plan of the city. So even the suburbs of Bombay which have very few or no people at all have also been brought within the boundaries of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. If any area is declared to be within the limits of a municipality or a corporation, people within that area have of course to pay taxes and services have to be rendered by the civic body.

8 *New Towns of 1961* - Below is a classification district by district and by descending order of class range and population of those places which have been newly declared either by the State Government or by me as towns for the 1961 Census -

TABLE 3.3

Name of District	Name of Town	Class of Town	Population
1. Goalpara	(1) Bilasipara	IV	10,025
	(2) Kokrajhar	V	9,489
	(3) Mankachar	V	9,255
	(4) Bongaigaon	V	8,761
	(5) Sapatgram	V	7,546
	(6) Abhayapuri	V	5,227
2 Kamrup	(1) Pandu	III	31,173
	(2) Sualkuchi	IV	12,087
	(3) Barpeta Road	V	9,648
	(4) North Gauhati	V	7,496
	(5) Amingaon	V	5,533
	(6) Sarthebari	V	5,462
	(7) Rangia	VI	4,984
	(8) Kamakhya	VI	4,359
	(9) Tihu	VI	2,619
3. Darrang	(1) Kharupatia	V	6,906
	(2) Dhekiajuli	V	6,363
	(3) Tangla	VI	4,319
4. Lakhimpur	(1) Digboi	IV	18,235
	(2) Digboi Oil Town	IV	16,793
	(3) Naharkatiya	V	8,877
	(4) Bihpuria-Tinali	VI	3,198
	(5) Chabua	VI	2,533
5. Garo Hills	(1) Tura	V	8,888
6. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	(1) Nongthymmai	IV	10,084
	(2) Mawlai	V	8,528
	(3) Jowai	V	6,197
7. Nowgong	(1) Hojai	IV	12,857
	(2) Dhing	V	6,574
8. Sibsagar	(1) Mariani	V	9,235
	(2) Dergaon	V	7,802
9. Cachar	(1) Badarpur	V	5,885
	(2) Lala	VI	4,487
	(3) Lakhipur	VI	2,564

9. The above table shows that the greatest number of new towns is in the Kamrup district, with nine new towns followed by Goalpara district with six new towns and Lakhimpur district with five new towns. It may also be noted that 19 of the new towns are of class V, 8 are of class VI and 6 are of class IV. Only one new town, namely Pandu, is a class III town with a population of 31,173. Pandu is a very well-planned town because the whole area has been built by the railways. Seen from the top of Kamakhya Hill or from a plane approaching Borjhar Airport from Upper Assam, this new town looks very beautiful indeed. Another very well-planned town in Assam is the Digboi Oil Town which has been built entirely by the Assam Oil Company according to a good plan. One would

wish that all towns of Assam can be as well-planned, as clean and as well-run as Digboi Oil Town or Pandu.

10. *Difficulties in assessment of areas of towns.*—Many difficulties were experienced in assessing the areas of towns in Assam. This happened even in the case of well-established towns with cadastral maps like Gauhati and Dibrugarh. I requested the Secretary, Local Self Government Department of the Government of Assam to give me the areas of towns constituted under the Assam Municipal Act and it appears that the Local Self Government Department collected these areas by telegraphic informations from the Chairman of various municipalities and town committees in Assam. On checking, it was found that many of the areas were inflated. For example the area for Gauhati as given to me by the Local Self Government Department on a telegraphic information from the Chairman of the Gauhati Municipal Board was 11 sq. miles. I personally went to the Local Self Government Department and checked up the records giving notifications of the boundaries of Gauhati and found that the area was only 5.5 sq. miles. I also had to send my Tabulation Officer to Gauhati with a map. He had to verify the boundaries on the ground before I could satisfy myself of the correctness of the area and the boundary. Similarly in the case of almost all other towns, I had to check up with the notifications which gave specific details of each area and of each boundary. In the case of Goalpara town, it was found that the enlarged boundary cut across parts of certain cadastral villages so that one part of such village falls within the municipality while another part falls outside the municipality in the rural areas. Fortunately, a settlement operation was then going on in the Goalpara district and I had the matter settled by the Subdivisional Officer, Goalpara, in consultation with the Settlement Officer whose headquarters were also in the same town. It is also noted that most municipalities have no boundary pillars and the boundaries are mostly marked on the map only. Where the boundary is a natural one, like a stream or a drain, there is no difficulty in finding it out, but, where the boundary cuts across a village, it is very difficult to find out where the town boundary ends.

11. In the case of new towns declared by me on the basis of the three principles laid down by the Registrar General which are not municipalities or cantonments, the area figures were collected from the local Deputy Commissioners and Subdivisional Officers. In some cases, the areas given appear to be wide off the mark. After some correspondence, I accepted most of the figures as tentative. The greatest difficulty is however experienced in the case of new towns in the hill areas where no cadastral survey was ever done. I am afraid that the areas of new towns like Jowai, Mawlai, Nongthymmai and Tura in the hill districts can be taken only as purely tentative until a critical survey is taken.

12 *Town Groups.*—For the first time in the history of Assam, the 1961 Census has established two Town Groups—the Shillong Town Group and the Digboi Town Group. One peculiar aspect of urbanisation is that satellite towns have a tendency to grow around each important town or city. In some cases in India, the boundaries of each town or city are more or less fixed and rather rigid. People in the suburbs of each town generally resist the extension of the boundaries of a town because that means taxation. On the contrary, suburban towns generally have the benefits and amenities of a town without paying much extra for the same. For example, smaller towns in the immediate vicinity of a big town can have electric posts extended to their area and so they can have the benefit of electric lights in their houses even though there may be no street lights for which they may have to pay extra if the boundaries of a municipality are extended. Satellite towns also can even have the benefit of water supply extended to them. In many cases, such satellite towns eventually have a municipality or a town committee of their own because people in that suburban area can then have the benefit of being represented in the smaller local body which is more difficult for them to fight had it been included within the boundaries of a bigger municipality. But by and large, the boundaries of big towns or cities and the boundaries of satellite towns meet practically at all points, so much so, that the ordinary man cannot say where one ends and where the other begins. The 1961 Census therefore introduces the concept that such

SHILLONG
TOWN GROUP

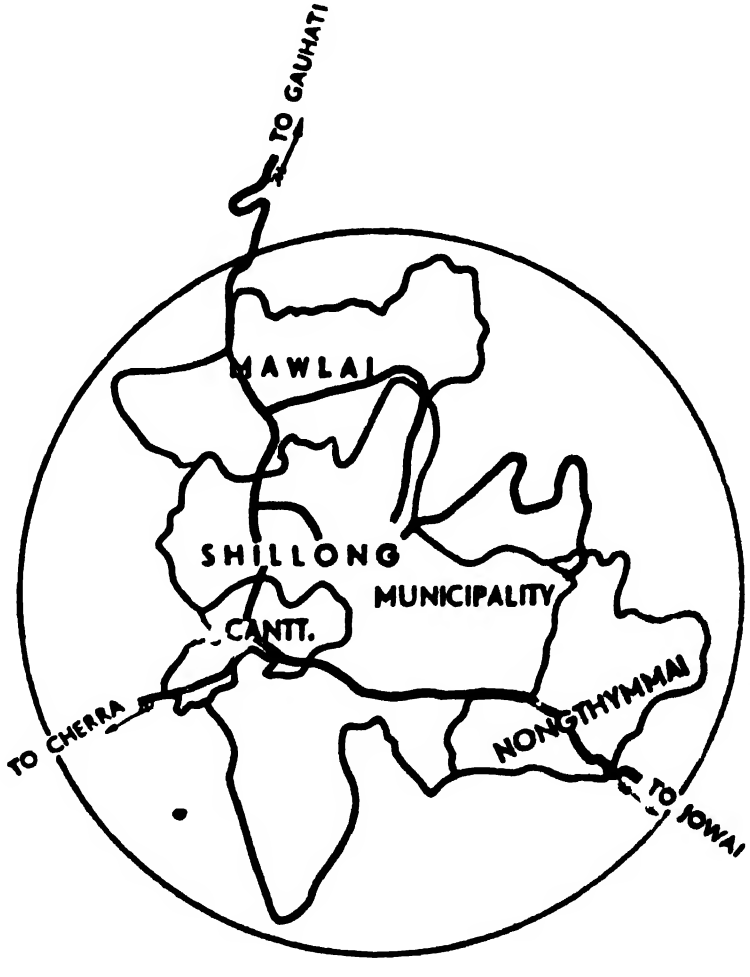

Fig. 16

Draughtsman:- R.M.Kharmawphlang

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group of towns should be together called a Town Group or City Group. As already discussed in preceding paragraphs, new suburban areas have been classified as new towns even if they have no civic body like a municipality or a town committee. This concept has worked out very satisfactorily because, in the first place, it shows the exact size of an expanding town like Shillong the boundaries of whose municipal limits cannot be extended due to various reasons. Secondly, this concept will help make town planning and establishment of future municipalities or extensions of existing boundaries easier For example, in the case of the Shillong Town Group, it would be very easy for the District Council or the Syiem of Mylliem to establish municipalities or town committees in Nongthymmai and Mawlai if, eventually, the District Council enacts a municipal act of its own In the case of the Digboi Town Group, the Digboi Town Committee has already been established by the Government of Assam as a sort of parallel town alongside the Digboi Oil Town.

13. The Shillong Town Group has a total population of 102,398 on March 1, 1961, and this Town Group has been taken as a separate town by itself by classifying it as a class I town because the Shillong Cantonment has almost been surrounded by the Shillong Municipality and no outsider knows that Shillong Cantonment is outside the jurisdiction of Shillong Municipality; and also because Nongthymmai and Mawlai are so much part and parcel of Greater Shillong that no person who does not know the exact boundaries can say where the Shillong Municipality ends and the satellite town begins.

14. Figure is a map of the Shillong Town Group which clearly shows the boundaries of Shillong and its satellite towns and which explains the concept of the 'town group' more clearly to the common man. It may be noted that the Shillong Cantonment resembles a gloved-hand thrust into the heart of the Shillong Municipality from the side of the road to Cherrapunji

15 Figure is a map of Assam showing the geographical location of the Shillong Town Group and the Digboi Town Group within the State Around each town group, thin lines like irregular rings have been thrown around to emphasize the 'town group' relationship, and different-sized circles for different sizes of population have been given. It may be noted that both the Town Groups indicate a tendency to extend in all directions and that is why circles have been drawn around the heart of each Town Group. It may also be noted that there is no ribbon or elliptical developments around each town group as they now exist in Assam.

16 I give below Table 3.4 which shows the geographical distribution of town groups together with data regarding population, area, density per square mile and the density of police stations in which these town groups are situated.

Geographical distribution of Town Groups

TABLE 3.4

District	Town Group with name of each unit	Population (with population of each unit)	Area in square miles	Density (persons per square mile) of each urban area	Density of Police Stations in which they are located	
					Total density	Density of rural area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills—	Shillong Town Group	102,398	8 21	12,472	112	65
	Shillong . . .	72,438	4 00	18,109		
	Shillong Cantonment .	11,348	0 71	15,983		
	Nongthymmai . .	10,084	1 13	8,924		
	Mawlai . . .	8,528	2 37	3,598		
2. Lakhimpur—	Digboi Town Group .	35,028	7·15	4,899	324	201
	Digboi Town . .	18,235	2·00	9,117		
	Digboi Oil Town .	16,793	5·15	3,261		

17. The above table shows that the aggregate of the Shillong Town Group is beyond the 100,000 mark thereby making the Shillong Town Group a class I town, while the

Digboi Town Group has a total population of 35,028 thereby classifying it as a class III town. It may also be noted that the density of the Shillong Municipality is 18,109 per square mile, while the density of Nongthymmai is 8,924 and that of Mawlai is 3,598 per square mile. These density data show that the Shillong Municipality is practically overcrowded especially in such wards as Police Bazar, Mawkhar, Laban, etc. The only outlet for the people of the Shillong Municipality therefore lies in the direction of Nongthymmai and Mawlai. Even Nongthymmai is rapidly becoming crowded with the introduction of the refugee colony at Rynjah and the housing colonies at Motinagar, Bishnupur, and other areas. Mawlai has now more space for more development but the water supply problem is much more difficult in Mawlai than in Nongthymmai. As far as I can see, Shillong Town has a tendency to spread to Umlyngka and Upper Shillong on the southern side and towards Umpling and Mawpat on the northern side.

18. In the case of the Digboi Town Group, it may be seen that the density of the Digboi Oil Town is only 3,261 per square mile while that of the adjacent Digboi Town (Committee) is 9,117 per square mile. The Digboi Oil Town contains the refinery area around which only very few residential buildings can be built while the bungalows for the officers of the Assam Oil Company are built on top of beautiful hillocks in a scattered area to avoid congestion. Being a well-planned town, congestion is not likely to be allowed. On the other hand, the adjacent Digboi Town (Committee) has grown rather haphazardly and the tendency of people there is to agglomerate in small areas around the bazar. The result is a congestion and practically a slum area has grown out there. The importance of the Digboi Town Group depends entirely on the oil industry and therefore it will continue to be an important town as long as that industry lasts.

19. *Growth of Towns 1901—61.*—A study of the gradual growth of urbanisation in Assam can become more palpable by examination of the growth of each town from 1961 backwards to 1901 or to any other Census year from which the town has come into existence. I have accordingly prepared seven maps of Assam for each of the Census year 1901-1961 on each of which is plotted all the towns of that particular year. Since there are six class ranges of towns according to the Census, six sizes of black dots have been selected to represent each class of town. These maps can be seen in Figure 18 to Figure 24 given below. The map of Assam is according to the boundaries of 1961 to which is also added the boundaries of NEFA although the portions within NEFA are left blank because the administration there is being carried on by a different organisation and also because there is no town there during the 1961 Census. In each of these maps, the boundaries of the districts of Assam as on March 1, 1961 have been given together with State and national highways, navigation canals and railway lines.

20. Even an eye-study of these maps show vaguely how certain zones of the State have made rapid progress in urban development and concentration of urban population in 1961. A study of the size of each dot with reference to a particular town will also show how progressive a town has grown from 1901 to 1961. Let us take the case of Shillong. It may be noticed that in 1901, the dot shows that Shillong is a class V town, in 1911 and 1921 it has become a class IV town, in 1931 and 1941 the dot shows that it is a class III town, in 1951 it has become a class II town while in 1961, the Shillong Town Group has become a class I town. The same eye-study shows that Gauhati has grown from a class IV town in 1901, 1911 and 1921 to a class III town in 1931, 1941 and 1951 and a class I town in 1961. Similarly the growth of each town can be examined in this way how it has grown from the time of its inception to 1961. Another study of these maps shows that in 1901 there were only 13 towns in Assam and all of them were of class IV and below. This study also shows that the number of towns in Assam increased very slowly from 1911 to 1951 rising only from 15 to 26. But in 1961 the number of towns in Assam suddenly shot up to 60 including the satellite towns of the two Town Groups. The maps of 1901 and 1911 show how few were the towns in Assam, but the map of 1961 shows a much thicker cluster of towns.

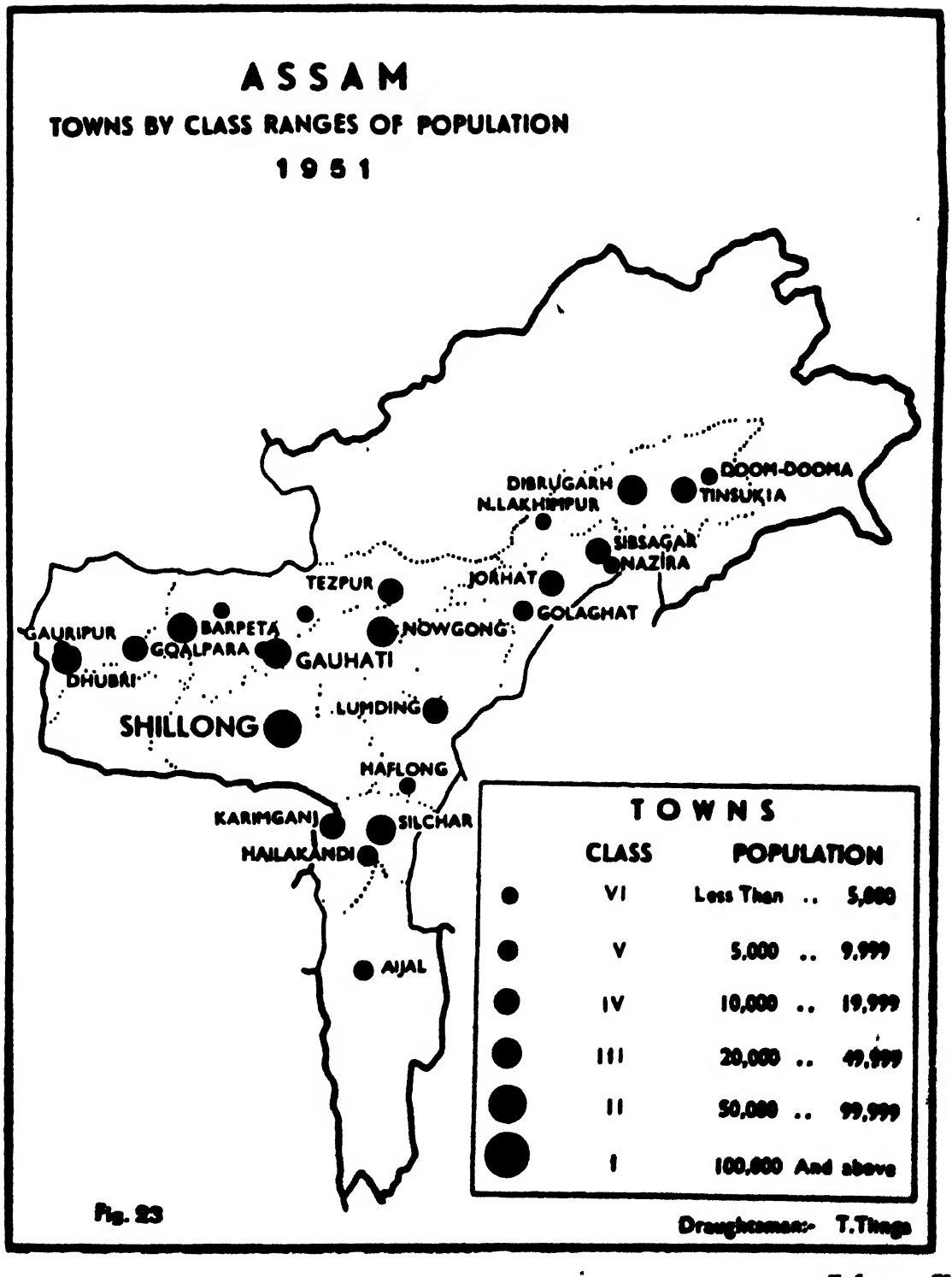

Fig. 23

Draughtsman:- T.Tinga

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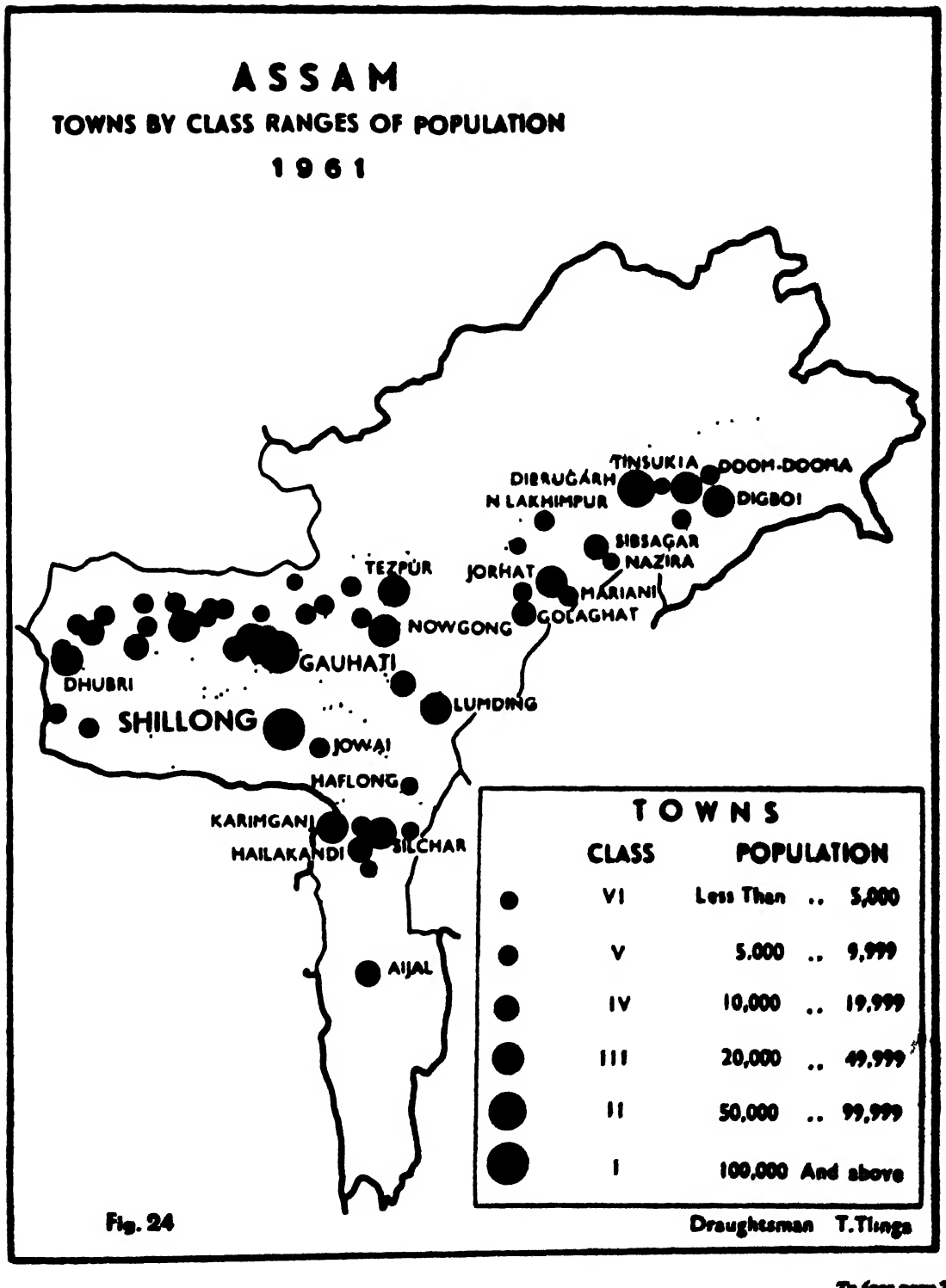

Fig. 24

Draughtsman T.Tlunga

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21 Another close study of these maps shows that most of the towns have grown along highways, rivers and railways. No wonder therefore that clusters of towns can be seen all along the river Brahmaputra, the railway line, the State highway and the national highway which practically runs parallel to each other from Dhubri to Digboi In the case of the Upper Assam Valley also towns have grown along the river Barak, the railway line and some State highways Navigable rivers, highways and railways are therefore the most important factors for the growth of urbanisation These factors present a sad spectacle in the case of the Hills of Assam where there are no navigable rivers, practically no railways and no highways It may therefore be seen that in the United Khasi Jaintia Hills district, only Shillong has grown as a town because, apart from its being the capital of Assam, it is also connected by a national highway It is also worthwhile to note that Jowai has become a town for the first time in 1961 simply due to the construction of a good road after Independence Similarly Haflong has become a town from 1941 simply because it has a railway running near it and has now been connected by a fair weather road Since there can be no navigable rivers in the Hills and railway can also be constructed only at exorbitant cost, the only solution for the Hill areas is to develop all-weather roads as a means of communication in the shortest time possible This will not only improve the social and economic condition of the hill people, but it will also be the main factor for the much-wanted emotional integration by breaking the isolation of the hills. The maps show that from 1901 to 1941, the Mizo district had no town at all because there was no road worth the name Similarly in the case of Garo Hills, there was no town up to 1951 for the same reason The Mikir Hills Autonomous District has no town even in 1961 for the same reason although a railway line happens to pass through its jungles for many decades. These figures do not fail to show that urbanisation is a sign of progress and that urbanisation depends upon improvement of communications and that the lack of progress or backwardness of any area can also be judged by the lack of towns and lack of communications.

22. *Cluster of conurbation.*—Another distinctive feature brought out in the above maps is that there is practically no cluster of towns in Assam up to 1951 In 1961, clusters of towns have sprung up in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Cachar region A casual eye-study of the map of 1961 shows that there is one cluster of towns from Dhubri to Nowgong and Tezpur, another cluster from Golaghat to Digboi and yet another cluster in the Cachar district; but a closer study shows that there are really six clusters or zones of conurbation Table 3 5 below shows six zones together with the names of towns which constitute each zone with their population, the proportion of the urban population of the zone as a whole to the total urban population of the State, as well as the distribution of 1,000 urban population of each zone among the six clusters of towns and town groups

23 Zone I consists of Gauhati and its neighbouring towns which may eventually form Greater Gauhati The towns of zone I are really so contiguous to each other that in the south bank, Gauhati, Kamakhya and Pandu really overlap each other while North Gauhati and Amingaon are separated from Gauhati only by the river Brahmaputra which, of course makes a very big difference. Zone II consists of Dibrugarh and other towns of the Dibrugarh subdivision on the south bank of the river Brahmaputra These towns are separated from each other by some distance of non-urban areas But they cover that part of Assam which is marked by the highest development of the Tea Industry and the Oil Industry Zone III really consists of the Shillong Town Group only, of which much has already been said. Zone IV consists of the bigger towns of Cachar which are not too distant from each other while Zones V and VI consist of much smaller clusters in the interior of the Goalpara and Kamrup districts. This table also shows that the total urban population which falls within one zone or another is less than the total of the urban population for the State as a whole. The difference represents the population of towns which are of an isolated character, i.e., those which do not form part of these clusters, although each or some of them may be sizable and important.

Discernible Zones of Conurbation in the State, 1961

TABLE 3·5

Zone of Conurbation	Population of each city, town group and town	Proportion of urban population of the Zone as a whole to the total urban population of the State	Distribution of 1,000 urban population of each Zone among the six classes of cities, town-groups and towns					
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ZONE I	**149,268**	**0·16**	**675**	**—**	**209**	**—**	**87**	**29**
1. Gauhati	100,707							
2. Pandu	31,173							
3. North Gauhati	7,496							
4. Amingaon	5,533							
5. Kamakhya	4,359							
ZONE II	**139,045**	**0·15**	**—**	**420**	**457**	**—**	**123**	**—**
1. Dibrugarh	58,480							
2. Digboi Town-Group	35,028							
(a) Digboi	18,235							
(b) Digboi Oil Town	16,793							
3. Tinsukia	28,468							
4. Naharkatiya	8,877							
5. Doom Dooma	8,192							
ZONE III	**102,398**	**0·11**	**1,000**	**—**	**—**	**—**		**—**
1. Shillong Town-Group	102,398							
(a) Shillong	72,438							
(b) Shillong Cantonment	11,348							
(c) Nongthymmai	10,084							
(d) Mawlai	8,528							
ZONE IV	**94,249**	**0·10**	**—**	**—**	**740**	**150**	**62**	**48**
1. Silchar	41,062							
2. Hailakandi	14,132							
3. Badarpur	5,885							
4. Lala	4,487							
5. Karimganj	28,683							
ZONE V	**73,969**	**0·08**	**—**	**—**	**383**	**136**	**481**	**—**
1. Dhubri	28,355							
2. Bilasipara	10,025							
3. Gauripur	9,791							
4. Kokrajhar	9,489							
5. Bongaigaon	8,763							
6. Sapatgram	7,546							
ZONE VI	**49,221**	**0·05**	**—**	**—**	**451**	**—**	**496**	**53**
1. Barpeta	22,207							
2. Barpeta Road	9,648							
3. Nalbari	9,285							
4. Sarthebari	5,462							
5. Tihu	2,619							
Total of Zones	**608,150**							
Total of Urban Population of the State.	**913,028**							

24. Having studied the clusters and zones of conurbation in general in the preceding section, it will be rewarding to study the growth of these zones of conurbation backwards from 1901 to 1961. I therefore give table 3.6 at the end of this section to show this study. While this table speaks for itself, some analysis appears called for. It may be noticed that although zone I consists of five towns in 1961, from 1951 backwards, only Gauhati was a town because all the others have become towns only in 1961. Zone II consists of six towns of which one is a town group in 1961, but here also only Dibrugarh has the status of a town from 1901 to 1961, while Tinsukia and Doom Dooma become towns only from 1921. Zone III consists of the Shillong Town Group which consists of

the Shillong Municipality, the Shillong Cantonment, Nongthymmai and Mawlai out of which only Shillong has existed from 1901, while the Shillong Cantonment, although it existed from 1901, has been taken as a separate town only from 1931 (it was considered as part of Shillong Town from 1901 to 1921). Zone IV consists of Silchar, Karimganj, Hailakandi, Badarpur and Lala of which Silchar and Karimganj have been existing since 1901 while Hailakandi has existed from 1911. In zone V, only Dhubri has the status of town from 1901 to 1961 and Gauripur has existed from 1921 while the rest have been established as towns only from 1961. In the case of zone VI, only Barpeta has existed from 1901 and Nalbari became a town only from 1941. This table confirms my earlier observation that clustering or conurbation of towns began only in 1961.

25. *Functional classification of Towns and Town Groups.*—In accordance with the instructions from the Registrar General, statistics in respect of predominant functional characteristics of each town in 1961 were collected. In Assam, no town has a port and there is also no town which is purely for the purpose of residence and education. Most of the towns of Assam have administrative purposes as their predominant characteristics although some towns also have some other characteristics in the sphere of trade and commerce, industrial and manufacturing and transport and communication. The two Town Groups of Assam, namely the Shillong Town Group and the Digboi Town Group have more or less the same general characteristics as the other towns of Assam and so they have also been included in this section for discussion. The existing two Town Groups generally reflect a complex and composite quality in which several characteristics do not contend for separate recognition. The categorywise break-down of industrial classification of workers have been obtained from our own tables.

26. Administration has extended greatly during the last decade because of the impact of the two Five Year Plans and so the existing administrative towns have become bigger in area while new towns have also been established. This is one major factor for urbanisation in Assam. The great increase of population has created corresponding increase in the demands for foodstuff and consumer goods and so the number of towns specialising in trade and commerce has also increased. Even the predominantly administrative towns have also shown a big increase in trade and commerce but these characteristics are over-shadowed by those of administration. The following tables are constructed to illustrate these points.

The growth of zones of conurbation 1901-61

TABLE 3.6

Zone of conurbation 1961	1961		1951		1941		1931		1921		1911		1901	
	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Zone I		149,268		43,615		29,598		21 797		16,400		12,481		[illegible]
Gauhati	I	100 707	III	43,615	III	29 598	III	21 797	IV	16,400	IV	12,481	IV	[illegible]
Panda	III	31 173												
North Gauhati	V	17,496												
Amingaon	V	5,533												..
Kamakhya	VI	4,359												
Zone II		139,045		53,335		33,706		25,794		20,249		14,563		[illegible]
Dibrugarh	II	58,480	III	37,991	III	23,191	IV	18,734	IV	16,007	IV	14,563	IV	[illegible]
Digboi Town Group	III	35,028											..	..
(a) Digboi	IV	18,235												..
(b) Digboi Oil Town	IV	16,793											..	..
Tinsukia	III	28,468	IV	12,245	V	8,330	V	5 160	VI	3,000			..	..
Nahkatiya	V	8,877											..	..
Doom Dooma	V	8,192	VI	3,099	VI	2,177	VI	1,900	VI	1,162			..	..
Zone III		102,398		58 512		38,192		24,536		17,203		13,409		[illegible]
Shillong Town Group	I	102,398	II	58,512	III	38,192	III	24,536	IV	17,203	IV	13,409	V	[illegible]
(a) Shillong	II	72,438	II	53,756	III	30,734	III	21,300	IV	17,203	IV	13,409	V	[illegible]
(b) Shillong Cant.	IV	11,340	VI	4,756	V	7,458	V	5,236	..	..	..	..	..	..
(c) Nongthymmai	IV	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(d) Mawlai	V	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 3·6—*contd.*

Zone of conurbation 1961	1961		1951		1941		1931		1921		1911		1901	
	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population	Class of Town	Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Zone IV		94 249		61,376		27,498		20,762		16,984		16,759		14,948
Silchar	III	41,062	III	34 059	IV	16,601	IV	13,069	IV	10,204	V	8 785	V	9 256
Karimganj	III	28,683	IV	19,098	V	7,813	V	5 691	VI	4 552	V	6 512	V	5,692
Hailakandi	IV	14,132	V	8,219	VI	3 084	VI	2 002	VI	2,228	VI	1 462		
Badarpur	V	5 885												
Lala	VI	4,487												
Zone V		73,969		30,437		18 482		15,027		11 018		5,808		3 737
Dhubri	III	28 355	III	22,787	IV	12,699	V	9,435	V	6,707	V	5,808	VI	3,737
Bilasipara	IV	10 025												
Gauripur	V	9,791	V	7,650	V	5,783	V	5,592	VI	4 311				
Kokrajhar	V	9,489												
Bongaigaon	V	8 763												
Sapatgram	V	7,546												
Zone VI		49,221		25,559		22,044		13,777		11,730		10,739		8,747
Barpeta	III	22,207	III	21,137	IV	18,466	IV	13,777	IV	11 730	IV	10,739	V	8,747
Barpeta Road	V	9,648												
Naibari	V	9 285	VI	4,422	VI	3,578								
Sarthebari	V	5,462												
Tihu	VI	2,619												
Total of Zones		608,150		331,346		207,707		150,229		93,664		73 589		59,941
Total Urban Population of the State.		913,028		410,293		246,259		188 702		144,310		106 555		86,695

Classification of towns according to their predominant functional characteristics, 1961

(Arranged in descending order of Population)

TABLE 3.7

Trade and Commerce		Industrial and Manufacturing		Transport and Communication		Administrative	
Name	Population (Class in bracket)	Name	Population (Class in bracket)	Name	Population (Class in bracket)	Name	Population (Class in bracket)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Silchar	41,062 (III)	*Digboi Town Group	35,028 (III)	Pandu	31,173 (III)	*Shillong Town-Group	102,398 (I)
Hojai	12,857 (IV)	Tinsukia	28,468 (III)	Lumding	23,186 (III)	Gauhati	100,707 (I)
Bilasipara	10,025 (IV)	Barpeta	22,207 (III)	Mariani	9,235 (V)	Dibrugarh	58,480 (II)
Gauripur	9,791 (V)	Sualkuchi	12,087 (IV)	Badarpur	5,885 (V)	Nowgong	38,600 (III)
Barpeta Road	9,648 (V)	Sarthebari	5,462 (V)	Amingaon	5,533 (V)	Karimganj	28,683 (III)
Mankachar	9,255 (V)	Nazira	4,910 (VI)			Dhubri	28,355 (III)
Bongaigaon	8,763 (V)	Palasbari	3,939 (VI)			Jorhat	24,953 (III)
Doom Dooma	8,192 (V)	Tihu	2,619 (VI)			Tezpur	24,159 (III)
Sapatgram	7,546 (V)					Sibsagar	15,106 (IV)
Kharupatia	6,906 (V)					Golaghat	14,699 (IV)
Dhing	6,574 (V)					Amal	14,257 (IV)
Dhekiajuli	6,363 (V)					Hailakandi	14,132 (IV)
Lala	4,487 (VI)					Goalpara	13,692 (IV)
Tangla	4,319 (VI)					Kokrajhar	9,489 (V)
Bihpuria Tinali	3,198 (VI)					Naibari	9,285 (V)
Lakhipur	2,564 (VI)					Tura	8,888 (V)
Chabua	2,533 (VI)					Naharkatiya	8,877 (V)
						Mangaldai	8,547 (V)
						Dergaon	7,802 (V)
						North Gauhati	7,496 (V)
						North Lakhimpur	6,676 (V)
						Jowai	6,197 (V)
						Abhayapuri	5,227 (V)
						Rangia	4,984 (VI)
						Kamakhya	4,389 (VI)
						Haflong	3,266 (VI)

* Shillong Town-Group and Digboi Town-Group have been included in this table as each Town-Group and its constituent towns are mainly of the same characteristics.

27. The following is a table with the list of Industrial towns showing the predominant industries under each town.

TABLE 3.8

Characteristics of Industries 1	Name of Towns 2	Nature of industry (mill, factories etc.) 3
Industrial and manufacturing industries (including industries which produce base material for other Industries).		
A. Heavy Iron & Steel	Nil	Nil
B. Metal Industries (including light and steel industries)	1 Sarthebari	Manufacture of bell metal products.
	2 Tinsukia	Manufacture of Metal and alloys wire-nails, manufacture of aluminium products Manufacture of iron and steel furnitures
C Spinning and Weaving .	1 Sualkuchi .	Silk industry, production of Silk and Muga clothings in handlooms Production of Endi in handloom
	2 Palasbari .	
D Ship building	Nil	Nil
E Miscellaneous Industries (refractives, paper, footwear, light and medium Industries)	1 Nazira	Production of Tea, Tea factory
	2 Barpeta	Light and medium industries, Manufacture of ivory products
F. Mining Industry	Nil	Nil
G Railway including Railway towns	1 Mariani	
	2 Lumding	
	3 Rangiagar	
	4 Pandu	
	5 Badarpur	
	6 Amingaon	
H. Rice, Oil, Cotton Ginning	1 Tiru	Rice Mills
	2 Digboi . . .	Manufacture of Petroleum, Kerosene and other Petroleum products, oil and natural gas manufacturing, etc.

28 The following Table shows the list of Trade and Commercial towns, with predominant characteristics of Trade and Commerce

TABLE 3.9

Characteristics of Town 1	Name of Town 2	Predominant Trade and Commerce 3
Trade and Commerce	1 Silchar	Trading in rice, cereals, pulses, fruits, poultry, cakes and biscuits, bidi and other tobacco products, bricks and other goods.
	2 Hojai	Trading in rice, cereals, pulses, earthenwares and pottery
	3 Bilasipara .	Trading in rice, cereals, bidi, and brass metals
	4. Gauripur .	Trading in rice, cereals, oilseeds, sweetmeats, dairy products, bidi, tiles, and bell metals
	5 Barpeta Road	Trading in jute, bidi and pottery.
	6 Mankachar	Trading in rice and bidi
	7. Bongaigaon . . .	Trading in aluminium, bidi, structural steel products, metal products and sundry hardware such as bolt, bucket, nail etc
	8 Doom Dooma . .	Trading in tea and plywood.
	9. Sapatgram . .	Trading in bidi and timbers.
	10. Kharupatia . . .	Trading in rice, jute, pottery and tiles.
	11. Dhing	Trading in rice and pulses.
	12. Dhekiajuli	Trading in rice, pulses and jute.
	13. Lala	Trading in rice, biscuits and other bakery products, bidi, earthenwares and earthern pottery.
	14. Tangla	Trading in rice and other cereals.
	15. Bihpuria Tinali	Trading in rice and other cereals.
	16. North Lakhimpur . . .	Trading in rice, cereals and timbers.
	17. Chabua . .	Trading in wooden products.

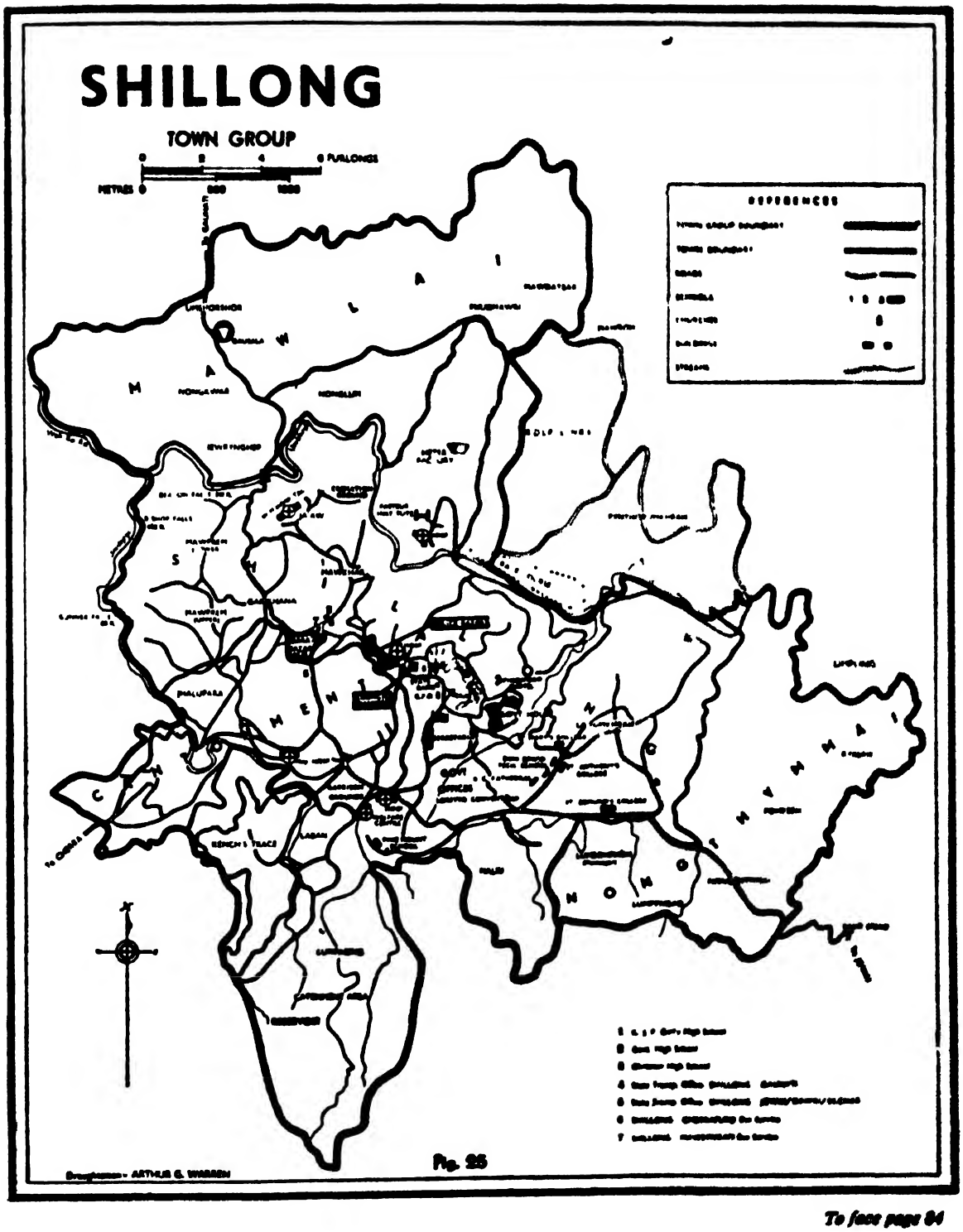
29. Table 3.7 shows that 26 towns of Assam, including the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati, are mostly for administrative purposes, 17 towns including Silchar are for trade and commerce, 8 towns are for industrial and manufacturing and 5 towns are for transport and communication. Even the towns under the category of trade and commerce, industrial and manufacturing are also for residence and administration, but apart from that, they also have more than 33 1/3 per cent. functional characteristics in respect of these trades. The five towns of Pandu, Lumding, Mariani, Badarpur and Amingaon are however almost entirely for transport and communication inasmuch as they are railway junctions. Pandu has been made the headquarter of the Northeast Frontier Railway during the inter-censal period and so a big housing colony apart from administrative houses have been built up in this new township.

30. Tables 3.8 and 3.9 give details of the kinds of industries carried out in the industrial towns as well as the commodities traded in those towns where trade and commerce are the predominant characteristics. Among the principal industries in these towns are bell metal works in Sarthebari, steel industry in Tinsukia, silk industry in Sualkuchi and Palasbari, tea production in Nazira, ivory products in Barpeta, rice milling in Tihu and production of oil in the Digboi Town Group. In the sphere of trade and commerce, all the 17 towns trade principally in rice, cereals, pulses, fruits and other consumer goods. In this list of towns, Silchar stands as a class by itself. Silchar is the headquarters of the Cachar district and is therefore the most important administrative town of Assam in the Upper Surma Valley, but being sandwitched by hill districts and being the only inland route to Tripura, it has become a town where trade and commerce characteristics have overshadowed the administrative characteristics.

31. In Figures 25 and 26, I have given the maps of the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati, the only two towns in Assam having a population of over 100,000 showing therein the salient features, main arterial roads, railways, crossings, different wards and localities, colleges, schools, hospitals, government offices and other important characteristics of each town. Certain symbols have also been inserted to make the place names more meaningful, besides being eye-catching.

32. Although the predominant characteristic of both cities is administration, Shillong is much more so because of the fact that it is the headquarters of the State with a big number of government offices both State and Central. Shillong also has a good number of educational institutions serving the needs of its varied population. There are Khasi schools, Assamese schools, Bengali schools, Nepali schools besides English schools which are affiliated to the Cambridge University. All the colleges of Shillong are affiliated to the Gauhati University at present. Although the most predominant characteristics of Gauhati is also administration, this town has a lot of trade and commerce which meets the needs not only of the town, but also of the hinterland as Gauhati is an important transit town for the inland trade in Assam. It is also a town with transport and communication facilities because the line of the Northeast Frontier Agency runs through this town apart from the national highway and the riverine highway. There are many rice and oil mills apart from small scale industries inside the town itself. There are also many medium-size industries around this town from a steel re-rolling mill to the Noonmati refinery. There are also many schools and colleges in Gauhati. If the boundaries of Gauhati are further extended, the predominant characteristics of this city in the making will change from administration to industries or trade and commerce.

33. Shillong is a centre of the town group, and the satellite towns of Nongthymmai, Mawlai and the Shillong Cantonment have actually grown because of the fact that they border Shillong. The boundaries of the Shillong Municipality having been limited to 4 sq. miles with no good prospect of being expanded due to certain reasons, the growing population of Shillong has of necessity to be accommodated in the neighbouring satellite towns. This is the only reason why these three satellite towns have grown. and more are likely to grow in future. It



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will not probably take a long time before Happy Valley, Umpling, Pynthorumkhrah, Upper Shillong, and Umlyngka become new satellite towns of Shillong. The development of these satellite towns is circular in the sense that Shillong has a tendency to grow all around the heart of the city within a five-mile radius. The existence of the Cantonment with army headquarters in Shillong also helps to accelerate the growth of satellite towns all around Shillong With many educational facilities, including schools and colleges, and some institutions which may be termed as public schools, Shillong attracts students not only from within its borders but also from other parts of the State and even from outside the State. If the proposed Central Hills University is located here, it will probably give further incentive to the growth of educational facilities and the increase in the size of the Shillong Town Group Shillong is situated in a table land with many hillocks and rolling grassy downs against the background of the Shillong peak range. Although one is at a height of 5,000 ft above sea level here, one does not feel that he is living in steep places like Darjeeling or Simla. Actually almost every house can be reached by car and the town can be extended in all directions. The location of Gauhati is ideal in respect of communications because besides the river Brahmaputra, it has a metre gauge railway which may eventually become a broad gauge railway and the national highway running through it The Gauhati Airport, otherwise known as the Borjhar Airport, is also nearby and so Gauhati is linked by road, railway, air and river It is also situated more or in the centre of the Brahmaputra Valley and so it is an ideal place of trade and commerce apart from industries It also has a University and many schools and colleges and all these factors help to make it a quickly growing city. The location of Gauhati fosters the growth of satellite towns around it with the possibility that all its satellite towns may eventually be absorbed in Greater Gauhati. Gauhati has a tendency to grow lengthwise from Narangi to Jhatukbari parallel to the river Brahmaputra and its only extension otherwise is towards Shillong up to Khanapara

34 *Proportion between Urban at General population* The following is Table 3.70 showing the proportion of Urban Population per 1,000 of the General Population of the State from 1901-1961

Proportion of urban Population per 1,000 of the General Population of State 1901-61

TABLE 3 10

State/District 1	1961 2	1951 3	1941 4	1931 5	1921 6	1911 7	1901 8
ASSAM	77	46	33	31	28	25	23
1 Goalpara .	66	37	26	24	23	20	22
2. Kamrup . .	106	50	44	40	41	35	35
3. Darrang .	39	24	19	20	17	14	15
4. Lakhimpur .	97	55	40	41	41	31	30
5. Nowgong . .	67	49	26	24	24	18	17
6. Sibsagar . .	51	32	27	25	22	21	18
7. Cachar . . .	70	55	31	26	23	23	24
8. Garo Hills	29	—	—	—	—	—	—
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	235	161	115	92	71	58	48
10. United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	12	13	11	—	--	—	—
11. Mizo Hills . . .	54	35	—	—	—	—	—

35. The proportion of the urban population for the whole State from 1901 to 1961 has already been discussed in Chapter II. As far as the districts of Assam are concerned, the following observations are worth being made. On the whole, all the districts that have urban population have shown a steady rate of increase of the proportion of the urban population to the general population from 1901 to 1961. Negligible drops have been noticed in respect of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Cachar and the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills in the earlier decades, but the jump from 1951 to 1961 is spectacular in all the districts excepting the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills. In respect of the last district, the only town is Haflong whose total population has increased to some extent, but as the increase of the rural population is much more than that of the urban population, there has been a drop in percentage in 1951-1961. It may also be noticed that the Garo Hills district had no urban population prior to 1961. The Mikir Hills Autonomous district has no urban population even now, while the Mizo Hills has an urban population only from 1951. Of all the districts, the most spectacular rise in the proportion of the urban population is that of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills because it shows an urban population of 235 per 1,000 of the general population in 1961 as against 161 in 1951. This is entirely due to the fact that two new satellite towns, Nongthymmai and Mawlai, as well as one subdivisional headquarters town, namely Jowai, have been classified as towns for the first time in 1961 Next to the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, Kamrup district comes second with a proportion of 106 of urban population per 1,000 of the general population in 1961 against 50 only in 1951. This is due to the fact that the boundaries of Gauhati town have been enlarged during the inter-censal period and Pandu, Kamakhya, Amingaon, Sualkuchi, Tihu, Rangia, Barpeta Road and Sarthebari have been declared as new towns during 1961.

36. It is rewarding to follow up the above thread by studying the distribution of 1,000 urban population of each district among the six class ranges of towns in 1961.

The following tables which will illustrate the point:—

TABLE 3.11

State/District 1	1961 2	1951 3	1941 4	1931 5	1921 6	1911 7	1901 8
			CLASS I TOWNS				
ASSAM	222	..	..	..	.	..	..
Kamrup	459	..	..	..	.	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	943	..	..	..	..	..	.
			CLASS II TOWNS				
ASSAM	64	143	..	..	..	..	..
Lakhimpur	386	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..
			CLASS III TOWNS				
ASSAM	357	458	369	256	..	..	..
Goalpara	278	561	..	..	..	..	..
Kamrup	243	876	535	558	..	..	..
Darrang	480	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lakhimpur	420	618	602	..	..	..	..
Nowgong	761	649	..	..	..	..	..
Sibsagar	325	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cachar	720	555	..	..	..	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	..	..
			CLASS IV TOWNS				
ASSAM	117	250	342	351	496	483	264
Goalpara	232	251	483	..	..	..	..
Kampur	55	..	334	353	912	1,000	571
Darrang	..	841	850	858	..	..	..
Lakhimpur	..	199	..	580	620	1,000	1,000
Nowgong	158	351	770	771	..	..	..
Sibsagar	389	681	415	..	..	..	..
Cachar	146	311	604	629	601	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	1,000	1,000	..
Mizo Hills	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 3·11--*concld*

State/District 1	1961 2	1951 3	1941 4	1931 5	1921 6	1911 7	1901 8
			CLASS V TOWNS				
ASSAM . .	194	88	174	251	271	458	581
Goalpara . .	490	188	517	1 000	790	1,000	627
Kamrup . .	170						429
Darrang . . .	434				878	1 000	1,000
Lakhimpur . .	156	82	216	160			
Nowgong . .	81				722	1,000	
Sibsagar .	222	211	463	641	655	695	521
Cachar	61	134	284	254		913	1,000
Garo Hills .	1 000						
United Khasi Jaintia Hills	57						1,000
Mizo Hills		1 000					
			CLASS VI TOWNS				
ASSAM	45	62	115	142	233	99	155
Goalpara					290		373
Kamrup	72	124	131	89	88		
Darrang . .	86	159	190	147	122	.	
Lakhimpur	38	101	182	260	380		
Nowgong			230	227	278		1,000
Sibsagar	64	108	122	353	345	305	479
Cachar	73		112	96	399	87	
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	1,000	1 000	1 000				

37 *Distribution of population by classes of Towns* -Here we are examining the distribution of 1,000 total urban population of each district by class of towns in each Census year to the total urban population of that district and not to the total population as a whole Urbanisation is a complex social structure brought about by industrialisation, expansion of the governmental administrative machinery, trade and commerce and transport and communication. As a matter of fact, the relative development or backwardness of any state or country can be gauged by the pace of urbanisation Within the sphere of urbanisation itself, the size of each town or city also determine the rate of progress achieved in a particular district, state or country Assam had no class II towns till 1951 In 1951, only Shillong, the capital of Assam, qualified to be a class II town; but in 1961, the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati have become class I towns for the first time in the history of Assam. The predominant characteristics which enabled these two towns to be class I towns are the phenomenal growth of governmental activities brought about by the two Five Year Plans. The growth of population naturally brings about the growth of trade and commerce also, at least to supply the expanding population in the town itself and its immediate vicinities, if not for anything else. The demand for consumer goods also create a potential for some sort of industrialisation either in growing towns or in their immediate vicinities Governmental policy for the removal of regional disparities in the sphere of industrialisation also helps to foster a certain amount of the growth of industries in each State of India and such industries generally grow either in towns or in their immediate vicinities, for obvious reasons Although there is no international definition of a city, class I towns with a population 100,000 and over are eligible to be called cities. In the 1961 Census there is only one class II town in Assam and that is Dibrugarh--a place also called a tea town because of its importance in the tea trade It may be a curious coincidence, but it is remarkable that class II towns are rather scarce not only in Assam but also in many States in India in 1961. There are many towns in Class I and class III, IV, V and VI categories, but comparatively fewer towns of the class II category.

38. The above tables also show that in 1901 and 1911, most of the towns are of the class IV and class V categories, while

from 1921 to 1941, class IV towns preponderate. In 1951 and 1961, most of the towns are in the class III category. It may also be noted that classwise, the districts of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Kamrup and Lakhimpur are racing for bigger towns. The United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district has become urbanised mostly because it is the headquarter of the Government of Assam and also because it has a cantonment and educational facilities. Apart from that, it is also a health resort and a place whom people do not want to leave once they have settled here even for a short period. The Kamrup district is making a bold bid for being the most urbanised district in Assam because it is a centre of trade and commerce, transport and communications and industrial and educational facilities. Apart from that, it is the headquarter of the district. Lakhimpur district is important in the sphere of urbanisation because it has an extensive trade and industry in respect of tea and oil.

39. The following is table 3.12 showing the distribution of population between towns district by district, with population over 20,000 in 1961. As the number of towns per 1,000 of general population and the number per 1,000 of urban population in towns of class I, II and III runs to the third place of decimals, no comment is called for and there is also no point in preparing a similar table for 1951 for the sake of comparison. However, it may be mentioned that there is a tendency towards concentration of the urban population in towns of larger size.

Distribution of population between Towns. District by District with population over 20,000 in 1961.

TABLE 3. 12

State/District	Average population per town	Number of towns per 1,000 of general population	Number per 1,000 of Urban Population in towns with a population of				
			100,000 and over	80,000 to 99,999	60,000 to 79,999	40,000 to 59,999	20,000 to 39,999
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	15,217	0·005	0 001	—	0·001	0·002	0·011
Goalpara	11,349	0·006	—	—	—	—	0·010
Kamrup	16,885	0·006	0·005	—	—	—	0·009
Darrang	10,059	0·004	—	—	—	—	0·020
Lakhimpur	16,817	0·006	—	—	—	0·007	0·007
Nowgong	20,304	0 003	—	—	—	—	0·025
Sibsagar	12,784	0·004	—	—	—	—	0·013
Cachar	16,136	0·004	—	—	—	0·010	0·010
Garo Hills	8,888	0·003	—	—	—	—	—
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	21,719	0·011	—	—	0·009	—	—
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	3,265	0·004	—	—	—	—	—
Mizo Hills	14,257	0·004	—	—	—	—	—

40 *Progress of population in towns classified by Character*—Below is another table 3 13 which will further illustrate the points and comments already given in the preceding paragraphs –

Progress of Population in towns classified according to character during 1901-1961

(Percentage decennial variation is shown under absolute figures + indicates increase, – indicates decrease)

TABLE 3.13

Class of Town	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A Administrative Residential and Educational town (including rice mill and oil mill cotton ginning and agricultural products processing town)—							
1 Shillong Town-Group	103 398 (+75 00)	58 [illegible] (+51 [illegible])	[illegible] (+43 [illegible])	[illegible] 4 [illegible])	17 [illegible] (+26 13)	13 690 (+41 70)	9 631
(a) Shillong	7 418 (+34 75)	53 [illegible] (+74	[illegible] 44 [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] (+26 13)	13 690 (+41 70)	9 631
(b) Shillong Cantonment	11 348 (+138 60)	[illegible] (+36 23)	[illegible] (+4 [illegible])	[illegible]			
(c) Nongthymmai	10 084						
(d) Mawlai	[illegible]						
2 Gauhati	100 707 (+130 90)	43 615 (+42 [illegible])	9 538 (+15 [illegible])	[illegible] (+[illegible])	16 480 (+1 [illegible])	12 681 (+7 03)	11,081
3 Dibrugarh	[illegible] (+53 93)	37 991 (+[illegible])	[illegible] (+[illegible])	18 734 (+17 04)	16 007 (+9 92)	14 963 (+29 71)	11,227
4 Nowgong	36 600 (+36 60)	[illegible] (+117 83)	[illegible] (+24 56)	10 413 (+[illegible] 24)	6 885 (+26 71)	5 433 (+22 64)	4,430
5 Karimganj	28 683 (+50 19)	19 098 (+144 44)	7 813 (+[illegible])	5 691 (+[illegible])	4 [illegible] (+30 10)	6 912 (+14 41)	5,693
6 Dhubri	28 355 (+24 43)	[illegible] (+79 44)	[illegible] (+34 [illegible])	[illegible] (+40 [illegible])	6 707 (+15 40)	5,808 (+39 43)	3,797
7 Jorhat	24 953 (+54 37)	16 164 (+38 98)	11 664 (+39 96)	8 334 (+25 78)	6 676 (+2[illegible] 67)	5 231 (+80 40)	2,890
8 Tezpur	24 159 (+27 96)	18 880 (+58 94)	11 879 (+15 69)	10 [illegible] (+36 87)	7 341 (+37 09)	5 359 (+5 68)	5,007
9 Sibsagar	15 106 (+42 21)	10 [illegible] (+40 5[illegible])	7 550 (+13 [illegible])	[illegible] (+5 19)	5 379 (+7 39)	5 764 (+0 95)	5,712
10 Golaghat	14 699 (+77 46)	8 283 (+51 43)	5 470 (+16 68)	4 688 (+28 26)	3 655 (+61 46)	2,236 (–8 31)	2,399
11 Aijal	14 257 (+105 14)	6 950					
12 Hailakandi	14 135 (+71 94)	8 219 (+166 50)	3 084 (+56 04)	2 002 (+10 14)	2 223 (+52 39)	1,462	
13 Goalpara	13,692 (+34 34)	10 192 (+30 78)	7 793 (+21 48)	6 415 (+3 27)	6 212 (+4 16)	5,964 (–9 54)	6,597
14 Kokrajhar	9 489						
15 Nalbari	9 285 (+109 97)	4 422 (+23 59)	3 578				
16 Tura	8,888						
17 Naharkatiya	8,877						
18 Mangaldai	8 547 (+139 34)	3 571 (+70 62)	2 093 (+23 41)	1 696 (+64 79)	1,023		
19 Dergaon	7,802						
20 North Gauhati	7,496						
21 North Lakhimpur	6,576 (+112 54)	3,094 (+10 90)	2 790 (+31 60)	2 120 (+7 [illegible])	1,966		
22. Jowai	6,197						
23 Abhayapuri	5,227						
24. Rangia	4,984						

TABLE 3·13—*concld.*

Class of Town	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	190
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
25. Kamakhya	4,359	..	..	..	..	..	..
26. Haflong	3,265 (+50·60)	2,168 (+47·38)	1,471 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
B. Port, Trading and Commercial towns (including ship-building Towns)—							
1. Silchar	41,062 (+20 56)	34,059 (+105·16)	16,601 (+27·03)	13,069 (+28·08)	10,204 (+16·15)	8,785 (—5·09)	9,256 ..
2. Hojai	12,857	..	..	..	..	..	.
3. Bilasipara	10,025	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Gauripur	9,791 (+27·99)	7,650 (+32·28)	5,783 (+3·42)	5,592 (+29·71)	4,311 ..	.. ..	.. ..
5. Barpeta Road	9,648	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Mankachar	9,255	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Bongaigaon	8,763	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Doom Dooma	8,192 (+132·07)	3,099 (+42·35)	2,177 (+14·57)	1,900 (+63·51)	1,162 ..	.. ..	.. ..
9. Sapatgram	7,546	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Kharupatia	6,906	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Dhing	6,574	..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Dhekiajuli	6,363	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Lala	4,487	..	..	..	..	..	..
14. Tangla	4,319	..	..	..	..	..	..
15. Bihpuria Tinali	3,198	..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Lakhipur	2,564	..	..	..	..	..	..
17. Chabua	2,633	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Transport, Storage and Communication Towns—							
1. Pandu	31,173	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Lumding	23,186 (+51·76)	15,278 (+295·39)	3,864 (+24·73)	3,098 (+16·73)	2,654 ..	.. ..	.. ..
3. Mariani	9,235	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Badarpur	5,888	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Amingaon	5,833	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Manufacturing and Industrial Towns							
1. Digboi Town Group	35,028	..	..	..	..	..	..
(a) Digboi	18,235	..	..	..	..	..	..
(b) Digboi Oil Town	16,793	..	..	..			..
2. Tinsukia	28,468 (+132·49)	12,245 (+46 86)	8,338 (+61·89)	5,160 (+67·53)	3,080 ..	.. ..	.. ..
3. Barpeta	22,207 (+5·06)	21,137 (+14·46)	18,466 (+34·03)	13,777 (+17·45)	11,730 (+9·23)	10,739 (+22·77)	8 747 ..
4. Sualkuchi	12,087	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Sarthebari	5,462	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Nazira	4,910 (+18·53)	4,250 (+23·69)	3,436 (—1 38)	3,484 (+32 37)	2,632 (+1·90)	2,583 ..	.. ..
7. Palasbari	3,939 (—16 30)	4,706 (+27 46)	3,692 (+6·89)	3,454 (+26·38)	2,733 ..	.. ..	.. ..
8. Tihu	2,619	..	..	..	..	..	..
E Mining Towns	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Railway Towns—							
1. Pandu	31,173	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Lumding	23,186 (+51·76)	15,278 (+295·39)	3,864 (+24·73)	3,098 (+16 73)	2,654 ..	.. ..	.. ..
3. Mariani	9,235	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Badarpur	5,888	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Amingaon	5,833	..	..	..	..	..	..

41. Here is another table which will illustrate some of the vagaries of urbanisation.

Non-industrial towns which declined in population in certain Census, 1901-61

TABLE 3.14

Name of district and town	Population in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Goalpara District—							
Goalpara	13,692	10 192	7 793	6,415	6,212	5,964	6,287
Sibsagar District—							
Golaghat	14,699	8,283	5,470	4 688	3 655	2,236	2,359
Sibsagar	15,106	10,622	7 559	6,669	5,329	5,764	5,712
Cachar District—							
Karimganj	28,683	19,098	7 813	5 601	4 552	6,512	5,692
Hailakandi .	14,132	8,219	3,084	2,002	2,224	1,462	—
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District—							
Shillong Cantt	11,348	4,756	7,458	5 246		—	—

42 The above table shows that six towns of Assam which are of a residential, administrative and commercial character (*i e*, non-industrial) have shown some decay or stagnation in certain decades between 1901 and 1961, but have again shown improvement for the last two decades It is seen that the population of Goalpara and Golaghat towns have shown some decay in the decade 1901-1911 Even if new inhabitants did not go to live in these two towns, the natural increase should have increased the population in 1911; but there is a slight reduction of population instead This must be due to some out-migration of people from these two towns My predecessor did not mention anything regarding the reason for such out-migration These two towns have also shown some sort of stagnation from 1901 to 1941; but in 1951-1961, both have shown distinct improvement in the increase of population. As stated earlier, the improvement may be mostly ascribed to governmental activities under the two Five Year Plans Sibsagar town shows some decay in 1921 and a general stagnation from 1901 to 1941. This is due entirely to the shifting of the headquarters of the district from Sibsagar to Jorhat In 1951 and 1961 the population of Sibsagar shows distinct improvement due to governmental activities and the exploration of oil by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission in Sibsagar town and its vicinity Karimganj was the headquarter of a small subdivision of Sylhet from 1901 to 1941 and therefore it shows some stagnation and even decay during this period But in 1951 and 1961, the population of this town shows a phenomenal increase which is entirely due to the partition and the consequential influx of refugees from East Pakistan It is also queer that commercially, this town is more important than even Silchar which is the headquarter of the district There are two Superintendents of Taxes in Karimganj against one only in Silchar The same remark also generally applies to Hailakandi which is the headquarter of the Hailakandi subdivision In the case of the Shillong Cantonment, the fluctuation is mostly due to the movement of the army personnel

43 *Industrial towns.*—Below is another table showing the industrial towns whose population have fluctuated between 1901 and 1961

Industrial towns whose population fluctuated between 1901 and 1961

TABLE 3.15

Name of district and town	Population in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Kamrup District—							
Palasbari	3,939	4,706	3,692	3,454	2,733	—	—
Sibsagar District—							
Nazira	4,910	4,250	3,436	3,404	2,632	2,583	—

44. The above table shows that Palasbari town has a moderate growth of population from 1921 to 1951, but in 1961 it shows a decay when all the other towns in Assam have shown phenomenal increase. The reason for this is very simple. The river Brahmaputra has eroded almost half of Palasbari town and even the national highway had to be shifted to another route at some distance from the Brahmaputra to avoid erosion. Actually the Assam Government has a plan to shift the whole of Palasbari town to a new township called Mirza but very few go to that new township and many of the inhabitants of Palasbari still cling tenaciously to what is left of the town. This is part of the conservative habit of the people of India and their love of rivers. In the case of Nazira in the Sibsagar district, this town has shown stagnation all through with a slight increase in 1941. This small town has grown up and developed on both sides of the road near the tea gardens. Its only function is to supply some groceries and consumer goods to neighbouring tea gardens which again have bazars inside their own garden areas. Under such circumstances, there is no scope for increase of this town.

45. *Immigration into towns and its effects.*— The next important point is to investigate the extent of immigration into the urban areas of Assam. The following table will reveal many glaring facts about this study:—

Proportion per 1,000 urban population in each district and city or town-group of population of one lakh and above classified by persons

(*I*) born within the district but outside (1) the town of enumeration (2) City/Town Group (with a population of a lakh and over) in which enumerated

(*II*) born outside the district of enumeration but within the State and

(*III*) born in other States of India, 1961.

TABLE 3.16

State, District and Cities and town-group with one lakh and over	Females per 1,000 males	Persons per 1,000 of urban population born within the district but outside (1) the town of enumeration (2) City/Town-Group (with a population of a lakh and over) in which enumerated			Persons per 1,000 of urban population born outside the district of enumeration but within the State			Persons per 1,000 of urban population born in other States of India		
		Persons per 1,000 urban Population	Males per 1,000 males	Females per 1,000 females	Persons per 1,000 urban Population	Males per 1,000 males	Females per 1,000 females	Persons per 1,000 urban Population	Males per 1,000 males	Females per 1,000 females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	677	125	119	133	80	84	75	132	173	71
Goalpara District	725	90	76	110	47	53	38	132	174	73
Kamrup District	607	148	165	121	78	80	76	147	184	87
Gauhati Town	497	176	212	104	118	117	122	163	187	116
Darrang District	618	105	110	97	125	134	110	149	195	73
Lakhimpur District	631	78	63	100	102	102	100	199	255	109
Nowgong District	706	73	71	75	70	66	75	114	151	61
Sibsagar District	626	183	189	222	106	103	111	130	180	51
Cachar District	802	121	109	136	27	26	27	35	45	23
Garo Hills District	639	263	254	277	116	115	118	127	191	28
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District	775	134	111	164	100	117	79	117	153	71
Shillong Town-Group	763	129	106	159	104	121	83	123	159	76
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills District	639	105	115	89	223	231	298	55	61	46
Mizo Hills District	869	430	427	433	37	42	30	17	25	8

46. The above table enables us to study the extent of migration into towns from other parts of the disrtict itself, from within the State of Assam and from places outside the State but within India. This table has been prepared from the data available from Census tables relating to migration, but a close examination of the individual slips has led us to

believe that many people coming from East Pakistan do not show their place of birth correctly. The extent of migration into the urban areas can be seen from columns 3, 6 and 9 of the above table. In the first place, let us examine the extent of migration into towns having a population of 100,000 and over In the case of Gauhati, it may be seen that 176 persons out of every 1,000 have been born outside Gauhati, but within the Kamrup district, while 118 have been born in other districts of Assam but they have been found in Gauhati at the time of enumeration. Another 163 persons were born outside Assam, but they were found at Gauhati at the time of the count. In other words, 457 persons out of every 1,000 were not born in Gauhati. Even if some of these 457 people might have been in Gauhati during the period of enumeration only for temporary stay; the majority must have come to settle there during the decade Similarly in the case of the Shillong Town Group, 179 persons were born in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills outside the Town Group, 104 were born in other parts of Assam while 123 were born outside the State of Assam In other words, 356 persons out of every 1,000 persons were not born in Shillong, but they were found there at the time of the enumeration More people have therefore come into Gauhati than in Shillong to settle there during the decade and this shows the extent of migration of people into the two premier towns of Assam. It has already been mentioned earlier that both the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati are most administrative, residential and educational towns although they also have trade, commerce and some industrialisation.

47. In the case of Assam as a whole, 125 persons out of every 1,000 persons were not born in particular urban areas themselves, 80 were born outside the districts of enumeration but within the State, and another 132 persons per 1,000 were born in other States of India. Although the migration may also take place from one urban area to another urban area within the State, the extent of such migration is very limited; the majority of people who migrated into urban areas must have therefore come from the rural areas of Assam into urban areas, while a good number of them have also come to Assam urban areas from other States of India. The same extent of migration to urban areas is also noticeable in all the districts of Assam except in the case of the Mizo Hills district where the extent of migration of people into urban areas from the district itself appears to be very big. Here it is seen that 430 persons out of every 1,000 persons have come to the only town (Aijal) of the district, 37 have come from other districts of Assam into the town of Aijal and only 17 persons per 1,000 have come into Aijal from other parts of India This shows that Aijal has grown up simply because the Mizos have come from the interior to settle down in the town and very little people from outside the district have come there The Inner Line regulation still applies in the Mizo Hills district and no person from outside is allowed to go there without permission from the local authorities It is therefore small wonder that there are very few people from outside in Aijal Town, and even among those few people, by far the greatest number of them consists of employees of Government. It also appears that because of the existence of a high school and a college in Aijal, the Mizos of the interior have gone there for education. There is no large scope for Government service there, but some trade and commerce and a small amount of transport has been established in the district with Aijal as the headquarters. In the case of the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district, the percentage (28.8) in column 8 appears to be a bit high, but this is more apparent than real because Haflong is the only town in the whole district and its total population in 1961, is 3,265 so that even if only a few people come there from other parts of the State, the percentage appears to be unduly big. Most of those people who come to Haflong from other parts of the State are railway employees. Moreover, the Haflong subdivision has been transferred from the Cachar district to the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district during the inter-censal period and so a person who originally was born in the same district in 1951 would appear to be a person born outside the district in 1961.

48. The following are the States which have contributed more migrants to the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati, the only

urban areas in Assam which have a population of over 100,000:—

Shillong		*Gauhati.*	
Bihar	2,732	Bihar	7,943
Punjab	2,251	West Bengal	2,049
West Bengal	1,809	Rajasthan	1,418
Uttar Pradesh	1,717	Uttar Pradesh	1,418
Nagaland	797	Punjab	713
Rajasthan	769		

49. *Educational level among migrants by age-group and sex ratio*—Most of the migrants into Gauhati belong to the age-group 15-34 followed by the age-group 35-59 and then by the age-group 0-14. Migrants in the age-range 7-21 may consist of large number of students in the various colleges and schools of Gauhati. Similarly in the case of migrants into the Shillong Town Group also, the biggest numbers are in the age-group 15-34 following by the age-group 35-59 and then by age-group 0-14. Here also, the biggest number of migrants of the age-range 7-21 may be students in the various schools and colleges of Shillong. Migrants in the age-range 21-59 are mostly working people in both the cities. It is also noted that in both the cities the migrants in the age-group 0-14 have more females than males just the opposite of the other age-groups. Possibly this may be due to the fact that some of the other migrants have taken their young children with them to the cities and that among the young children so taken, females slightly preponderate over the males. It is also seen that in respect of migrants over 60 years of age, Shillong has much more than Gauhati. This may be due to the fact that some people have come to live in Shillong after retirement or for the sake of health facilities. In respect of migrants by educational levels, the following table will speak for itself.

Table 3·17

Educational levels	Shillong Town-Group	Gauhati
1 University degree or post-graduate degree other than technical	3,012	1,993
2 Matriculation or Higher Secondary	8,318	8,458
3 Primary or Junior Basic	10,204	11,928
4 Technical Degree or Diploma	152	209

50. This table does not fail to speak that among the migrants to cities, educated persons form a substantial proportion because educated persons naturally go to cities for seeking employment or for attaining higher education. The migration of educated persons to cities and towns is characteristics not only of Assam but of the whole of India, because generally a person who has got a certain degree of education, especially from the matriculation upwards, does not like to stay in villages because apart from occupational attractions, the cities and towns offer better amenities for life. This imbalance may perhaps be cured when our villages become more improved before they themselves become towns. It may also be noted that the number of migrants from among the technically qualified persons is comparatively small. This is not due to the fact that technical personnel remain in the rural areas but because by and large the number of technical personnel in Assam is very small and whenever they have technical diplomas, especially in the sphere of medicine and engineering, they go to cities and towns for work. As far as literate migrants are concerned, the percentage in Shillong is 69.0 and Gauhati 70.9. This also shows that most of the migrants are literate persons and that illiterate persons do not much migrate to cities and towns in Assam. The reason for the comparative smallness of the illiterate migrants is because none of the cities and towns in Assam have been industrialised and unskilled labourers are not very much attracted excepting for manual labour and domestic service.

51. The effect on Shillong's life in respect of housing and sanitation by migrants is not unwholesome because most of the migrants are of a better type and so they do not produce slums nor do they pollute the sanitation of the city as is the case with other cities in India. As far as Gauhati is concerned, some of the illiterate migrants have raised ramshackle huts, epecially in the banks of the Brahmaputra, which spoil the look of the city and they have also polluted the whole *char* area with their indiscriminate sanitary habits. One cannot go to the banks without being filled with disgust at the foul smell from these *chars*.

52. Migrants into Gauhati do not appreciably affect the religion composition of the population, because most of them are Hindus, but in the case of Shillong, the religion composition is affected to the extent that most of

the people of the Shillong Town Group are now Hindus. In 1961, the number of Hindus in the Shillong Town Group is 58,157 whereas that of the Christians is only 26,500 and that of the Tribal Religion is only 10,223. As far as mother tongue is concerned, migrants into Shillong and Gauhati do affect the language composition because by and large they still speak their own mother tongue when they have migrated into these two cities.

53. Migrants into Gauhati consist of 44,173 males and 17,471 females while those into Shillong consist of 34,703 males and 21,029 females. It may be emphasized that the term 'migrant' here means people who have migrated into the above cities not only from other parts of the State and from other parts of the country but also from other parts of the district itself. As a matter of fact, the majority of the migrants is from within the district itself. It may be noted that in the case of Gauhati, the number of male migrants far exceeds the female migrants; whereas in the case of Shillong, the number of female migrants is not very far below that of the male migrants. These figures show that in the case of Gauhati, migrants from outside the city are generally menfolk who have come to work there and generally do not bring their families with them because of lack of accommodation as well as for other reasons. Bihari migrants who generally work as labourers seldom bring their families with them. Even Assamese who live in the vicinity of Gauhati generally leave their families in the villages or towns outside Gauhati while they themselves work and stay inside the city. No wonder therefore that among the migrants to Gauhati, there are only 398 females per 1,000 males. Among the whole population of Gauhati itself, the number of females is 497 per 1,000 males. In the case of Shillong, the sex ratio among the migrants is 606 females per 1,000 males while that for the whole population is 763 females per 1,000 males. Among the migrants from the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district into Shillong, the sex ratio is 1,151 females per 1,000 males. So the sex ratio in Shillong is low only because of the big number of male migrants from other parts of the State or other parts of the country. Among the migrants into Shillong are many soldiers who cannot bring their families with them although many of the officers of the army also bring their families with them. It is also noteworthy that among all classes of migrants to Shillong, male migrants who can afford it generally try to bring their families with them. Among the citizens of Assam who come to work in various Government offices in Shillong, most of the married male migrants also bring their families with them.

54. I give below Table 3.18 of migrants into the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati by birth place, sex distribution and sex ratio. In this Table, I have given only places from where sizable migrants have come and I have left out places from where only a negligible number of migrants have come. The basic purpose of this Table is only to find out whether there are marked disparities between male and female migrants into these two towns and whether the disparity increases or decreases with the distance of migration.

Table 3·18

Birth Place	Shillong Town-Group			Gauhati		
	Males	Females	Females per 1,000 males	Males	Females	Females per 1,000 males
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 District of enumeration	6,141	7,067	1,151	14,253	3,486	245
2 Other districts within the State	7,001	3,695	528	7,845	4,083	520
3 Other States within India	9,255	3,355	363	12,603	3,852	306
Bihar	2,346	386	165	6,390	1,553	243
Punjab	1,639	612	373	474	239	504
Rajasthan	481	288	599	879	539	613
Uttar Pradesh	1,242	475	382	1,155	263	228
West Bengal	1,054	755	716	1,355	694	512
Nagaland	623	174	279	..	..	..
4 Other countries	12,231	6,849	560	9,438	6,094	638
Nepal	4,317	1,942	450	1,670	348	208
Pakistan	7,672	4,813	627	7,703	5,626	730

55. It may be seen from the above table that in the case of Shillong, the number of females migrating into the Shillong Town Group from the interior of the ditrict is more than that of males; while in the case of Gauhati, only 245 females per 1,000 males from other parts of the Kamrup district migrate to Gauhati. I am told that in Gauhati, generally only males come to the town to work leaving their families in the rural areas whom they can visit at weekends because of good communication and other facilities. It may also be seen that as far as migrants from Bihar are concerned, very few of them brought their families either to Shillong or Gauhati. This is almost entirely due to the fact that Biharis are mostly manual or casual labourers who generally do not bring their families to Assam. From another table (D-III) it is seen that duration of residence does not affect Biharis from not bringing their families to Assam. This phenomenon may also be partly due to the habits of the Biharis who normally come to Assam only to earn a livelihood and dispatch money to their families every month as is proved by long queues of these people in various post offices in the first week of each month. This is also proved by the fact that in Bihar, the sex ratio is 994 females per 1,000 males which, by Indian standard, is very good. It may also be seen that distance of migration to these two cities of Assam does not appear to have any effect on the pattern of disparity of sex ratio. Only migrants from West Bengal, Rajasthan and Pakistan appear to have brought their womenfolk along with them in appreciable numbers when they come to these two cities of Assam whether for short or for long duration. In the case of migrants from Nagaland to Shillong, it is seen that there are only 174 females against 623 males. This is simply due to the fact that most of the Nagas who come to Shillong are students.

56. An examination of Tables D-IV and D-V for these two cities help us to study further as to which categories of migrants adjust themselves to family life more quickly than others and at what age groups.

57. Among non-workers, the number of females are more than males in the case of both the cities with 1,975 females in Shillong and 1,165 females in Gauhati per 1,000 males. The following glaring disparities are also observed:—

Shillong Town Groups—Age group 15-34 has 3,416 males against 8,583 females.

Gauhati—Age group 35-59 has 695 males against 1,209 females.

Shillong Town Group—Age group 15-34 sex ratio is better in occupational Division 0 in age group 35-59, Division 2 in age group 15-35, Division 3 in age group 35-59, Division 7-8 in age group 35-59 and Division 9 in age group 15-34.

58. Glaring disparities are also observed in Divisions 1, 4, 6 and X in all age groups.

Gauhati—Sex ratio is comparatively better in Division 0 in age group 15-34, Division 7-8 in age group 15-34 and Division 9 in age group 35-59.

59. Glaring disparity is observed in Divisions 6, 3 and 2 in all age groups.

60. The total number of 'lone persons' in the urban areas of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills is 4,350 (4,060 males and 290 females), and that in the urban areas of Kamrup is 2,455 (2,130 males and 325 females).

61. The sex ratio in urban areas can further be examined in the following table showing the number of females per 1,000 males in different types of towns from 1901 to 1961. The different types of towns are of the following categories according to the main occupations of the people or predominant characteristics of the towns:—

A. Administration, Residential and Educational Cities and Towns;
B. Port, Trading, Commerce including Ship-building Towns;
C. Transport, Storage and Communication Towns;
D. Manufacturing and Industrial Towns;
E. Mining Towns; and
F. Railway Towns.

62. It may be noted that in Assam there are no ports and ship-building towns and so category B really includes only Trade and Commerce. There is no town engaged solely for the purpose of mining. It may also be noted that towns of category C, namely transport, storage and communication are the same as category F or railway towns as far as Assam is concerned.

63. Females outnumber males only in Jowai Town in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district. In Aijal, the capital of the Mizo district, the number of females is 869 per 1,000 males. The reason for this is that there are only a few non-tribals in Jowai Town; while in Aijal, the non-tribals are Government servants and members of the Assam Rifles who do not take their families there; otherwise the number of females is also more than the number of males in Aijal Town because in the whole district itself the females outnumber males. It is also seen that the sex ratio of Gauhati is more or less constant round about 500 females per 1,000 males from 1901 to 1961, while the sex ratio in Shillong slightly varies from decade to decade depending on the number of soldiers stationed in the cantonment here. The sex ratio of Karimganj and Hailakandi has improved in 1961 and this may be due to the influx of refugees from Pakistan. One of the main reasons why there are much less females than males in bigger towns with a population of 50,000 and above is the fact that accommodation is very difficult to obtain in big towns, and where available, the house rent is so high that poorer male workers cannot afford to bring their families to such towns.

Females per 1,000 males in different types of cities and towns 1901-61

A. Administrative, Residential and Educational Cities and Towns

(i) Places with 1,001 & more females per 1,000 males in 1961

TABLE 3.19

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Jowai	1,011					.	..

(ii) Places with 951 to 1,000 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	.	..				..	..

(iii) Places with 851 to 950 Females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Aijal	869	846	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 3.19—contd.

(iv) Places with less than 850 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Shillong Town Group	763	784	683	697	809	787	725
Gauhati	497	558	567	503	528	534	500
Dibrugarh	651	611	580	538	608	637	583
Nowgong	657	702	608	563	667	728	666
Karimganj	761	695	527	456	415	617	640
Dhubri	590	644	618	545	556	485	400
Jorhat	582	637	589	592	618	622	568
Tezpur	583	569	495	407	451	425	415
Sibsagar	618	651	716	700	778	786	670
Golaghat	688	684	590	593	665	644	696
Hailakandi	848	791	637	552	397	480	.
Goalpara	762	774	725	658	652	569	498
Kokrajhar	664	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nalbari	553	632	515	..	.	..	..
Tura	639	..	..		.	.	..
Naharkatiya	651	..	..	..		.	..
Mangaldai	644	551	452	333	388	.	..
Dergaon	530	..	..	..	.	..	.
North Gauhati	815	.	..	..	..	..	.
North Lakhimpur	520	589	604	502	633	.	..
Abhayapuri	785	..	.	..	..	.	..
Rangia	567	..	..	..	..		..
Kamakhya	663	..	..	..	..	.	..
Haflong	639	665	578	.	..	..	..

B. Port, Trading, Commercial including Ship-building Towns

(i) Places with 1,001 & more females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(ii) Places with 951 to 1,000 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 3.19—contd.

(iii) Places with 851 to 950 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bilasipara	874						
Gauripur	869	863	746	767	784		
Mankachar	920						
Lala	903						

(iv) Places with less than 850 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Silchar	798	732	601	553	553	489	408
Hojai	695						
Barpeta Road	803						
Bongaigaon	601						
Doom Dooma	840	481	393	334	421		
Sapatgram	840						
Kharupatia	706						
Dhing	739						
Dhekiajuli	622						
Tangla	622						
Bihpuria Tinali	735						
Lakhipur	723						
Chabua	576						

C. Transport, Storage and Communication Towns

(i) Places with 1,001 & more females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(ii) Places with 951 to 1,000 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 3.19—contd.

(iii) Places with 851 to 950 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1931	1921	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Badarpur	884						

(iv) Places with less than 850 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pandu	642						
Lumding	791	774	544	475	449		
Mariani	670						
Amingaon	601						

D. Manufacturing and Industrial Towns

(i) Places with 1,001 & more females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(ii) Places with 951 to 1,000 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(iii) Places with 851 to 950 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sualkuchi	878	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 3.19—concld.

(iv) Places with less than 850 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Digboi Town-Group	703						..
Tinsukia	553	557	427	414	564		..
Barpeta	846	830	790	985	1,061	1,041	1,072
Sarthebari	809						
Nazira	800	783	784	681	711	721	..
Palasbari	626	711	714	764	772		..
Tihu	807						..

E. Mining Towns

Nil

F. Railway Towns

(i) Places with 1,001 and more females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—				—	—

(ii) Places with 951 to 1,000 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(iii) Places with 851 to 950 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Badarpur . .	884						..

(iv) Places with less than 850 females per 1,000 males in 1961

Name of City and Town	Females per 1,000 males in						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Panda	642			.	..	..	..
Lumding	793	774	844	475	449	..	..
Mariani	670	..	..	..	..	..	..
Amingaon	681	..	..	..	..	..	..

64. I give below another interesting table for considering the composition of sex ratio in different age groups in different types of cities and towns. The relevant data have been collected from Table B-II.

Females per 1,000 males in different age groups in—

A. Administrative, Residential and Educational Towns;

B. Port, Trading and Commercial including Ship-building Towns;

C. Transport, Storage and Communication Towns;

D. Manufacturing and Industrial Towns;

E. Mining Towns;

F. Railway Towns.

Table 3·20

Females per 1,000 males in

Age groups	Towns in group A	Towns in group B	Towns in group C	Towns in group D	Towns in group E	Towns in group F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	648	755	704	705	Nil	704
0-14	936	964	975	887	Nil	975
15-34	531	695	610	630	Nil	610
35-59	450	506	375	494	Nil	375
60 and over	774	768	1,385	778	Nil	1,385
Age not stated	799	844	500	1,000	Nil	500

65. The most interesting data which can be seen from the above table is that in the age group 0-14 the number of females per 1,000 males is very high and almost equal in all types of towns. This age group consist of babies and school-going children and so the sex ratio in all types of towns is very big ostensibly because young children live with their parents and they also attend schools in towns where many educational institutions are situated. The disparity in the composition of sex becomes prominent in the age group 15-59, that is in the working age, because here the number of females per 1,000 males is very small. It is also queer that from the age 60 and over, the female ratio again improves and in the case of towns in group C the number of females per 1,000 males is as great as 1,385. This demographic peculiarity may also be accounted by the fact that the child-bearing period for women is normally between 14 and 50 and it is during this period that women suffer from great mortality. That may also be one of the reasons why the female species is gradually declining in India. But if women can outlive the child-bearing period, they generally live longer than men as is shown by Census data.

66. The following is another Table 3.21 showing the age composition of males and females expressed as percentage of male and female population respectively.

Age composition of males and females expressed as percentage of male and female population respectively (all ages together for each sex being 100) in A, B, C, D, E and F types of Cities and towns of population 50,000 and above.

Table 3·21

Age Groups	Number of each sex in each age group expressed as percentage of total of all ages for each sex in cities and towns of: Type A Males	Type A Females	Type B,C,D,E & F Males	Type B,C,D,E & F Females
1	2	3	4	5
Total	100·00	100·00	—	—
0—14	29.57	42·81	—	—
15—34	46·44	38·82	—	—
35—59	21 30	14·77	—	—
60 and over	2·67	3·57	—	—
Age not stated	0 02	0 03	—	—

67. It may be noted that this table differs from the previous one only in respect of the fact that this table covers only towns having a population of 50,000 and above, and there are only three such towns in Assam, namely, the Shillong, Gauhati and Dibrugarh. This table also differs from the previous one in respect of the fact that the total population has been distributed in broad age groups for both the sexes. It may also be noted that the highest peak for females is in age group 0-14, that is mostly in the non-working age, while the peak for males is in the age group 15-34 which is also a peak period for the workers.

68. In Table 3.22 below I give the age composition of males and females expressed as percentage of male and female population respectively (all ages together for each sex being 100) in cities and towns of population of 100,000 and above. As Assam has only

two such towns, the table relates only to the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati.

Table 3·22

Age Groups	Number of each sex in each age group expressed as per cent of total of all ages for each sex in Shillong Town Group		Gauhati	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100
0-14	34	41	26	42
15-34	43	40	51	40
35-59	20	15	21	15
60 and above	3	4	2	3
Age not stated	N	N	N	

'N' means Negligible

69 An interesting feature of this table is that the distribution of female in different age groups is almost the same for both the towns In respect of the male population, Shillong has more males in the age group 0-14 This is probably due to the sizeable number of school-going male students who come to the various schools in Shillong In the age group 15-35, Gauhati has more males than Shillong because of the workers in the various industries In the remaining age groups, the male population of Gauhati is more or less like that of Shillong

70 Much has already been said about the towns with a population of 100,000 and over We may now examine the composition of the urban population in general in relation to age, sex, education and activity.

71. *Sex ratio in urban areas*—As regards sex ratio, it does not differ much from those obtained for different towns separately Even if the population in age-group 0-4 is excluded, it does not give us a different picture which can be seen from the figures below:—

Sex ratio of district-wise urban population aged +

Goalpara	672	Lakhimpur	593
Darrang	583	Sibsagar	590
Nowgong	664	Garo Hills	597
Cachar	756	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	593
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	743		
Kamrup	983	Mizo Hills	844

72. In the smaller towns, the number of cultivators, both males and females, is proportionately more while the number of workers in other services is less.

73 In Class II, IV, V and VI towns, female workers in manufacturing other than household industry are proportionately more, perhaps because of wrong entry in the enumeration slips by the enumerators. The proportion of workers in household industry is less in bigger towns

74 Female workers in trade and commerce in Class I towns are more than males mainly because of the Shillong Town Group where 211 out of every 1,000 female workers are engaged in trade and commerce

75 The proportion of female non-workers varies from 681 in the Mizo Hills district to 965 in Nowgong district

76 An examination of the industrial classification of workers and non-workers by educational levels in urban areas reveals the following educational misfits or anomalies. One agricultural degree holder is engaged in manufacturing in the Goalpara district, one is engaged in construction and another is engaged in trade and commerce in the Sibsagar district

77 *Non-workers and workers in urban areas* Among non-workers, there are 32 male engineers, 65 male and 2 female doctors (medicine), 3 male degree holders in veterinary, 1 male degree holder in technology, 11 male and 9 female degree holders in teaching and 3 male and 5 female degree holders in others This may be simply due to the fact that these technical personnel have not yet been able to obtain employment, or that they are private practitioners whom the enumerators thought to be non-workers.

78. There are 29 holders of degree in medicine engaged in trade and commerce distributed as follows:—

Kamrup	1
Lakhimpur	16
Cachar	1
Darrang	2
Nowgong	4
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	2
Sibsagar	3

79. These also may be private practitioners who have pharmacies of their own and so enumerators thought them to be mere traders.

80. There are 14 holders of degree in engineering engaged in trade and commerce:

Lakhimpur	10
Cachar	1
Sibsagar	1
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills .	2

81. These may be electrical engineers and others who have shops of their own.

82. Among non-workers, the highest concentration is in the age group 0-14 which constitutes 60.00 per cent. of the total non-working urban population of the State. This is because full time students, infants and children not attending school belong to this age group as is evident from the following figures:—

Total non-working population of age-group 0—14		Full time students		Dependents, infants & children not attending school	
M	F	M	F	M	F
176,084	169,063	80,770	69,158	90,750	95,026

83. It is interesting to note that in Darrang district, as many as 2,582 males are engaged in household duties, the proportion of which is 192 per every 1,000 male non-workers (but 2,475 belong to age group 0-14 obviously due to wrong entry by the enumerators).

84. The number of male beggars, etc., is highest in Kamrup district with 786 persons or 14 out of every 1,000 male non-workers which is followed by Sibsagar with 13 and Lakhimpur with 11 persons out of every 1,000 non-workers.

85. The number of female beggars, etc., is highest in the Cachar district with 975 or 24 out of every 1,000 female non-workers of the district. They are more or less evenly distributed in all age groups. These may be mainly refugees from East Pakistan.

86. The following figures will speak for the proportion of unemployed persons per 1,000 non-workers in different districts:—

Table 3·23

District	Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work	
	M	F	M	F
Goalpara . .	8	N	5	N
Kamrup . .	14	1	6	N
Darrang . .	10	N	5	N
Lakhimpur . .	23	1	4	N
Nowgong . .	14	N	6	N
Sibsagar . .	13	1	17	1
Cachar . .	15	2	8	1
Garo Hills . .	9	1	8	N
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	9	1	8	1
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	15	..	1	
Mizo Hills . .	7	1	7	.

'N'=means Negligible.

87. There are 5,400 unemployed persons which constitute 0.59 per cent. of the total population and 0.94 per cent. of the total non-working population of the urban areas of the State. Out of the total unemployed, 3,622 are seeking employment for the first time constituting 0.40 per cent. of the total population and 0.63 per cent. of the total non-working population; while 1,778 persons were employed before but are now out of employment and seeking work constituting 0.19 per cent. of the total population and 0.31 per cent. of the total non-workers.

88. The number of unemployed persons decreases gradually with higher educational qualifications. Again, the number declines rapidly from the age group 20-24 onwards in the case of persons seeking employment for the first time while in the case of other categories, the number increases gradually up to the age group 25-34 and declines gradually thereafter.

89. There are 153 unemployed degree holders out of which 141 have university or post-graduate degrees other than technical degrees, 2 with degrees in engineering and 10

with degrees in medicine. The distribution of these degree holders in two categories of unemployed persons in different age groups is shown below.—

Persons seeking employment for the first time

AGE GROUPS

TABLE 3·24

Educational levels	Total		15—19		20—24		25—29		30—34		35	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
University degree or post graduate degree other than technical degree	94	14	1	1	47	8	34	4	3	1	5	—
Degree in Medicine	9	—	—	—	2	—	4	—	-	—	3	—

Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work

AGE GROUPS

TABLE 3·25

Educational levels	Total		15—19		20—24		25—34		35—44		45—59		60+	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
University degree or post-graduate degree other than technical	30	3	—	1	15	2	8		3		3	—	1	—
Degree in Engineering	2	—	—	-	1		1					-	—	—
Degree in Medicine	1	—	—		1		—				-	—	—	—

Distribution of unemployed degree holders in different districts of Assam

TABLE 3·26

District	University degree or post graduate degree other than technical degree		Degree in Medicine		Degree in Engineering	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Goalpara	3	2		-	—	—
Kamrup	35	2	3		—	—
Darrang	6	—			—	—
Lakhimpur	10		4		—	—
Nowgong	8	1			—	—
Sibsagar	5	—	-	-	—	—
Cachar	20	4	1	-	—	—
Garo Hills	—	—			—	—
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	34	8	2	-	2	—
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mizo Hills	3	—	-	-	—	—

90. As stated earlier the concentration of workers is high in age groups 15-34 and 35-59 irrespective of literacy and sex. There are 1,583 technical degree holders in Division 0 (professional, technical and related workers) which is 95.42 per cent. of the total technical graduates working under various occupational divisions. There are 3 female engineers, 55 female doctors, 68 female degree holders in teaching and 1 female degree holder in 'Others' in the State and all of them are working in occupational Division 0.

91. Out of the 38,074 literate clerical and related workers, 36,421 are males and 1,653 are females. The proportion in terms of 1,000 female workers of female matriculates in occupational Division 2 is 522 while that of graduates is 153. There are 4 technical degree holders, 3 of them in teaching and one in 'Others' working as clerical and related workers.

92. Among literate workers in different occupational Divisions, the number is highest in Division 3, sales workers. Of the total 53,791 workers in this Division, 52,315 are males and 1,476 females. The concentration of workers is as usual in age groups 15-34 and 35-59 with educational level up to Matriculation or Higher Secondary.

93. There are no literate female workers in Division 5 (miners, quarrymen and related workers). The total number of male literates is only 125 out of which 2 are non-technical graduates and one an engineer, while the rest are of matriculation level and below with the highest concentration in literate without educational level. The proportion of workers without educational level is 288 per 1,000 workers in Division 5.

94. There are only 147 female workers in transport and communication occupations which is the lowest among all other divisions.

95. Distribution of these workers in different districts of the State is as follows:

Goalpara	11
Darrang	3
Nowgong	2
Cachar	40
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	35
Kamrup	17
Lakhimpur	13
Sibsagar	20
Garo Hills	1
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	1
Mizo Hills	4

96. In Divisions 7-8 (craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified) the concentration of workers is highest in age group 15-34 with educational level up to Matriculation or Higher Secondary.

97. There are 6,373 literate workers not classifiable by occupation of whom 6,168 are males and 205 females. It is interesting to note that as many as 11 degree holders in engineering, 5 in medicine, 1 in veterinary and 6 in 'Others' could not be classified according to their occupation due to incomplete return in the enumeration slips.

98. *Languages*—The numerically predominant language of Assam is Assamese and the proportion of persons with Assamese as mother tongues is 571 per 1,000 population of the State. As many as 192 languages have been recorded as mother tongues in Assam. The table below gives the proportion of persons with different languages as mother tongues which are numerically predominant in the State separately for total, rural and urban.

	Assamese	Bengali	Bodo/Boro	Garo	Hindi	Khasi	Mikir	Lushai/Mizo	Nepali	Oriya
T	571	174	24	25	43	24	13	18	18	12
R	591	157	25	27	36	23	14	18	16	13
U	334	379	3	6	130	42	N	16	38	2

'N'=means Negligible

99. In respect of the distribution of languages in the different districts, it may be mentioned that Bengali is found in almost every district except the Mizo Hills in considerable numbers, and out of 692,012 persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to mother tongue, as many as 554,267 persons have recorded Assamese as subsidiary language. We may now study the distribution of the numerically major languages in urban areas of different districts of Assam. For this study, the languages with less than one thousand speakers have been excluded.

Table 3·27

Name of languages	No. of speakers
Assam State:—	
1. Assamese	304,649
2. Bengali	345,935
3. Bihari	2,457
4. Bodo/Boro	2,991
5. English	1,003
6. Garo	5,070
7. Gurmukhi	1,278
8. Hindi	118,376
9. Khasi	38,557
10. Lushai/Mizo	14,163

TABLE 3.27—*contd*

Name of languages	No. of speakers
Assam State—*contd*.	
11. Malayalam	1,458
12 Manipuri/Meithei	4,236
13 Marwari	5,091
14. Naga—Unspecified	1,748
15 Nepali	34,959
16. Oriya	2,239
17 Punjabi	6,465
18 Pnar/Synteng	5,111
19. Tamil	1,439
20 Telugu	4,128
21 Urdu	4,054
Goalpara:—	
Assamese	34,697
Bengali	43,314
Hindi	19,644
Kamrup:—	
Assamese	113,516
Bengali	58,733
Hindi	30,565
Nepali	4,956
Punjabi	1,592
Telugu	1,388
Darrang:—	
Assamese	19,158
Bengali	20,390
Hindi	7,902
Lakhimpur:—	
Assamese	45,370
Bengali	56,066
Hindi	30,012
Marwari	1,902
Nepali	7,848
Punjabi	1,497
Telugu	1,893
Urdu	1,608
Nowgong:—	
Assamese	33,178
Bengali	36,177
Hindi	9,179
Sibsagar:—	
Assamese	48,884
Bengali	14,014
Hindi	9,161
Nepali	1,293
Cachar:—	
Bengali	87,653
Hindi	4,820
Manipuri/Meithei	1,953

TABLE 3.27—*contd*.

Name of languages	No. of speakers
Garo Hills:—	
Bengali	2,031
Garo	4,128
Hindi	1,107
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills:	
Assamese	8,556
Bengali	25,678
Hindi	5,583
Khasi	37,354
Lushai Mizo	1,027
Nepali	15,970
Punjabi	2,033
Pnar Synteng	3,111
Urdu	1,114
Mizo Hills	
Lushai/Mizo	12,407
Out of total urban population 14,257.	
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills:—	
Assamese	234
Bengali	1,434
Hindi	333
Kachari	216
Nepali	379
Shillong Town Group	
Assamese	8,466
Bengali	25,530
Hindi	5,492
Khasi	37,050
Lushai Mizo	978
Nepali	15,761
Punjabi	2,016
Urdu	1,114
Gauhati —	
Assamese	44,918
Bengali	27,732
Hindi	17,817
Nepali	2,963

100 *Changes in classification of Towns 1901-61*—This chapter on Urban Population may end with the following comprehensive table showing the changes in the classification of cities, town groups and towns from 1901 to 1961 together with the population within brackets against the name and class of each town. The table speaks for itself and there is nothing to comment about it. It may, however, be noted that as far as the new towns (declared as town for the first time in the 1961 Census) are concerned, the question of

changes in classification from 1901 to 1961 does not arise. However, the names of new towns have also been given for the sake of completeness.

Changes in classifications of Cities, Town-groups and Towns 1901-61

(Class I 100,000 and over, Class II 50,000—99,999, Class III 20,000—49,999, Class IV 10,000—19,999, Class V 5,000—9,999, Class VI under 5,000)

TABLE 3.28

Cities, Town-Groups and Towns indescending order of Population	Class of town and population at the Census of						
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Shillong Town Group	I (102,398)	II (58,512)	III (38,192)	III (26,536)	IV (17,203)	IV (13,639)	V (9,621)
Gauhati City	I (100,707)	III (43,615)	III (29,598)	III (21,797)	IV (16,480)	IV (12,481)	IV (11,661)
Shillong	II (72,438)	II (53,756)	III (30,734)	III (21,300)	IV (17,203)	IV (13,639)	V (9,621)
Dibrugarh	II (58,480)	III (37,941)	III (23,191)	IV (18,734)	IV (16,007)	IV (14,563)	IV (11,227)
Silchar	III (41,062)	III (34,059)	IV (16,601)	IV (13,069)	IV (10,204)	V (8,785)	V (9,256)
Nowgong	III (38,600)	III (28,257)	IV (12,972)	IV (10,413)	V (6,885)	V (5,433)	VI (4,430)
Digboi Town Group	III (35,028)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pandu	III (31,173)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karimganj	III (28,683)	IV (19,098)	V (7,813)	V (5,691)	VI (4,552)	V (6,512)	(5,692)
Tinsukia	III (28,468)	IV (12,245)	V (8,338)	V (5,160)	VI (3,080)	..	..
Dhubri	III (28,355)	III (22,787)	IV (12,699)	V (9,435)	V (6,707)	V (5,808)	VI (3,737)
Jorhat	III (24,953)	IV (16,164)	IV (11,664)	V (8,334)	V (6,626)	V (5,231)	VI (2,899)
Tezpur	III (24,159)	IV (18,880)	IV (11,879)	IV (10,268)	V (7,341)	V (5,355)	V (5,067)
Lumding	III (23,186)	IV (15,278)	VI (3,864)	VI (3,098)	VI (2,654)	..	..
Barpeta	III (22,207)	III (21,137)	IV (18,466)	IV (13,777)	IV (11,730)	IV (10,739)	V (8,747)
Digboi Town	IV (18,235)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Digboi Oil Town	IV (16,793)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sibsagar	IV (15,106)	IV (10,622)	V (7,559)	V (6,669)	V (5,329)	V (5,764)	(5,312)
Golaghat	IV (14,699)	V (8,283)	V (5,470)	VI (4,688)	VI (3,655)	VI (2,236)	V (2,359)
Aijal	IV (14,257)	V (6,950)	..	..	.	.	VI ..
Hailakandi	IV (14,132)	V (8,219)	VI (3,084)	VI (2,002)	VI (2,228)	VI (1,462)	..
Goalpara	IV (13,692)	IV (10,192)	V (7,793)	V (6,415)	V (6,212)	V (5,964)	V (6,287)
Hojai	IV (12,857)	..	..	.		..	..
Sualkuchi	IV (12,087)		..			.	..
Shillong Cantonment	IV (11,348)	VI (4,756)	V (7,458)	V (5,236)	.	..	..
Nongthymmai	IV (10,084)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bilasipara	IV (10,025)					..	..
Gauripur	V (9,791)	V (7,650)	V (5,783)	V (5,592)	VI (4,311)	..	..
Barpeta Road	V (9,648)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kokrajhar	V (9,489)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nalbari	V (9,285)	VI (4,422)	VI (3,578)	..	..	..	..
Mankachar	V (9,255)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mariani	V (9,239)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tura	V (8,888)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Naharkatiya	V (8,877)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bongaigaon	V (8,763)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mangaldai	V (8,547)	VI (3,571)	VI (2,093)	VI (1,696)	VI (1,023)	..	..
Mawlai	V (8,528)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Doom Dooma	V (8,192)	VI (3,099)	VI (2,177)	VI (1,900)	VI (1,162)	..	..
Dergaon	V (7,802)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sapatgram	V (7,546)	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Gauhati	V (7,496)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kharupatia	V (6,906)	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Lakhimpur	V (6,576)	VI (3,094)	VI (2,790)	VI (2,120)	VI (1,966)	..	..
Dhing	V (6,574)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dhekiajuli	V (6,363)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jowai	V (6,197)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Badarpur	V (5,885)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Amingaon	V (5,535)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sarthebari	V (5,462)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Abhayapuri	V (5,227)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangia	VI (4,984)						..
Nazira	VI (4,910)	VI (4,250)	VI (3,436)	VI (3,484)	VI (2,632)	VI (2,585)	..
Lala	VI (4,487)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kamakhya	VI (4,359)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tangla	VI (4,319)	..	..	..	..	..	
Palasbari	VI (3,939)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Haflong	VI (3,265)	VI (4,700)	VI (3,692)	VI (3,454)	VI (2,733)	..	..
Bilpuria Tinali	VI (3,158)	VI (2,188)	VI (1,471)	..	..	..	..
Tezu	VI (2,619)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lakhipur	VI (2,564)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chabua	VI (2,535)	..	..	..	..	..	..

CHAPTER IV

THE RURAL POPULATION

PART A

Preliminary Remarks

1. *Utility of Rural and Urban Statistics*—The Census statistics are generally supplied in terms of Total, Rural and Urban and sometimes only in terms of Rural and Urban. The common man generally wants to know only the total population and sometimes when only rural and urban populations have been given in the statistics, he is rather impatient because he has to do the totalling before he can get the total population. But Census statistics of the rural and urban population have a variety of uses. This is all the more so now-a-days because in an age of planning, urbanisation is a very important social study. Rural and urban statistics are of considerable help in studying the economic conditions, social and political changes and demographic trends as indicated by the rates of population growth, age structure, size and composition of the economically active population and the like Their utility in comparing the conditions and characteristics of urban and rural people in the matter of births, deaths, sex composition, sanitation, standard of living and for economic planning and development of social welfare work can hardly be overstressed. In discussing the contrast between the rural and urban life and the necessity of separate classification, Dr. S. Chandrasekhar remarks 'Rural life and Urban life present sharp contrast all over the world and the contrast is perhaps sharpest in India. A rural population is predominantly agricultural in its occupation, has a low density per square mile and enjoys a high social and cultural stability arising out of cultural and ethnic continuity and homogeneity. All the traditional modes of culture are strongly preserved in a rural society, promoting conservatism which offers the most resistance to reform and innovation. For these reasons detailed classification of the population on the basis of residential characteristics becomes necessary in any demographic analysis.' *

2. ****Definitions*—The definitions of 'rural' and 'urban' areas present a real difficulty as is pointed out in the United Nations Year Book One of the most difficult problems in presenting internationally comparable demographic data is that involved in obtaining urban and rural classification of the population The designation of areas as urban and rural is so closely bound up with historical, political, cultural and administrative conditions that the process of developing uniform definitions and procedures moves very slowly A convenient way of presenting rural and urban statistics for comparison purposes is, therefore, to show the distribution of population in clusters or agglomerations, classified by the size of the agglomerations.

3 It is common to classify the population of a country into urban and rural for purposes of discussion in census reports, the underlying idea being to separate the people living in villages who lead a more individualistic life based on agriculture from those living in towns leading a more corporate life depending on non-agriculture (*i.e.*, industry, trade, commerce, services, professions and miscellaneous sources). All over the world, towns as a rule enjoy far greater civic amenities, *e.g.*, water, light, transport, roads, sports, recreation and clubs, educational and medical facilities than ever fall ever to the lot of the villages

4. Naturally in a town there will be many persons to provide these urban amenities, and in the process, secure a comfortable livelihood for themselves. Hence we generally notice in towns a higher proportion of non-agricultural classes than the agricultural. Another factor which differentiates an urban area from the rural is the functioning of some form of civic administration, *e.g.*, a municipality, small town committee, notified area committee or cantonment, or the existence in their midst of a big corporate institution or industry, *e.g.*, railway or another large-scale industry like steel at Tatanagar. If the preponderance of

*S. Chandrasekhar in 'India's Population—Fact is and Policy' (Census Report, 1951.)

**From Census Report, 1951.

non-agricultural classes and the enjoyment of reasonable civic amenities as detailed above are accepted as necessary criteria for distinguishing urban areas from the rural, one can easily eliminate what are merely outgrown villages, having nothing to show except mere numbers for their classification as towns.

5. In the 1961 Census, the definition of towns has been much more elaborate and specific that it can be said that it is now much more easy to differentiate urban areas from rural areas. The Registrar General has given definite ingredients of the term 'urban' characteristics that it is no longer difficult to know what is urban and what is rural. In common parlance, the easiest definition is to say that the rural population is a population that is not urban.

6. In Assam, the definition of a village has two distinct concepts—one for the plains and one for the hills. In the plains of Assam where there has been a cadastral survey, a cadastral village was treated as a village for the purpose of the Census. Fortunately, all the zamindaris of Goalpara district and Karimganj subdivision have been nationalised soon after the 1951 Census and settlement operations have been taken since that time so that by the time that the 1961 Census was taken, all the villages in the plains of Assam including the Goalpara district and the Karimganj subdivision have been cadastrally surveyed. In some pockets in the plains which are known as immature areas in revenue parlance where no cadastral survey has been taken, a village is taken to be a 'gaon' or 'gram' together with its adjacent 'tolas', 'paras', etc., provided that none of these independent collections of houses are so large or so distant from the central village as to form in themselves true villages with distinct names. In the plains of Assam where there are tea estates, each separate tea garden with its housing colonies of managers and plantation workers is taken to be a village. In the forest reserves where the Forest Department has settled some people in suitable areas within the reserves, each such village is also taken to be a village and is technically known as a forest village. In the hill districts, the age-old definition of a village is that it is a collection of houses bearing a separate name and situated within certain boundaries traditionally recognised by the villagers.

7. *Villages in ancient India**—Let us have a picture, however superficial, of the villages in ancient India, which is particularly relevant in view of the fact that the villages of old differed fundamentally from those of the present day. The villages of old were not merely economic or administrative units; they were centres of corporate life and culture. They had their festivals and festivities, folk songs and folk dances, sports and meals, which gave life to the people and sustained their enthusiasm. The amazing stability of the ancient village has been commented upon by one foreign observer after another. A committee of the East India Company wrote as early as 1812, "Under the simple forms of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from times immemorial ... the inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms While the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves. Its internal autonomy remains unchanged". Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Charles Metcalfe give similar opinions in their own felicitous language. The former writes: 'One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own kusha grass'; the latter observes: "Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds revolution, Hindu, Pathan, Mughal, Maratha, Sikh, English all are masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves. A hostile army passes through the country, the village community collect their cattle within their walls and let the army pass unprovoked". Elsewhere he says "The village communities are little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves; and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. This union of village communities, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of

*From Census Report 1951.

freedom and independence." Thus, there is a universal consensus of opinion on the unique position which villagers in ancient India occupied in the scheme of life. It is difficult in modern times to visualise the glorious position which our villages of old held They were self-governing and self-sufficient units

8 Sleeman gives another tributes to this ancient institution in the following words, "There is perhaps no part in the world where the communities of which the society is composed have been left so much to self-government as in India The village communities were everywhere left almost entirely to self-government and the virtues of truth and honesty were indispensable to enable them to govern themselves" There is no space here to discuss other interesting features of ancient villages, viz village temple with its fairs, festivals and melas; its joint family and caste systems and its homage to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata which moulded social and individual life to an extent unimaginable to-day

9 *Villages To-day*—Villages of the twentieth century are no longer what they were in ancient India The wind of change has swept all over India more especially after Independence that its villages are no longer the centres of political, economic and social activities, but they have become more of administrative units or small cogs in the wheels of a big machine. This is as it should be. In the twentieth century, roads, railways and even airfields have penetrated into the depths of the villages and modern machines have moved where the bullock-cart once reigned supreme. Physical and political changes have of necessity brought social changes in their wake. Ours is no longer a static society, but a dynamic society. Some villages in India may have degenerated into slums where poverty is the central fact of rural life, but in Assam villages have by and large retained the best that they had in ancient tradition while at the same time they are also caught in the maelstrom of changes. Villages of Assam are very beautiful, and in many cases, conditions in villages are much more clean than those of urban areas, where congestion of humanity around certain bazars has converted their habitations into slums. Assamese villages are still islands of bamboo, betelnut groves and hidden homesteads in a sea of paddy fields. Inside each such hamlet, houses are scattered in fairly big homesteads each of which houses a family. In the hills of Assam, some villages may be found closely knitted together on top of the hills, as in the Naga areas, because such a situation is dictated by the needs of security. Elsewhere like the Khasi Hills, villages may be scattered because each house lies in the midst of a big garden where cultivation is done by the family

10 In 1961, it has been possible to achieve a measure of uniformity in the definition of a town throughout India But it has not been possible to have any uniform definition of a village Such a difficulty has been experienced ever since 1872 when the first Census was taken As pointed out above, even inside Assam itself, it is not possible to find a uniform definition of a village because of the peculiar conditions in the hills and plains and also because of the peculiar settlement pattern of tea gardens under various grants and concessions issued by the Government of Assam ever since the tea industry began about a hundred years ago In Kerala, the village agglomeration typical of most parts of the country is scarcely to be found, while in nearby Madras, the census village is apt to comprise of half a dozen or even more distinct agglomerations In West Bengal, a revenue village known as mauza is taken to be a village, but in Assam a mauza is a collection of many revenue villages under one mauzadar or contractor whose duty is to collect revenue from the villagers for which he is paid a commission by the Government of Assam. Conditions in various parts of India or even within different parts of one State are so different from each other that no meaningful comparison of village data can be made for all parts of the country.

11 *Settlement Patterns*—In the plains of Assam all cultivable areas have been cadastrally surveyed and settlements have been given to the ryots either on an annual patta basis or on a periodic patta basis. An annual patta is not transferable and gives the ryot or citizen the right of cultivation for one year only in theory, but in practice the citizen can cultivate the same area from year to year

without disturbance and the only condition is that the patta or title deed should be renewed from year to year. A periodic patta gives the cultivator the right of transfer as well as all other rights of an owner of land, but the deed is given for a period of 15 to 30 years renewable at the end of each period, but the rate of revenue may change whenever there is a Resettlement Operation. Housing settlements are generally given for higher lands which are above flood level and which generally cannot be used for wet paddy cultivation. Such lands are used for housing purposes as well as for growing betelnuts, plantain trees and bamboos for use by the cultivators themselves. Settlement of lands for tea estates stands on a different footing. Large areas of land suitable for the growth of tea, especially in Upper Assam, were given settlement by the British to certain companies or individuals on various terms of grants for practically nominal fees. Tea is generally grown only in certain parts of such grants while many parts of each grant are either kept under trees or thatching grass or otherwise used as housing settlements, while lowlying areas in such grants are used for cultivation of paddy by the employees of tea estates. In the hill areas of Assam, conditions are vastly different from those of the plains. Lands in the hills belong either to a clan or a village or a chief or certain individuals. Land-owning individuals may give settlement of land to other private individuals by giving a lease of patta either in perpetuity or for a specified number of years after which the patta may be renewed. In some places where land belongs to the community, any citizen of a village can cultivate in certain areas within the village boundaries either on a semi-permanent basis, or on a temporary basis where the shifting method of cultivation is practised. Land is plenty in the hills and the population is scarce and so there is no difficulty for the villagers to have land for cultivation in the rural areas. In suitable areas in the hills, especially in the tablelands and river valleys, wet paddy cultivation by the terraced method is practised by certain hill tribes such as the Khasis, the Kacharis, the Garos etc. Such paddy fields are owned by individuals on a permanent basis. No survey, cadastrally or otherwise, has been taken in respect of cutivable or other class of land in the hill areas and so settlement by Government or the District Council has not taken place except in certain pockets like the Bokajan or Sarupathar area in the Mikir Hills or some places in Jaintia Hills and the North Cahar Hills. Fis. 3 and 4 are sketch maps suggestive of the way the settlement patterns have been done in the plains and hills of Assam.

12. From the above, it may be seen that the administrative or revenue definition of a village varies from State to State, or within the State itself as in the case of Assam, Hyderabad and Andhra Pradesh, and this variety makes the comparison of the number of villages State by State or even the average population of villages State by State rather artificial. In Assam, some villages have a population of over 5,000 in the plains, whereas in the hills there are some villages which have only a few souls. Such small villages are specially found in the Garo Hills due to their peculiar social customs as well as the shifting method of cultivation. In Kerala, on the other hand, villages are very big and scattered and the average number of person per inhabited village is as high as 9,122.

13. *Inhabited and uninhabited Villages*— I give below Table 4.1 showing the States of India, the number of inhabited and uninhabited villages and the average number of persons per inhabited village.

Number of Villages (inhabited and uninhabited) and the average number of persons per inhabited village in each State of India 1961.

Table 4·1

State	Number of Villages		Average number of persons per inhabited village
	Uninhabited	Inhabited	
1	2	3	4
1 Andhra Pradesh	1,913	27,084	1,097
2 ASSAM	1,565	25,702	426
3 Bihar	10,428	67,665	629
4 Gujarat	433	18,584	824
5 Jammu and Kashmir	167	6,559	452
6 Kerala	2	1,573	9,122
7 Madhya Pradesh	6,429	70,414	394
8 Madras	615	14,124	1,749
9 Maharashtra	3,016	35,851	792
10 Mysore	2,972	26,377	695
11 Orissa	5,659	46,466	354
12 Punjab	1,405	21,269	763
13 Rajasthan	2,285	32,241	523
14 Uttar Pradesh	12,720	112,624	571
15 West Bengal	3,406	38,465	686

14. From the above table it may be seen that Kerala has only 2 uninhabited villages,

Fig. 14

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Assam has 1,565 such villages, while Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have over 5,000 and Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have over 10,000 such uninhabited villages.

15. Madhya Pradesh is the biggest State in India in terms of area, but it has only 70,414 inhabited villages while Uttar Pradesh has 112,624 such inhabited villages. Assam has 25,702 inhabited villages in 1961 whereas Kerala has only 1,573 inhabited villages. These figures do not fail to show that the size and concept of villages is vastly different in different parts of India. If a State has a big number of inhabited villages, such villages are generally small in size whereas a State which has fewer number of villages, such villages must of necessity be rather biggish as in the case of Kerala. Uttar Pradesh which has the largest population in India has villages whose sizes are much smaller than in many other major States of India like West Bengal, Punjab, Mysore, etc. In terms of average population per inhabited village, Assam has 426 persons and only Madhya Pradesh and Orissa have less people than that. Madhya Pradesh is a hilly State in Central India and has the largest concentration of Scheduled Tribes in India and so the average size of each village is small inasmuch as the average number of persons per inhabited village is only 394. The villages in the plains of Assam have an average population which compare favourably with any other village in India, being over 500 persons per village, but the villages in the hill areas of Assam, some of which are very small, reduce the average number of persons per village.

16. It appears that it is necessary to define an "uninhabited village" because, to the average man, a village must have people to live in it otherwise it cannot be called a village. In the hill areas of Assam, some villages which were inhabited during one Census were found uninhabited in the next Census because people have shifted to another site or new village because of the shifting method of cultivation, or for reasons of security. In the plains of Assam, almost all areas have been cadastrally surveyed and each surveyed area has been allocated a number of villages shown in lines and so each cadastral village has a name or number irrespective of whether it has people or not. Some of the so-called cadastrally surveyed area may be marshy areas where people cannot live, or grazing reserves or other areas where people were not allowed to live. Such villages which are not inhabited have been termed as uninhabited villages. It follows as a natural corrollary that where a reserve has been thrown open for settlement or where a marshy area has been reclaimed, people can live in uninhabited villages and so an uninhabited village in one Census may become an inhabited village in the next Census. The Census has to adopt the legal village because it satisfies the needs of revenue and administrative authorities; because it conforms to the jurisdiction of village authority and because it ensures that no area is duplicated or missed. This probably explains the extraordinarily complete coverage of the Indian Census and the very low percentage of population left out of count.

17. I give below a statement showing the number of inhabited villages from 1901 to 1961:

Number of villages (Inhabited and Uninhabited) in the State 1901-61

TABLE 4.2

State/District	1961		1951		1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ASSAM	1,565	25,702	1,401	23,414	23,767	22,832	19,082	16,692	13,237
Goalpara	232	3,708	158	3,990	3,765	3,188	2,550	2,135	1,461
Kamrup	305	2,971	299	2,490	2,865	2,738	1,954	1,952	1,716
Darrang	143	2,441	128	2,017	2,073	2,018	1,664	1,405	1,275
Lakhimpur	277	3,271	167	2,800	3,023	2,876	2,005	1,701	1,123
Nowgong	116	1,716	52	1,683	*2,391	*2,325	*1,966	*1,[illegible]	*1,117
Sibsagar	103	2,200	234	1,991	*2,324	*2,288	*2,048	*2,180	*2,180
Cachar	109	2,389	85	2,160	+1,819	+1,931	+1,763	†1,101	†1,078
Garo Hills	20	2,415	29	2,228	2,196	2,160	2,048	1,937	1,826
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	53	1,992	212	1,590	*2,462	*2,420	*2,214	*2,140	*1,[illegible]
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	194	1,869	37	1,834	** 341	**[illegible]	** 364	** 312	** 264
Mizo Hills	18	720	..	631	508	548	516	376	259

N.B.—(1) *The figure includes the villages which are subsequently transferred to Mikir Hills Subdivision.
(2) **The figure relates to North Cachar Subdivision only.
(3) +The figure excludes the villages of Karimganj Police Station.
(4) †The figure excludes the villages of Karimganj Subdivision.

18. The preparation of the above table has presented great difficulty because we have to state the number of villages within the present boundaries of Assam Proper from 1961 down to 1901. Actually only the number of inhabited villages of 1961 and 1951 can be compared for the whole of Assam as well as for each district of Assam in toto. Between 1941 and 1951 some parts of the old Karimganj subdivision went to Cachar, and the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills was established after the 1951 census by carving out portions of the Sibsagar, Nowgong, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Cachar districts. How many villages had actually been included in the truncated portion of the Karimganj subdivision cannot be exactly found out because the figures for the truncated Karimganj police station could not be found out although the villages of Badarpur, Ratabari and Patharkandi police stations could be ascertained. Similarly, in the case of United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district, only the villages of North Cachar Hills subdivision could be exactly ascertained, whereas the exact number of inhabited villages from the portions taken out from the Sibsagar, Nowgong and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills districts cannot be exactly ascertained. So the comparability of figures of the Cachar, Nowgong, Sibsagar, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and United Mikir and North Cachar Hills districts from 1941 downwards cannot be exactly established. Footnotes have been given just below this table to explain the extent of comparability as far as these five districts are concerned.

19. The figures for the Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur, Garo Hills and Mizo Hills districts are comparable from 1961 to 1901.

20. *Definition of village* —The definition of villages in Assam has to be taken with great caution because a cadastral village does not necessarily mean a village in the ordinary sense of the word. A cadastral village may cut through a village or it may mean a collection of two or three hamlets locally known by different village names. In the hills, a village is really more well-defined than in the plains, but it lacks definite boundaries because no survey was undertaken. The villages of the Naga, Kuki, etc. areas are more or less situated in compact areas with definite geographical entities such as rivulets or hillocks, etc. within which the people of a particular village can undertake their cultivation. The people in these remote areas have to settle together in compact areas for the sake of security. But in the highland portions of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, a village may be very scattered in area because the places are comparatively safe and each house may be found in a separate hillock in the midst of the land where the households do their cultivation.

21. In the plains portion of Assam, the Goalpara district and the Karimganj subdivision of the Cachar district used to be under the Permanent Settlement System. The old zamindars used to have their own collection units and their own list of villages which used to be recognised in all the previous Censuses up to 1951. Between 1951 and 1961, these two areas were cadastrally surveyed and the land revenue authorities have given their own list of villages. When I personally visited the Goalpara district in 1960, I found that the new list of villages materially differs from the old list of villages. In some cases, the new cadastral villages are more than the old chowkidari villages, but in many other cases, the number of cadastral villages is much less than the number of the old chowkidari villages. This factor accounts for a big variation in the number of villages in the Goalpara district and the Karimganj subdivision. Generally speaking, inhabited villages have increased in the plains probably because new areas have been opened up for cultivation or because some villages which were formerly not inhabited by people have now been inhabited. Many marshy or riverine areas which were not occupied by people previously have now been reclaimed and inhabited by people mostly of the immigrant type. Many grazing reserves and requisitioned areas from the tea gardens have also been recently thrown open for cultivation and therefore new villages have come up.

22. In the hill districts of Assam, the number of villages may greatly vary because of the jhum or shifting method of cultivation.

23. In Assam, there is no legal definition of a village and there is also no legal area or size of any village. Even in the plains of Assam where there has been a cadastral survey, the size of villages varies greatly from one village to another and even the shape of villages may take any kind or form. A look at any cada-

stral map of Assam will show that some villages look like squares, while some look like rectangles of various degrees of elongation, and yet other villages can take any form they like. In the hills of Assam, the size of villages varies from place to place according to customs and traditions. In the circumstances, it is not possible to make any comparison between villages within the State of Assam itself, leave alone the question of comparing them with villages in other States of India where the constitution of villages is no less variegated than those of Assam. However, there is one point where villages can have some degree of comparability and that is by the size of their population.

24. *Population ranges* I give below Table 4.3 showing the major States of India and the proportion of 10,000 persons residing in villages of various population ranges :—

Proportion of 10,000 persons in each State residing in villages classified according to population 1961

TABLE 4·3

India State	Proportion of 10,000 persons residing in villages inhabited by						
	Less than 200	200 to 499	500 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 9,999	10,000 +
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
INDIA	495	1,600	2,329	2,186	2,129	620	341
Andhra Pradesh	175	562	1,433	2,800	3,545	981	114
ASSAM	951	2,395	3,184	2,419	982	69	
Bihar	517	1,644	2,278	2,469	2,284	677	131
Gujarat	237	1,188	2,481	2,945	2,512	581	56
Jammu & Kashmir	825	2,567	3,101	2,398	995	114	
Kerala	N	1	10	60	1,030	2,888	6,011
Madhya Pradesh	1,001	3,177	3,159	1,817	787	99	
Madras	33	182	983	2,769	4,252	1,173	608
Maharashtra	246	1,256	2,571	2,855	2,240	704	128
Mysore	354	1,569	2,487	2,780	2,212	598	
Orissa	1,218	2,948	3,030	2,024	725	55	
Punjab	282	1,248	2,347	2,954	2,521	549	99
Rajasthan	662	2,208	2,730	2,356	1,689	355	
Uttar Pradesh	525	1,918	2,845	2,693	1,662	312	45
West Bengal	412	1,512	2,287	2,725	2,347	585	132

'N' means Negligible

25. This table shows that the biggest number of people live in villages of a population size of 500-999 and that the proportion tapers down almost equally on both sides of this population range. This kind of difference in proportion does not appear to be different from other States of India which also have more or less the same kind of population ranges excepting in the case of Kerala where the proportion starts from negligible in the lowest population group and continues to rise in ranges till it reaches the maximum in respect of proportion of the villages of the population range of 10,000 and above.

26. Within the State of Assam itself the distribution of population between different size-classes of population has a tendency to disclose a certain variety of characteristics. Table 4.4 below will exhibit these characteristics :—

Population per 1,000 persons residing in villages in each district classified according to population 1961

TABLE 4·4

State District	Population per 1,000 Rural Population in villages by size class of population					
	5,000	2,000 to 4,999	1,000 to 1,999	500 to 999	200 to 499	Under 200
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ASSAM	7	98	242	318	240	95
Goalpara		37	156	351	365	91
Kamrup	17	120	291	357	181	34
Darrang	7	120	219	331	270	53
Lakhimpur	25	169	176	246	282	102
Nowgong		104	480	313	140	34
Sibsagar		119	305	375	166	35
Cachar		95	318	341	174	72
Garo Hills			4	82	305	609
United Khasi Jaintia Hills	..	..	91	205	354	350
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	..	11	33	175	349	432
Mizo Hills	..	9	127	373	390	101

27. From the above table it may be seen that the six plains districts of Assam, namely, Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, sibsagar and Cachar tend to show very similar distributions within the group 500-999. It is also note-worthy that although the Lakhimpur district is one of the seven plains districts of Assam, it does not come within this category for reasons which will be explained later. Of the above six plains districts of Assam which have similar distributions, five are in the Assam Valley and one is in the Upper Surma Valley; but all of them are of the same or similar type of valleys between two ranges of mountains and having similar kind of alluvial soil of comparatively recent origin. The amount of rainfall in these plains districts is more or less the same but those in Upper Assam get more rain than those in Lower Assam. Irrigation is not necessary in these plains districts because they get enough water from the south-west monsoon as well as from the north-westers during winter and spring. In the Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong and Cachar districts, tea is grown in the higher land which ordinarily is not suitable for cultivation of paddy but quite good for cultivation of tea which requires plenty of water but no water-logging. In other areas in these districts paddy is grown. In the two districts of Lower Assam, namely, Kamrup and Goalpara, there are very few tea-gardens but in most areas in these two districts, paddy and jute are grown in considerable quantities. These characteristics probably influence the distribution of population under the group 500-999.

28. The Lakhimpur district is similar to the other six plains districts of Assam in every respect, but it has one distinctive peculiarity, namely, that most parts of this district lie south of the Brahmaputra whose characteristics are almost exactly like those of the other six plains districts of Assam but whose areas north of the Brahmaputra present very different characteristics. South of the Brahmaputra, the Dibrugarh subdivision of the Lakhimpur district has the biggest and the best area under tea, but the parts of the district north of the Brahmaputra are very close to the Himalaya mountains whose turbulent rivers make some parts of this area very marshy or too much liable to violent floods. The Great Earthquake of 1950 has rendered many parts of this area into arid deserts of sand and debris brought down by the turbulent rivers caused by the earthquake. This is the reason why this district as a whole presents a picture slightly different from those of the other six plains districts of Assam in point of distribution of population. On the other hand, this district also has the greatest proportion of villages with the population distribution of 5,000 and over because of the comparative prosperity and industrialisation of the south bank.

29. In the Hill districts of Assam, all the four Autonomous districts exhibit a similar tendency to have most of their population distribution within the group 200-499. The nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the poorness of the soil, the aridness of certain tracts and the extent of steep forest areas in these four districts are more or less of the same nature. These natural causes have by and large influenced the distribution of population within the above group where similarity is found. On the other hand, there is also a great amount of dissimilarity in the Hill districts of Assam. It may be noted that the distribution of population in the Mizo Hills is greatest in the group 500-999, not unlike the distribution in the plains. This peculiarity is due to the fact that the Mizos have a traditional habit of agglomerating in higher and more established villages dictated by their ancient customs and traditions . They live in big villages even if they have to do their cultivation very far away because of their customs. On the contrary, the Garo Hills and the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills have most of their villages within the population range of under 200. In these two districts, the people almost invariably practise the jhum method of cultivation and they have no custom of aggregating in bigger villages; nor have they any customs of erecting monoliths and burial stones round certain fixed villages as is the case with the Khasis.

30. The following is Table 4.5 showing the changes in the proportion of 1,000 persons residing in villages classified according to population in selected district from 1901 to 1961 :—

TABLE 4·5

Selected Districts	Census year	Population per 1,000 rural population in villages by size class of population			
		2,000 to 5,000	1,000 to 1,999	500 to 999	Under 500
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Goalpara	1961	37	156	351	456
	1951	47	120	196	623
	1941	53	104	204	622
	1931	52	104	190	648
	1921	78	136	198	588
	1911	107	154	226	513
	1901	89	192	240	476
2 Kamrup	1961	120	291	357	215
	1951	86	228	348	305
	1941	75	205	329	36[illegible]
	1931	56	155	268	52[illegible]
	1921	78	203	313	406
	1911	72	195	305	42[illegible]
	1901	4	203	275	518
3 Darrang	1961	120	219	331	32[illegible]
	1951	76	168	292	464
	1941	59	170	273	498
	1931	23	184	223	570
	1921	40	191	185	584
	1911	23	145	215	616
	1901	8	140	237	615
4 Lakhimpur	1961	169	176	246	384
	1951	143	159	209	489
	1941	132	164	183	499
	1931	101	200	120	576
	1921	204	118	99	541
	1911	174	161	130	535
	1901	105	145	171	562
5 Garo Hills	1961		4	82	914
	1951	16	19	38	927
	1941	13	12	30	941
	1931	12	16	23	949
	1921		10		990
	1911		26	23	951
	1901		19	58	923
6 Mizo Hills	1961	9	127	373	491
	1951		54	397	549
	1941	31	36	350	583
	1931		29	247	722
	1921		38	157	805
	1911		70	249	670
	1901		238	97	665

31. This table indicates how villages with various densities fluctuate from decade to decade. It also shows that the density per square mile has been rapidly increasing from year to year for reasons already stated in Chapter II. In the Goalpara district, the change in the size of a village from 1951 to 1961 also has some part to play in the apparent fluctuation. Moreover some big villages of 1951 have also been declared as towns in 1961 while some villages or parts of villages near towns have been merged with the towns due to extension of the municipal limits.

Number of linear miles of road per 1,000 Square miles of territory of road (excluding municipal roads) in the year 1961

Table 4 6

State District	Total of all types of roads	Government Roads (including National and State Highways) (excluding non metalled roads)	Other Local Bodies roads (including non-metalled roads)
1	2	3	4
ASSAM	489	177	312
1 Goalpara	646	246	400
2 Kamrup	876	364	512
3 Darrang	577	254	323
4 Lakhimpur	452	185	267
5 Nowgong	945	302	643
6 Sibsagar	774	335	439
7 Cachar	591	274	317
8 Garo Hills	380	100	280
9 United Khasi Jaintia Hills	198	116	82*
10 United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	334	50	284
11 Mizo Hills	291	51	240

Note Cols 2 & 3 exclude bridle paths
Col 3 excludes municipal mileage
*Figures are incomplete

32 *Road mileage* The above table shows a glaring disparity of road mileage between the plains district and the hill districts of Assam. Column 2 shows that the total of all types of roads per 1,000 square miles in the plains of Assam varies from 452 in the Lakhimpur district to 945 in the Nowgong district. The Lakhimpur district shows a relatively lower percentage of road mileage because of the lack of roads in North Lakhimpur subdivision and the Sadiya and Dhemaji police stations on the north bank. If the south bank is only taken into consideration, this part of the Lakhimpur district will probably show the highest mileage because of the large number of tea gardens and extension oil areas. In the hill districts, the Garo Hills districts show 380 as the total of all types of road per 1,000 square miles, but this is more apparent than real. Here the actual road mileage of Government is only 100 and the remaining 180 really consist of village roads which are really no roads at all inasmuch as they consist of village paths only. Column 3 showing Government roads is a real index for road development in all the districts of Assam. Here it may be seen that in the hill districts, the length of Government road per 1,000 square miles of territory varies only from

50 to 116 whereas in the plains of Assam, the proportion varies from 185 in Lakhimpur district to 364 in Kamrup district. Moreover, even roads built and maintained by Government may mean anything from a mere earth work to a gravelled road and a surfaced road. The roads in the Mizo Hills district are mostly mere earth work while those in the Garo Hills district and the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district are either mere earth work or gravelled roads. It is only in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district that we have surfaced roads from Gauhati to Shillong, Cherrapunji, Dawki and Jowai.

33. Village roads in column 4 may really mean anything from a mere village path to a road with earth work which may be gravelled here and there. Roads made under the aegis of the Block Development Projects may be improved for a year or two, but they may be neglected in the remaining years. Some such roads may also cease to exist after one monsoon. Sometimes a village road is made with some fanfare and acclamation, but after one monsoon there may be hardly any trace left of that road. However, in some areas, villagers are keen to maintain the roads because their economic condition depends entirely on such roads.

34. It is rewarding to study the road mileage and road density of Assam in comparison with other States of India and a few advanced countries of the world.

35. From Table 4.7 below, it is seen that linear miles of road per 1,000 square miles of area in India as well as in Assam is far below the highly advanced and industrialised countries like France, Japan, U.K., U.S.A., etc. Such low road density in India is partly due to the existence of many hills, forests and marshy areas. The road mileage per 1,000 of population in India is also far less than those advanced countries of the world.

36. Table 4.8 gives the mileage of surfaced and unsurfaced roads in major states of India. It appears from this table that road mileage per 1,000 population is more or less uniform in all the States. On the other hand, the road mileage per 1,000 square miles of area varies widely among the States. The hilly States of Jammu and Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh naturally have less road mileage per unit of area than other States like Bihar, West Bengal, etc. The State of West Bengal being situated mostly in the Gangetic plains with a high degree of industrialisation has got the highest road mileage per 1,000 square miles of area (1,201.9).

Road Mileage in India and Assam compared with advanced countries of the world (Year of Statistics in brackets).

TABLE 4·7

Description	U.S.A.	U.K.	France	Japan	Indian Union	Assam
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Population in millions . . .	179 (1960)	53 (1961)	43 (1954)	93 (1960)	439 (1961)	12 (1961)
Area in thousand sq. miles . . .	3,615 (1960)	94 (1961)	213 (1954)	143 (1960)	1,228 (1961)	47 (1961)
Total mileage of roads	3,546,693 (1961)	202,786 (1961)	945,183 (1961)	597,704 (1961)	440,626 (1961)	18,143 (1961)
Linear miles of road per 1,000 sq. miles of area	981	2,152	4,441	4,188	359	385
Road mileage per 1,000 of population .	20	4	22	6	1·00	1·66

Mileage of surfaced and unsurfaced roads in Major States of India
(Excluding Municipal Roads)

TABLE 4·8

State	Area in sq miles	Population in thousands	Total mileage*	Road mileage per 1,000 population	Road mileage per 1,000 sq miles of area
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM	47 141	10 960	18,143	1 66	384·9
Andhra Pradesh	104 607	29 709	33,636	1 13	321·5
Bihar	66 147	42 542	50,347	1 18	761·1
Gujarat	70 323	15 317	15,215	0·99	216·4
Jammu and Kashmir	53 547	2,968	6,538	2 20	122·1
Kerala	14,571	14 350	12 119	0 85	833·1
Madhya Pradesh	168 322	27 745	29 518	1 06	175·4
Madras	48 138	24 696	29 561	1 20	613·7
Maharashtra	115 736	28 391	31 765	1 12	274·1
Mysore	72 662	18 320	38 922	2 12	535 7
Orissa	59 775	17 439	19 446	1 18	325 3
Punjab	46,873	16 215	18 869	1 16	402·6
Rajasthan	129 771	16 874	25 614	1 52	197·4
Uttar Pradesh	112,922	64,267	61 440	0·96	544 1
West Bengal	33,536	26,355	40,307	1 53	1,201 9

*Mileage of extra-municipal roads maintained by Public Works Department and Local Bodies and those constructed in C D & N E S Blocks as on 31 3-61

PART B

Distribution of Population among the Villages classified by size

37 The general distribution of the rural population has been discussed in Chapter II The following tables showing the distribution of rural population among the villages classified by size will further illustrate the distribution Table 4 9 shows the total number of villages classified by population while table 4 10 shows the distribution of 1,000 villages of certain population classes according to the 1961 Census Table 4 11 is yet another table showing the changes in the distribution of 1,000 villages of certain population classes 1931 1961 in certain selected districts:

Total No of villages classified by Population

TABLE 4.9

State/District	No of inhabited villages	Number of villages with population: Less than 200	200 499	500 999	1 000 1 999	2,000—4,999	5,000 +
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assam	25 702	10 514	7 831	4 979	1 976	390	12
Goalpara	3 708	1 182	1 096	740	170	20	
Kamrup	2 971	897	957	930	404	78	6
Darrang	2 441	611	970	608	196	58	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	3,271	1,232	1 260	620	176	70	[illegible]
Nowgong	1,716	374	477	490	331	44	..
Sibsagar	2,280	484	618	797	327	64	..
Cachar	2,380	792	630	605	314	48	..
Garo Hills	2,418	2,080	326	28	1	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	1,992	1,460	489	108	25	..	..
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	1,080	1,476	314	71	7	3	..
Mizo Hills	730	296	276	128	27	5	..

Distribution of 1,000 villages of certain population classes 1961.

TABLE 4.10

State/District	Village with less than 200 population	Villages with Population				
		200—499	500—999	1 000—1,999	2,000—4,999	5 000+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assam	409	305	194	77	15	N
Goalpara	319	430	200	46	5	
Kamrup	201	322	313	136	26	2
Darrang	280	398	249	80	23	N
Lakhimpur	377	385	159	53	24	2
Nowgong	218	278	286	193	25	
Sibsagar	206	281	335	149	29	
Cachar	332	264	253	131	20	
Garo Hills	849	135	16	N		
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	728	205	54	13		
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	790	168	38	4	N	
Mizo Hills	406	375	181	37	1	

Changes in the distribution of 1,000 villages of certain Population classes 1931-1961 in certain districts

TABLE 4·11

State/Selected District	Proportion of villages with population under 500 to 1,000 of all villages				Proportion of villages with population 500—999 to 1 000 of all villages				Proportion of villages with population 1,000—1,999 to 1 000 of all villages			
	1961	1951	1941	1931	1961	1951	1941	1931	1961	1951	1941	1931
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	714	793	829	871	194	146	124	98	77	51	39	26
Goalpara	749	898	894	899	200	75	79	74	46	23	22	21
Kamrup	523	643	717	819	313	252	206	135	136	87	65	38
Darrang	648	744	806	863	249	192	142	95	80	52	44	39
Lakhimpur . .	762	829	868	910	159	111	81	46	53	42	35	35
Garo Hills	984	992	994	995	16	6	5	3	N	2	1	1
Mizo Hills	781	807	823	911	181	179	165	83	37	14	10	6

'N' means Negligible

38. Table 4.9 shows that out of 25,702 villages in Assam in 1961, as many as 10,514 have a population of less than 200 and the number of villages gradually goes down from the classes 200-499; 500-999; 1,000-1,999; 2,000-4,999 to 5,000 plus as far as this State is concerned. Combining Table 4.9 with Table 4.11, we find that district-wise, most of the villages in the hill districts have less than 200 persons while in the plains, most of the villages have a population of 200-999. The few villages with a population of 2,000-4,999 are almost entirely found in the plains districts. The only exceptions in the hills in this class are Diphu, the capital of the Mikir Hills subdivision, and Kolasib, a big village about half-way between Silchar and Aijal. In the whole of Assam there are now only 12 villages with a population of 5,000 plus and these can be found only in the Lakimpur, Kamrup and Darrang districts. These 12 big villages are Samdang T.E., Deamuli T.E., Rupai T.E., Borpowai T.E., Makum and Margherita in Lakhimpur district; Deulidi N.C., Belsor, Niz Hajo, Nauria and Rampur in Kamrup district and Siparia Chapari in Darrang district.

39. Table 4.11 shows that the density of population in villages is increasing from decade to decade and that the population of

villages in all classes, and especially in the higher classes, is increasing thereby showing that the pressure of population against land is getting more acute from decade to decade This is quite natural bearing in mind that the total population of Assam within the present boundaries has been steadily increasing from 1931 to 1961 with a rather unprecedented rise in the decade 1951-1961

40 I give below a Table 4 12 showing the number of villages having a population of over 2,000 and the number of towns having a population of less than 5,000

Table 4 12

State District	No of villages with a population of		No of towns with a population of less than 5,000
	Over 2 000 but less than 5 000	5 000 and above	
1	2	3	4
ASSAM	300	12	11
Goalpara	20		
Kamrup	78	5	4
Darrang	55	1	1
Lakhimpur	79	6	2
Nowgong	44		
Sibsagar	64		1
Cachar	48		2
Garo Hills			
United Khasi Jaintia Hills			
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	1		1
Mizo Hills	1		

41. It is interesting to note that there are in Assam 402 villages having a population of over 2,000 and that there are 11 towns having a population of less than 5,000. As already stated earlier, 400 of such villages are found in the seven plains districts while only two are found in the hill districts Of the 11 towns having a population of less than 5,000, four are found in the Kamrup district, one is in the Darrang, two are in the Lakhimpur district, one is in the Sibsagar district, two are in the Cachar district and only one, *i.e.*, Haflong is in the North Cachar Hills. These towns in the plains have been declared as towns because they have town committees excepting in the case of Lala in the Cachar district which has been declared by me to be a town because it is highly urbanised area as already stated earlier. The other small towns in the plains are not very much different from some of the bigger villages excepting that they have town committees and a few amenities Haflong in the North Cachar Hills, however, is a town by any standard although it has a population of less than 5,000

42 Table 4 13 shows the distribution of 1,000 persons by each industrial category of workers and by non-workers of the rural population of the district and the police stations which show abnormal distribution from the State rural average, 1961 ·

Distribution of 1,000 persons by each Industrial Category of workers and non workers of the rural population of the districts and the police stations which show abnormal distribution from the State rural average, 1961

TABLE 4·13

State/District/ Police Station	Total Population	Distribution per 1 000 of rural population											
		Workers											Non-workers
		Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Assam	1,000	438	302	17	47	24	5	3	11	3	26	[illegible]	
1 Goalpara District	1,000	400	300	26	4	25	4	1	13	3	24	[illegible]	
2 Kamrup District	1 000	404	278	16	5	89	3	2	11	1	20	[illegible]	
Nalbari P S	1,000	422	195	18	3	130	8	4	16	1	60	[illegible]	
Jhalukbari P S	1 000	372	79	2	1	89	6	3	38	3	151	[illegible]	
3 Darrang District	1,000	474	332	17	63	11	6	8	10	4	26	[illegible]	
4. Lakhimpur District	1,000	493	296	7	176	7	9	8	12	4	24	[illegible]	
Dibrugarh P S	1,000	468	207	6	182	11	8	7	14	6	27	[illegible]	
Tinsukia P S	1,000	447	144	9	185	4	10	6	14	10	44	[illegible]	
Doom Dooma P S	1,000	466	181	3	240	8	12	4	12	1	8	[illegible]	
Mahgharita P S	1,000	449	117	10	201	8	37	11	27	8	30	[illegible]	
5 Nowgong District	1,000	378	287	20	16	21	8	2	8	3	14	[illegible]	
6. Sibsagar District	1,000	479	307	9	191	18	9	3	10	3	22	[illegible]	
7 Cachar District	1,000	383	190	28	80	24	3	2	14	3	42	[illegible]	
8 Garo Hills District	1,000	671	834	11	4	8	1	N	3	N	11	[illegible]	
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District	1,000	532	382	39	46	7	2	4	8	1	48	[illegible]	
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	1,000	564	441	8	2	37	1	1	6	8	48	[illegible]	
11. Mizo Hills District	1,000	477	435	N	1	19	1	2	2	2	17	[illegible]	

'N' means Negligible

43. The nine Industrial Categories of workers are given below :—

I. As Cultivator
II. As Agricultural Labourer
III. In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities
IV. At Household Industry
V. In Manufacturing other than Household Industry
VI. In Construction
VII. In Trade and Commerce
VIII. In Transport, Storage and Communications
IX. In Other Services.

44. In Assam, Cachar is the only district which shows an abnormally low percentage of workers in Agricultural categories, *viz.* Cultivator and Agricultural labourer. This district has only 353 workers per 1,000 of the rural population. This is because of the very low average of female workers which stands at 144 per 1,000 female population compared with the State figure of 324. The proportion of male workers can favourably be compared with other plains districts of Assam. Such low rate is seen in all the police stations of the dis trict. The female participation rate in family cultivation is quite high in all other districts except in the case of Nowgong where only 140 out of 1,000 female population are working in the Agricultural categories.

45. So far as the police stations are concerned, Nalbari and Jhalukbari of the Kamrup district and Dibrugarh, Tinsukia, Doom Dooma and Margherita of the Lakhimpur district, show a comparatively much less proportion of workers in Cultivation than the State average.

46. The low proportion of workers in Agriculture in Nalbari police station is compensated by the higher proportion of workers at Household Industry. This high proportion is due to higher participation rate of females in Household Industry such as weaving, etc. The Jhalukbari police station with only 9.5 square miles of rural areas comprising mostly the Gauhati University Campus along with its adjoining villages naturally has a very low percentage of cultivators. The four police stations of Lakhimpur district show a very low average of workers in Agricultural categories because of the fact that these areas are full of tea estates and that is why the figures in category III in those police stations are quite high in comparison with the district as well as the State.

47. As far as the Hill districts are concerned, it is interesting to observe that except in Mizo Hills, all the other three districts show a very high proportion of workers ranging from 532 to 571 per 1,000 population, whereas the State average is only 438. This high average is mainly due to a very high proportion of cultivators in these districts. The most striking feature in all the Hill districts of Assam is that the extent of participation among females in Cultivation is very high. In Garo Hills, as many as 531 females out of 1,000 female population are working in Cultivation. The proportion of females engaged in Cultivation in the districts of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills are 404, 432 and 428 respectively against the State figure of 225 only. Thus the main reason for such a high average of workers in Cultivation in the Hill districts is due to a very high rate of participation among females.

CHAPTER V

MIGRATION

1. *Concept of migration*—The question of migration as discussed in this Chapter is determined solely by the concept of birth-place. Our experience during enumeration as well as during tabulation is that people did not correctly give their place of birth and so the interpretation of the data is very limited. True migration is often artificially deflated, and re-migration to place of birth is masked It appears that the people who mostly concealed their birth-place are those coming from East Pakistan. In 1951, people who returned their birth-place as Pakistan number 831,872, but in 1961 the number of such people is only 774,869. Among the people who came to Assam in 1951 from Pakistan were children, young men and not too many old people. It is also a known fact that after 1951 a big number of people came from East Pakistan to Assam, and so it is strange how the number of people having their birth-place in East Pakistan can be smaller in 1961 than in 1951. Most of the people who came to Assam during the decade 1941-51 must be still living and if that number is added to the number of those coming to Assam during the decade 1951-61, the total number ought to be bigger than the figures of 1951. But as stated above, the figures for such birth-place is just the opposite of that natural conclusion. It can, therefore, be assumed that most of the people whose birth-place was in Pakistan have this time given incorrect statement for various reasons, economic and political. The slips in my Tabulation Office indicate that the Hindus generally gave their birth-place correctly, but among the Muslims almost everyone gave his birth-place as Assam. These incorrect statements have reached such serious proportions that it is no longer possible for me to make any reliable conclusion from migration data. My predecessors used to give the figures of Muslim immigrants from birth-place or migration data, but this time I have made my conclusion regarding Muslim immigration into Assam from religion data. So the whole question of Muslim immigration into Assam has been elaborately dealt with in detail in Chapter IX relating to religion. Where the Muslim migrants cannot be ascertained from migration data, they have been netted from the religion data. So the demographic question relating to religion still has immense value and cannot be dispensed with as has been suggested in some quarters.

2. As far as migrants from other States of India are concerned, I think they have correctly given the birth-place statistics. Moreover, there has been an exchange of Migration Tables among the Superintendents of Census Operations of the various States of India from which it can also be checked how many people have moved from one State to another within India.

3 In the 1961 Census, however, migration does not mean movement only from one State to another. It may also happen within the State itself from one district to another as well as from the rural areas to the urban areas and *vice versa*. In 1961, migration may also occur from one rural area to another rural area even within the district itself. All these types of migration will be discussed in the other paragraphs of this Chapter. The following questions were canvassed in the Individual Slip of the 1961 Census :—

Q. 4(a) *Birth place*—

1 If born in village or town in which enumerated . .	Write PL
2. If born in another village or town of district in which enumerated	Write D
3 If born in another district in the State of enumeration . .	Write name of district
4 If born in another State in India	Write name of district and state if name of district is known ; otherwise write name of State
5. If born in a country outside India e.g., Pakistan or any other country	Write name of country
6. Persons born at sea or air or in railway carriages or on road transport e.g., buses etc., should be entered as such	

Q. 4(b). *Whether born in Village or Town*

1. If born in a village . . .	Write R

2. If born in a town which is considered a town at the present time even if it was not so considered at the time of birth . . . Write U

Q. 4(c). *Duration of Residence*—

1. For a person born in village or town or city in which enumerated . . . . . Write X
2. For a person born in another village or town or city of district of enumeration, or who was not born in the district of enumeration . . . . . Write the number of completed years if this person has been in the village/town /city of enumeration. (Do not take into account periods of temporary absence on leave or holiday or tour or business)
3. If the duration of residence is less than one year . . . Write O
   If the duration of residence is one year or over . . . Write the actual number of completed years of residence

4. *Types of migration*—In the former Censuses, migration used to be studied under the types of casual migration, temporary migration, periodic migration, semi-permanent migration and permanent migration. In the 1961 Census, migration is studied under the following heads :—

A. Rural to Rural migration within the same district. This includes (a) birth migration, (b) marriage migration, (c) job migration including (i) seasonal or temporary migration of labour or (ii) periodic migration on account of holiday or leave or illness and (d) casual migration on account of visits to relations, etc.

B. Rural to Rural migration within the State, which includes all the above reasons of A, with semi-permanent or permanent job migration.

C. Rural to Rural migration outside the State mainly on account of birth, marriage or job.

D. Rural to Urban, Urban to Urban, Urban to Rural migration (i) within the district, (ii) within the State and (iii) from other States.

E. Migration of non-Indian nationals.

5. *Extent of migration.*—Before discussing the subject further, it is necessary at the very outset to estimate the extent of migration into Assam between 1951 and 1961. From the data available in my office, it is seen that 1,353,581 persons have migrated into Assam up to 1961 from other parts of India as well as from all parts of the world. This figure includes only those persons who have given their birth-place elsewhere than Assam. As already stated above, there are many Muslims from East Pakistan who did not give their birth-place but whose numbers have been obtained by the method of deduction as given in the religion and other chapters. The number of such Muslim immigrants from East Pakistan during 1951-61 comes to 220,691 including 6,952 Muslim passport holders on March 1, 1961.

6. I give below Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 showing how the above estimates have been arrived at. As far as Muslim immigrants from East Pakistan are concerned, a full discussion has been given in Chapter IX.

Statement showing persons enumerated in other states of the Indian union and reported to have been born in Assam

TABLE 5.1

State	Enumerated in Rural and Urban Areas of the State						
	Total			Rural		Urban	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Andhra Pradesh	946	597	349	302	254	295	95
2. Bihar	9,033	4,868	4,165	3,116	2,898	1,752	1,267
3. Gujarat	272	188	84	36	14	152	70

TABLE 5·1—*contd*

State	Enumerated in Rural and Urban Areas of the State						
	Total			Rural		Urban	
	Persons	Male	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4 Jammu and Kashmir	58	[illegible]	1	13	4	14	27
5 Kerala	115	[illegible]	16		25	47	21
6 Madhya Pradesh	10 601	5 801	4 800	5 0[illegible]	4 430	[illegible]	370
7 Madras	209	105	104	1	14	124	90
8 Maharashtra	2 034	1 186	848	309	272	1 [illegible]87	676
9 Mysore	[illegible]16	[illegible]	43	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	19
10 Orissa	5 531	3 163	2 068	[illegible]	1 862	1 429	206
11 Punjab	2 951	1 8[illegible]	1 [illegible]9	368	159	1 454	640
12 Rajasthan	1 321	[illegible]	694	169	173	458	519
13 Uttar Pradesh	7 491	5 041	[illegible]	1 132	1 093	3 909	1 3[illegible]
14 West Bengal	47 902	[illegible]	1 817	1[illegible] 314	11 403	13 871	10,414
15 Andaman and Nicobar Islands	7[illegible]	5[illegible]	20	34	9	18	11
16 Delhi	1 139	654	485	7	1	647	482
17 Himachal Pradesh	78	46	32	14	23	12	9
18 Manipur	6 869	3 975	2 534	3 131	2 195	844	339
19 Tripura	10 127	5 095	5 032	4 448	4 381	647	681
20 Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1		1		1		
21 Goa, Daman and Diu	5	2	3	1	1	1	2
22 Pondicherry	54	21	33	4	2	17	31
23 NEFA	5 208	3 629	1 679	3 5[illegible]9	1 [illegible]79	.	
24 Nagaland	3 404	2 498	906	1 68	777	816	129
25 SIKKIM	125	110	15	96		14	15
Total	116 112	66 644	49 468	38,450	31 977	28 194	17 451

Variation in natural population

TABLE 5.2

1961				1951				
Recorded Population	Immigrants	Emigrants	Natural Population (1 + 3—2)	Recorded Population	Immigrants	Emigrants	Natural Population (5 + 7—6)	Percentage increase(+) decrease(—) 1951-61 in natural population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11,872,772	1,353,581	116,112	10,635 303	8,830 732	1,342,741	N.A.	N A	N A

Migration between the States and other parts of India

TABLE 5.3

Immigration			Emigration			Immigration minus Emigration	
1961	1951	Variation	1961	1951	Variation	1961	1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
489,928	448,797	+41,131	116,112	N A.	N.A.	373,816	N.A.

N A. denotes Not Available.

7. Table 5.1 speaks for itself and shows the number of people who have been born in Assam but who have gone to the various States and territories of India either for business, jobs or for other events necessitated by the life-cycle.

8. Table 5.2 shows the variation in natural population of Assam for 1961 and 1951 and it also shows the number of people who have come into Assam and who have gone out of Assam during two decades. This table shows that there were 1,353,581 immigrants into Assam up to March 1, 1961, but there were only 116,112 emigrants out of Assam for the same period. Immigrants into Assam include persons who have come here not only during the decade 1951-61 but also before that, if they have recorded their birth-place as being outside Assam. This table gives immigration into Assam from other States of India as well as from other parts of the world, but the figures for emigration relate only to other States of the Indian Union.

9. Table 5.3 relates only to immigration into Assam from other States of Indian Union and emigration from Assam to other States and Union Territories of India.

10. In view of the expanded definition of migration as stated above, it is worthwhile to find out the number of persons who have been born in the place of enumeration. Among such people are those who have practically never been anywhere outside their place of origin or who have hardly travelled outside their birth place, and there are many such people in Assam. This figure also includes people who have been away from their birth-place for long or for short periods but who have come back to their place of origin at the time of enumeration; but the number of such persons is comparatively small in Assam. According to the 1961 Census, the number of persons who were born in the place of enumeration is 8,074,824 constituting 68.01 per cent. of the total population of Assam as recorded on March 1, 1961. The rest of the people in Assam have been enumerated outside their birth-place according to the various types of migration already categorised above.

11. *Rural-Urban migration within the district.*—The following is table 5.4 showing Rural to Rural migration as well as Rural to Urban migration within the same district in all the districts of Assam as well as for the State for such kind of movements. These are movements or migrations within the district and so they may be casual, temporary, semi-permanent or permanent. They may be occasioned by social customs, trade and work.

(*a*) *Rural to Rural migration within the district*

(*b*) *Rural to Urban migration within the district*

TABLE 5.4

Total migrants		Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years											
		Less than 1		1—5		6—10		11—15		16 and over		Period not stated	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						ASSAM							
(*a*)720,162	1,170,929	956,689	62,128	200,666	273,762	122,830	201,971	99,270	186,452	224,120	423,006	16,587	23,614
(*b*)51,852	37,897	8,549	3,517	18,633	10,711	8,181	6,770	5,368	5,614	7,845	8,238	3,276	2,747
						GOALPARA							
(*a*)111,765	186,809	5,870	7,147	29,548	46,063	16,666	32,074	13,513	26,338	43,420	71,913	3,048	2,974
(*b*)3,679	3,294	493	176	1,285	842	465	658	292	470	572	801	472	347
						KAMRUP							
(*a*)104,749	229,145	5,567	5,137	28,713	46,595	16,965	38,800	15,104	41,989	33,814	87,973	4,586	8,651
(*b*)16,889	7,462	2,658	569	6,177	2,018	2,599	1,390	1,898	1,346	3,083	1,784	474	396
						DARRANG							
(*a*)91,057	114,542	10,492	6,422	26,694	24,946	12,287	19,754	12,202	21,451	29,378	41,964	4	5
(*b*)3,064	1,678	551	141	1,275	645	580	280	203	161	306	251	149	100

TABLE 54 *concld*

Total migrants		Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years											
		Less than 1		1—5		6—10		11—15		16 and over		Period not stated	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						LAKHIMPUR							
(a)110 100	115,561	12 867	12,810	30,868	31,882	22,982	21 692	17 468	18 213	28 907	30 921	8	13
(b)4 555	3 083	693	252	1 621	795	799	614	443	505	567	548	442	369
						NOWGONG							
(a)49 037	92,869	2 847	7,699	15,686	22 734	7,484	14 635	7 141	15 858	15 870	31,914	9	9
(b)3,035	2 245	779	221	1,314	665	344	527	180	218	187	417	231	197
						SIBSAGAR							
(a)72 590	146,463	6 041	8 032	20 566	32,170	13 143	22 448	11 067	21 219	21,765	60 583	6	11
(b)5,582	4 728	310	317	2,272	1,312	1 036	711	477	760	790	1,238	697	390
						CACHAR							
(a)63 381	186,036	5,050	6 226	16 786	41 546	12 770	33 320	7 504	25 905	19 318	74 430	1,953	4,610
(b)4,830	4 933	767	413	1,747	1,429	877	885	515	615	522	1 073	402	518
						GARO HILLS							
(a)29,341	20,157	731	1 668	7,300	5 966	4 211	3 695	3 169	2 676	12 125	5 638	1 787	820
(b)1,357	956	779	164	243	475	124	142	70	50	123	111	18	14
						UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS							
(a)25 686	18 403	1,688	986	8 024	6 281	5 477	3 786	2 936	2 093	6 606	4,693	935	564
(b)5 561	6 389	724	686	1 927	1,922	986	1 053	605	964	1 237	1,476	82	287
						UNITED MIKIR AND NORTH CACHAR HILLS							
(a)33 353	27 962	1 379	552	9,395	10,034	5,852	6 321	4 238	3 134	8 888	7 511	600	1,410
(b)226	110	46	23	40	45	45	27	47	12	48	3		..
						MIZO HILLS							
(a)32 104	33 82	4,457	5,546	7,084	5 546	4 993	5 535	4 868	5 547	7 031	5 548	3,681	5,547
(b)3,174	2 819	749	563	732	563	326	483	638	513	420	567	309	130

12. From the above table, it may be seen that in the plains of Assam, the number of females far exceeds that of males in the migration from rural to rural areas within each district. In the case of Cachar district, the number of females is about three times that of males. These figures suggest that the movement of the female population is largely occasioned by marriages because according to general custom, females have to move to the homes of their husbands after marriage. In the internal migration within the districts of Garo Hills, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills, males outnumber females, while in the Mizo Hills, the number of females is only very slightly higher than that of males. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, males generally go to live in their wives' houses after marriage, permanently in the case of youngest daughters, and temporarily in the case of other daughters. But in all the hill districts of Assam, married couples have to make their own establishments and live in their own houses after marriage It may be seen that in the case of migrations for duration of less than one year, there is a lot of fluctuation in the various districts This is due to the fact that this kind of migration may cover such casual migration involving minor movements between neighbouring villages, largely by way of marriage or on account of other events like funeral ceremonies or sradh ceremonies. Another custom prevalent in the plains districts is that young married women often go to their parents' houses for confinement or other reasons and so if children are born in their parents' home, such children would appear to be migrants when subsequently they are taken to the homes of their fathers. Some people

may again move from one area to another area in search of seasonal labour during slack season in their homes. During harvesting season also some people go to the homes of their parents or relatives to help, and so all such people would appear to be temporary migrants under this category. But even permanent migrants are also covered by this duration if they have migrated to that part of the district for the first time.

13. Durations of residence from one year to ten years may reflect job migrations to places where new industries or development projects have been opened up, or movement of agriculturists to places where new areas have been opened up for cultivation. Durations of residence from 11 years upwards reflect permanent migration occasioned either by marriages or by jobs.

14. The above observation generally relates to the district as a whole as well as to migration from rural areas to rural areas, because in Assam, urban areas are very small compared to rural areas. It may, however, be noted that in case of migrations from rural areas to urban areas, the male population generally far exceeds that of the female population. This is due to the fact that when going to live in towns and cities, only men generally move in at first due to lack of accommodation and other factors. In the case of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the Cachar districts, however, more females move into urban areas than males.

15. In Table 5.5 below, rural to rural migration within the State of Assam, but outside the district of birth, is given showing the total number of migrants and the durations of their residence in the places of enumeration. The figures are given for the whole of Assam as well as for each district.

Rural to Rural migration within the State of Assam but outside the district of birth

TABLE 5.5

Total migrants		Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years											
		Less than 1		1–5		6–10		11–15		16 and over		Period not stated	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						ASSAM							
179,732	152,761	17,573	14,822	50,753	40,848	30,546	28,539	28 490	24,595	50,012	41,441	2,358	2,516
						GOALPARA							
8,364	11,268	664	943	2,224	2,950	1,392	2,154	1,053	1,241	2,499	3,237	532	743
						KAMRUP							
14,863	12,614	1,102	699	3,754	3,146	2,035	1,915	2,113	2,054	4,887	3,696	972	1,104
						DARRANG							
43,889	33,981	3,415	2,766	13,196	8,330	6,920	5,683	6,637	4,897	13,720	12,305	1	.
						LAKHIMPUR							
51,397	45,720	7,347	7,010	14,812	13,465	8,682	8,300	8,857	7,212	11,683	9,128	16	5
						NOWGONG							
19,660	14,529	707	671	3,999	3,498	3,303	2,432	3,478	2,815	8,161	5,109	12	4
						SIBSAGAR							
14,255	14,882	1,435	1,046	3,914	3,529	2,730	2,958	2,448	3,138	3,726	4,202	2	9
						CACHAR							
3,347	2,779	506	248	1,042	837	609	667	321	288	660	613	209	126
						GARO HILLS							
3,131	3,350	160	122	1,063	1,077	541	624	293	420	1,003	1,024	71	83
						UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS							
2,140	1,050	349	44	710	373	314	140	163	151	552	311	52	31
						UNITED MIKIR AND NORTH CACHAR HILLS							
18,242	12,377	1,826	633	5,927	3,600	3,941	3,625	3,065	2,336	3,047	1,773	436	410
						MIZO HILLS							
444	211	62	40	112	43	79	41	62	43	74	43	55	1

16 From the above table it may be seen that for the whole of Assam, the number of male migrants within this category is slightly more than that of female. When this total migration is divided into different periods of residence, the number may vary very slightly for different durations, but on the whole, rural inter-district movement shows that there are more male migrants than female. This shows that although marriage migration may also be fairly prevalent from district to district, job migrations are much more than social migration. In the case of Goalpara district, however, it is seen that more females move from the rural areas of the district to the rural areas of other districts in Assam either for the district as a whole or even for all durations of residence. In the case of Sibsagar district, for the durations 6-10, 11-15 and 16 years and over it is seen that more females move from the rural areas of the district to the rural areas of other districts. This suggests that females of Sibsagar district marry outside their own district in fairly large number. In the Hill districts, it is seen that the number of inter-district movement of females is comparatively very small.

17 The following is another table 5.6 showing Rural to Urban migration within the State of Assam, but outside the district of birth. In this table also, the figures for the whole of Assam as well as for each district are given together with the durations of residence in the places of enumeration.

Rural to Urban migration within the state of Assam but outside the district of birth

TABLE 5.6

Total migrants		Duration of residence (Place of enumeration)											
		Less than 1		1-5		6-10		11-15		16 and over		Period not stated	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						ASSAM							
27 159	14 439	3 914	1 936	10 735	5 271	4 326	2 604	2 754	1 804	3 083	2 092	1 747	732
						GOALPARA							
2 018	734	375	58	801	286	279	159	211	65	179	84	173	83
						KAMRUP							
5 983	3 105	728	385	2 362	1 172	961	522	599	385	976	470	357	171
						DARRNAG							
3 053	1 114	434	148	1 236	431	509	176	280	130	477	191	117	38
						LAKHIMPUR							
5,529	3,836	536	655	1 934	1,232	976	724	752	513	1 023	488	308	224
						NOWGONG							
2,116	1,780	410	192	869	742	309	379	176	189	172	262	180	16
						SIBSAGAR							
2 828	1,642	190	197	978	440	400	268	281	211	451	381	528	145
						CACHAR							
530	335	105	55	278	166	66	61	39	32	22	9	21	12
						GARO HILLS							
420	265	81	52	213	122	61	29	28	25	32	25	5	9
						UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS							
4,084	1 343	828	179	1 826	545	694	242	368	199	320	144	48	34
						UNITED MIKIR AND NORTH CACHAR HILLS							
433	206	178	7	167	80	46	38	19	46	23	35	..	..
						MIZO HILLS							
166	79	49	8	71	56	25	6	2	6	8	3	10	

18. It may be seen from the above table that as far as migration from the rural areas to the urban areas of Assam is concerned, the number of males far exceeds that of females in all the districts of Assam. This is due to the fact that inhabitants of one place reside and earn their living in the urban areas of another district, but retain their connection with their own homes where they leave their families during the period of migration, and to which they return at intervals during their working lives and ultimately on retirement at their old age. As the womenfolk are left at home, the bulk of the migrants would be usually men.

19. *Inter-district migration*—Having studied the above tables of migration within Assam, it would also be interesting to make another study about inter-district migration within the State in 1921, 1951 and 1961. The following Table 5.7 has therefore been prepared for this purpose in order to further study the trend of migration within the State.

Inter-District Migration in the State 1921, 1951 & 1961

TABLE 5·7

District	Density per square mile			Percentage of inter district immigration to population of District			Percentage of inter district emigration to population of district			Percentage of net migration to population of District (Imigration + Emigration —)		
	1961	1951	1921	1961	1951	1921	1961	1951	1921	1961	1951	1921
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Goalpara	388	278	192	1·65	0 74	0 77	3 61	2 61	1 15	—1 96	—1 86	—0 38
Kamrup	541	391	200	2 21	1 64	0 77	3 79	1 77	1·66	—1 57	—0 13	—0·89
Darrang	383	274	143	6·63	3 99	2 62	2 50	0 73	0 68	+4 13	+3 25	+1 94
Lakhimpur	312	225	125	7·39	5 36	2·60	2 57	0 87	1 00	+4 81	+4 49	+1 60
Nowgong	550	403	181	3 34	2 72	2 08	5·35	2 23	2 09	—2 00	+0 49	—0·01
Sibsagar	434	349	237	2 53	0 81	1·23	4 84	4 54	2 20	—2 31	—3 73	—0 97
Cachar	514	416	280	0·68	0 33	0 28	1 52	1 93	0 53	—2 83	—1 59	—0 25
Garo Hills	97	77	57	2·52	1 35	2 63	2·78	1 56	1 95	—0 26	—0 21	+0·68
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills . .	83	65	44	3 15	1 81	1 10	2 07	1 58	1 50	+1 08	+0 22	—0 40
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	48	28	5	11·53	1 18	*N.A.*	1.05	*Nil*	*N.A*	—10 47	+1 18	*N.A*
Mizo Hills	33	24	12	0 49	0 12	0 40	1 02	0 98	0 50	—0·53	—0 86	—0 10

Note.—*N.A.* denotes Not Available.

20. The above table reveals some very interesting features of migration, not only for movements from district to district within Assam, but more so because of the deduction that movements of population from outside the State into Assam did take place through certain districts which generally form highways for the influx of outside population into the State. Take the case of Goalpara. Here it may be seen that the density of population in 1961 far exceeds the density in 1951, and that for all the three decades, 1921, 1951 and 1961 there is always a movement of population from this district to other districts of Assam. If there is such a sizeable out-migration of people from this district to other districts of Assam in all the above three decades, how can there be such a heavy density of population within the district itself in view of the fact that the density far exceeds the natural increase. Historically, the Goalpara district is the main gateway for the influx of population from East Bengal (Pakistan) into Assam and the above figures seem to suggest that 1961 is no exception to the previous decades despite the fact that East Bengal has become a foreign country. It may also be seen that in 1961 as much as 1.65 per cent. of its population came into Goalpara from other districts of Assam. This confirms the assumption that during the 1950 disturbances, many Muslims of the district went to other districts of Assam and came back to this district after 1951. Moreover, Goalpara has practically no more available waste land and so the only attraction for other people to go there possibly is to return to their homes there. On the other hand, from column 8 it is also seen that as much as 3.61 per cent. of its population moved out of this district to

other districts of Assam thereby giving a net migration of 1.96 per cent. These figures all the more confirm that this district is a sort of temporary halting place for some people who have come here from outside Assam and that these people again moved into the Upper Assam region after a temporary stay here These heavy immigration and emigration together with the heavy density of population in this district completely prove that a big number of people must have come into this district from other parts of the sub-continent and that many of the figures of birth place as given in the Individual Slip are mostly incorrect, if not completely false.

21. Similarly, in the case of Cachar district also, the same story is repeated though on a lesser scale This district has no more room for new migrants and so emigration exceeds immigration thereby confirming that Cachar is also a sort of temporary halting place for movements of population.

22. When we examine the figures for Darrang and Lakhimpur districts, we find a big influx of population into these districts from other districts of Assam. This, therefore, proves that people from Goalpara and Cachar districts move towards Darrang and Lakhimpur districts, especially in the North Bank where land is still available for settlement. On the other hand, both Kamrup and Nowgong districts also show a heavy immigration and emigration of population thereby suggesting that these two districts also have become next stages for the exodus of population from Goalpara and Cachar. It is also seen that both Kamrup and Nowgong districts have the heaviest density of population in Assam thereby suggesting that people who have moved from Goalpara and Cachar have also settled in these two districts and the excess population have moved further up into Darrang and Lakhimpur. These figures further confirm the studies given by my predecessors, namely, McSweeny, Lloyd and Mullan in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

23. In the case of the Hills districts of Assam, the figures of immigration mostly relate to movements of people in the service of Government as well as of some traders excepting in the case of the Garo Hills and the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills where some population of the cultivating class have also moved.

24 *Migration to Shillong and Gauhati*— In Assam, there are no cities in the sense that there are class I towns which also have municipal corporations and other developments and amenities qualifying any class I town to be called a city. But the 1961 Census has shown that the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati have a population of over 100,000 each. Some important side-lights may be thrown out by a study of Tables D-IV and D-V which show the migration of population into cities and towns

25 In the case of the Shillong Town Group, it is seen that 55,732 persons have migrated into this town in the sense that their birth place is elsewhere than Shillong. Out of these persons 34,703 are males and 21,029 are females. Out of the above persons again, 9,797 are of the age-group 0-14 out of whom 4,538 are males and 5,259 are females. Most of the persons from this age-group must be school-going children including infants and babies. It is interesting to see that there are more females than males among migrants into Shillong in this age-group. In the next age-group 15-34, there are 30,377 persons of whom 19,686 are males and 10,691 females and this number constitutes 54.51 per cent. of the total number of migrants. In this age-group, as many as 1,902 have university degrees and 42 have technical degrees. As many as 6,088 persons have also passed the matriculation examination among whom many might have read up to degree classes. Similar is the case with those who have passed primary or junior basic examinations as well as those who are literate without educational levels. Persons under this age-group have therefore come to Shillong either for study in the various schools and colleges of Shillong or for jobs, mostly Government jobs, which are available in Shillong. In the age-group 35-59, there are 13,088 and a cross examination of their educational qualifications shows that there are a good number of persons in this age-group who are degree-holders or who have passed matriculation and above and therefore a good number of them must be in various services in Shillong.

26. In the case of Gauhati, there are 61,644 persons whose birth-places are outside the town and these constitute 61.21 per cent. of the total population. These migrants, how-

ever, have come not only from places outside Assam, but also from other districts as well as from the interior of the Kamrup district. Out of these persons, 44,173 are males and 17,471 are females of whom 8,458 have passed the matriculation and may be still reading in colleges there, while 2,185 have got degrees either in arts or science or in some technical line. Another 32,537 persons are either literates without educational level or have passed either primary or junior basic examinations and a good number of these may be reading in various schools in Gauhati. Among the illiterates there may be infants and babies below five years. In the age-group 15-34; 6,946 have passed matriculation and many of these may be reading in colleges while 1,686 have passed some degree examinations and so most of them may be engaged in some jobs in Gauhati.

27. Out of 61,644 persons who are migrants in Gauhati as many as 32,179 are workers most of whom are in the age-groups 15-34 and 35-59. The non-workers may be dependents of these workers or students.

28. *Migration of foreign nationals*—Table 5.8 below gives an idea of immigration from foreign countries into Assam. The data have been collected from Union Tables D-I and D-II for 1961.

Foreign Nationals by Country of Origin in the State in 1961, 1951 and 1931

TABLE 5·8

Name of the foreign country	Persons born						Nationals					
	1961		1951		1931		1961		1951		1931	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Pakistan	438,199	336,670	464,440	367,432			28,190	18,989	136,754	96,072	..	..
Nepal	63,189	29,436	35,630	20,005	58,600	29,706	15,510	6,434	11,468	6,083	..	..
Burma	1,819	1,244	1,290	1,976	.	..	85	22	148	151	..	..
Bhutan	514	449	89	286	..	..	26	21	9	13	..	.
U. K.	548	272	794	508	1,722	619	425	362	954	753	.	..
China	332	117	310	68	580	60	209	65	307	103	..	..
Afghanistan	245	3	112	5	1,316	30	124	4	67	2	..	
U. S. A.	105	63	68	70	41	35	40	46	65	55	47	44
Italy	77	47	8	10	.	.	74	30	40	22	88	11
Rumania	40	30		.	.	.	36	26	..	.	..	..
Australia	27	6	16	18	6	10	16	13	13	8	..	..
Spain	10	16	..	..	..	.	16	11	4	3	6	..
Malaya	20	4	1	2	6	9	6	4	..	..	..	..
South Africa	11	7	9	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	..
U. S. S. R.	6	7	..	..	.	..	6	4	.	..	1	..
Ireland	10	1	..	1	..	..	11	4	35	10	..	..
Canada	9	1	6	4	..	.	6	1	..	3	..	..
Ceylon	5	4	13	21	8	4	..	1	6	..	..	..
France	3	2	..	2	..	..	4	1	3	8	3	3
Norway	2	2	1	3	..	..	5	4	11	3	..	1

29. From the above table it may be seen that the largest number of foreigners migrating into Assam come from Pakistan. It must, however, be remembered that Pakistan did not exist before August 14, 1947 and that even in 1951, Pakistani nationals could still come freely into Assam because there was then no passport system and practically no other restriction was also imposed upon the movement of Pakistani nationals into Assam. It may also be noted that the heading of columns 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 is regarding persons born in foreign countries, and the name of the foreign country is given in column 1. As already stated earlier, many persons born in Pakistan never gave out their correct birth place and so the figures in so far as they relate to Pakistan cannot be relied upon. Most of the persons who gave their birth place as Pakistan are Hindu displaced persons. So only columns 8-13 give the number of foreign nationals. It may be seen that while in 1951 as many as 232,826 persons gave their nationality as Pakistanis; in 1961, only 47,179 gave their nationality as Pakistanis. From the figures collected from the Government of

Assam, it is seen that only 6,952 are Muslim passport holders on March 1, 1961. The remaining figures for 1961 of Pakistani nationals are therefore Hindus from East Pakistan who have passports and visas. So these figures taken together with my discussion about the growth of population in Chapter II, the big increase in the number of Muslims as discussed in Chapter IX and the data as supplied in Table 5.7 appear to make the question of Pakistani nationals in Assam incorrect. Moreover, it is a fact that people can also still move from East Pakistan into the neighbouring States of India without valid documents, and even those who have valid documents may eventually stay here and become Indian citizens. This is, however, the inevitable result of the artificial partition of the sub-continent. The high figures of Pakistani nationals in 1951 may also be simply due to the fact that many displaced persons have been enumerated as Pakistani nationals because of the fact that they had just come into Assam by the time of the enumeration, and there was then no passport or visa system. After 1951, many of those nationals might have acquired Indian citizenship.

30. Next to Pakistani nationals, the biggest number of foreign nationals in Assam is that of the Nepalese who number 21,944 in 1961 against 17,551 in 1951. The number of Nepalese born in Nepal who are enumerated in Assam in 1961 is 82,624. So many Nepalese have become Indian nationals. In this connection, it may also be borne in mind that in a Census, a person is simply asked to what nationality he belongs, and only the answer returned by him is recorded in the Census papers. Therefore, Pakistanis and Nepalese can claim any nationality they like as far as the Census is concerned. In the case of Nepalese, many of them do not know to what nationality they belong. Some of them even answered that they are Nepali Indians.

31. The number of U.K. nationals in Assam in 1961 is only 787 against 1,707 in 1951. Most of the U.K. nationals are planters or their families and I am told by the Secretary of the Indian Tea Association, Assam Branch, that many U.K. nationals have left India because either the tea estates have been purchased by Indians or the staff of the British-owned tea estates have also been gradually nationalised. The rest of the figures of foreign nationals is very small and the table speaks for itself.

32. *Migration from other States from 1921 to 1961*—The following is Table 5.9 showing the percentage of immigrants from outside Assam to its total population in each decade from 1921 to 1961. Tables were not made in 1941 due to World War II and so the percentage for this year has been left out from the table.

Percentage of all immigrants from outside Assam to its total population in each decade 1921—1961

TABLE 5·9

State/District	1961		1951		1931		1921	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM . .	13.19	9.36	16.46	13 77	22·68	18·18	24·06	20·33
Goalpara . .	14.32	11.55	17.55	13.79	27·81	22·72	29·89	23·74
Kamrup . .	9.12	7.79	16.40	13.07	19.57	14.83	11.87	7.40
Darrang . .	17.43	13.14	21.41	20.89	37.11	32.01	39.60	36.53
Lakhimpur .	18.18	10.78	21.74	18.84	36.01	29.52	41.73	39.2[illegible]
Nowgong . .	17.57	12.31	24.69	20.92	29.78	25.70	26.13	20.8[illegible]
Sibsagar . .	7.42	4.22	9.39	7.56	20.15	17.49	26.92	26.0[illegible]
Cachar . .	11.59	11.06	14.36	12.81	6.12	4.82	12.94	10.[illegible]
Garo Hills . .	4.86	2.69	3.88	3.50	4.44	3.10	5.58	4.[illegible]
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	12.72	6.35	12·39	6·51	8.93	3.03	5.80	2.7[illegible]
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	11.01	6.69	4·19	3·57	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Mizo Hills .	6.72	5.19	4.99	5.57	8.49	6.82	13.25	8.60

N. A.—Denotes Not Available.

33. From the above table, it may be seen that immigration into Assam and its plains districts is very high during 1921 and 1931, but during 1951 and 1961, the figures of immigration appear to have gone down although the population has greatly increased during these last two decades. I have already stated in the first part of this chapter that the figures of immigration in 1951, and more especially during 1961, are not at all reliable because immigrants did not give their true birth places. I have also pointed out that historically, the greatest immigration into Assam from 1911 onwards has been from East Bengal (East Pakistan) and so during the decades 1911-1931 all these migrants gave their correct birth places because East Bengal was then part of India and there was nothing to hide Moreover, during 1921 and 1931, many tea garden labourers were imported into Upper Assam for work in the tea garden areas. Importation of tea garden labourers has become very small after 1931 because by that time the tea garden tribes had numbered just under 10 lakhs in Assam though many of them have settled as cultivators in the tea gardens or outside the tea gardens, and are known as ex-tea garden labourers. By 1951, East Bengal had already become a foreign country known as East Pakistan and so from that time Muslim migrants did not give their correct birth places because they have become foreign nationals and also because they wanted to be called 'indigenous' persons of Assam so that they might be settled with lands. Only Hindu displaced persons gave their correct birth places in 1951 because they might then be able to get rehabilitation benefits. In 1961, rehabilitation benefits have almost ceased to exist and the passport and visa system has also become very tight. People coming from East Pakistan into Assam from 1961 therefore have nothing to gain by giving their true birth place while Muslims definitely have the advantage of concealing their identity by saying that they are born in a place where they are found and that they speak Assamese. So, although the increase in population in 1961 has been most spectacular for all the decades, the figures for migrants appear to be one of the lowest in terms of percentage due to concealment of the correct birth places.

34. *Sex ratio*—The following is Table 5.10 showing the sex ratio of the actual population in Assam as well as that of the natural population, the immigrant population and the emigrant population.

Females per 1,000 males in Rural and Urban areas of the State 1961

TABLE 5·10

Description	Females per 1,000 males			
	Total	Rural	Urban	Non-city Urban City
1	2	3	4	5
Actual population of the State	876	895	694	620
Immigrant population from adjacent State	448	506	228	298
Immigrant population from States other than adjacent States.	427	506	318	370
Emigrant population from the State to adjacent States	+784	771	*815	..
Emigrant population from the State to States other than adjacent States	+690	680	*700	..
Natural population of State .	+913	921	*797	..

Note—+Emigrants with birth-place 'Unclassifiable' have been included.

*Male and female emigrants from total Urban area of Assam have been taken, as separate figures for city are not available

35. From the above table it may be seen that there are 876 females per 1,000 males in the whole of Assam, and that in the rural areas of Assam, the sex ratio is 895, that in the non-city urban is 694, while in cities it is 620 Among the natural population of the State, the sex ratio is as high as 913 in the total, while it is 921 in the rural areas of the State. The natural population is obtained by subtracting the immigrant population from the actual population and adding the emigrant population. So the natural population consists mostly of indigenous persons to whom may be added long standing migrants. It is not possible to assess the sex ratio of the indigenous people of Assam, but is assumed that among the indigenous people, the sex ratio is more or less even.

36. It is seen that among the immigrant population from adjacent States of Assam, *i.e.*, from the States of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Nagaland, the sex ratio is very

poor. But the least sex ratio is from that of the immigrant population from other States of India other than the adjacent States mentioned above. It appears that people coming from distant States of India to Assam generally leave their womenfolk at home. In 1951, Mr. Vaghaiwalla observed that the Marwari traders exemplify semi-permanent migration into Assam because men far outnumbered women. Out of 17,072 immigrants from Rajasthan in 1951, 11,587 are males and only 5,485 are females. In 1961, there are 16,375 males and only 5,888 females from among the immigrants from Rajasthan to Assam. In other words, even in 1961, the sex ratio among the Marwaris is only 360 females per 1,000 males. This shows that the Marwaris have come to Assam not to stay here but only to trade and take the earnings to their homes which they occasionally visit. Among the Bihari immigrants into Assam, the sex ratio is 376 females per 1,000 males. Among the Biharis are seasonal migrants who come to Assam from about November-December of each year and go back to Bihar as soon as the monsoon sets in. Although the sex ratio among the Biharis is very small, it must be said to their credit that they have helped to supply Assam with the necessary labour force for all the development projects. The *per capita* earnings of these people is not big and they have not come to exploit Assam but only to supply the necessary labour force which is not available locally.

37. *Immigrants and language returns*— The following is Table 5.11 showing immigrants into Assam from other States of India compared to the language returns for the predominant languages of the respective States, 1961.

Immigrants into Assam from other States compared to the Language Returns for the predominant languages of the respective States, 1961

TABLE 5·11

State of Origin	Immigrants into the State		Predominant language of the State of origin	Population speaking the predominant language of the State of origin as mother tongue	
	Males	Females		Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Andhra Pradesh	2,858	1,486	Telugu	10,770	9,016
2 Maharashtra	1,156	397	Marathi	3,237	2,215
3 Gujarat	690	243	Gujarati	508	204
4 Jammu & Kashmir	412	54	Kashmiri	39	2
5 Kerala	1,807	375	Malayalam	1,915	289
6 Madras	4,942	2,684	Tamil	3,222	1,279
7 Mysore	509	219	Kannada	158	48
8 Orissa	30,123	21,069	Oriya	77,804	67,684
9 Punjab	9,064	3,386	Punjabi	6,273	2,665
10 West Bengal	33,977	21,038	Bengali	1,106,621	954,91[illegible]
11 Hindi Speaking States	240,950	91,002	Hindi	331,836	179,9[illegible]
12 Bihar	187,254	70,478	..	..	..
13 Madhya Pradesh	6,397	4,769	..	..	..
14 Rajasthan	16,375	5,888	..	..	..
15 Uttar Pradesh	30,924	9,867	..	..	..

38. From the above table, it may be seen that people whose birth place is Andhra Pradesh number only 4,344, but the number of people speaking Telugu as their mother tongue the number is as much as 19,560. This is due to the fact that many Telugu-speaking people, mostly among the tea garden tribes, have been born in Assam as they settled here long ago, but they still speak Telugu as their mother tongue at home. This assumption also applies to Oriya. In the case of immigrants from West Bengal, there were 55,015 whose birth place is West Bengal but the number of Bengali-speakers in Assam is 2,061,533. This is due to the fact that the mother tongue of the people of Cachar is Bengali and there are also many Bengalis who have been born and brought up in Assam and there are also many displaced persons from East Pakistan whose mother tongue is Bengali. Many people of West Goalpara also have their mother tongue as Bengali. The biggest number of immigrants is from among the people who have given their birth place in the Hindi-speaking States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar. Pradesh. The total number of such persons is 331,952, but the total number of Hindi speakers in Assam is 511,818. This is because of the fact that many tea tribes who were born in Assam are still Hindi-speakers. The biggest number of migrants from the Hindi-speaking States is from Bihar, where 257,732 persons have returned their birth place as Bihar. Other comments can be inferred from the above table.

39. *Rural to rural migration*—The following is another Table 5 12 showing immigration in the rural areas of Assam from the rural areas of other States of India classified by sex.

Immigration in Rural Areas of Assam from Rural Areas of other States of India Classified by Sex, 1961

TABLE 5·12

State/District	Rural Population of State/District		Immigrants into Rural areas from Rural areas of adjacent States		Immigrants into Rural areas from Rural areas of States other than adjacent States		Immigrants into Rural areas from rural areas of India (Totals of Cols 4+6 & 5+7)		Percentage of Rural immigrants from Rural areas of States of India to Rural Population of State	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM . .	5,783,678	5,176,069	192,168	97,740	45,016	22,827	237,184	120,567	4 10	2 33
Goalpara	783,508	688,241	20,692	11,967	2,352	895	22,944	12,862	3 04	1 87
Kamrup	972,979	870,094	10,737	3,963	1,851	688	12,588	4,651	1 29	0·53
Darrang	663,836	575,540	43,099	27,880	8,012	3,153	51,111	31,033	7 70	5 39
Lakhimpur .	761,078	651,412	58,619	29,520	12,960	5,997	71,579	35,517	9 40	5 45
Nowgong . .	598,096	531,448	23,057	4,696	3,343	2,034	26,400	6,730	4 41	1 27
Sibsagar . .	761,757	669,928	26,274	14,655	7,203	3,743	33,477	18,398	4 39	2 75
Cachar . .	668,750	612,913	4,959	3,337	4,740	3,705	9,699	7,042	1·45	1·15
Garo Hills	151,317	147,023	677	132	119	31	796	163	0 53	0 11
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills .	179,384	174,173	952	166	402	84	1,354	250	0 75	0 14
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills .	148,135	128,326	3,043	1,415	1,962	727	5,005	2,142	3 38	1 67
Misa Hills . .	124,835	126,971	159	9	2,072	1,770	2,231	1,779	1 79	1 40

40. *Urban to urban migration*—The following is another table 5.13 showing the immigration into the urban areas of Assam from the urban areas of other States of India. The table shows that only 30,409 persons have migrated from the urban areas of other States of India into the urban areas of Assam; but the total urban population of Assam consists of 913,028; so the number of migrants from the urban areas of other States of India into Assam is rather insignificant. The biggest number of such migrants is in the urban areas of the Kamrup district where 10,988 have come. There is no doubt that most of these people can be found in Gauhati and Pandu. The next biggest number of such migrants have come to the urban areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district. They number 5,468 and almost all of them can be found only in the Shillong Town Group. Next to

Shillong, such migrants have come to the urban areas of the Lakhimpur district and there are 4,667 such persons there.

41. The sex ratio of such migrants indicates that the number of males is more or less double the number of females. In other words, such migrants may have come to the urban areas of Assam only for business or service and that they go back to their own places occasionally and permanently after retirement.

Immigration in Urban Areas of Assam from Urban Areas of other States of India Classified by Sex, 1961

TABLE 5·13

State/District	Urban Population of Assam		Immigrants into Urban areas from Urban areas of adjacent States		Immigrants into Urban areas from Urban areas of other States adjacent States		Immigrants into Urban areas from Urban areas of India (Totals of Cols 4 + 6 & 5 + 7)		Percentage of Urban immigrants from Urban areas of States of India to Urban Population of State	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	544,454	368,874	9,539	5,259	10,789	4,822	20,328	10,081	3·73	2·74
Goalpara	59,215	42,928	650	602	820	415	1,470	1,017	2·48	2·37
Kamrup	136,629	82,870	4,176	1,917	3,664	1,231	7,840	3,148	5·74	3·80
Darrang	31,091	19,203	272	199	606	269	878	468	2·82	2·44
Lakhimpur	92,801	58,551	1,019	916	1,766	966	2,785	1,882	3·00	3·21
Nowgong	47,594	33,623	476	255	616	259	1,092	514	2·29	1·53
Sibsagar	47,178	29,827	947	139	1,095	253	2,042	392	4·33	1·33
Cachar	53,737	43,076	320	301	294	222	614	523	1·14	1·21
Garo Hills	5,423	3,465	68	28	38	3	96	31	1·77	0·89
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	61,164	47,431	1,571	867	1,851	1,179	3,422	2,046	5·59	4·31
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	1,992	1,273	25	25	12	7	37	32	1·86	2·51
Mizo Hills	7,630	6,627	25	10	27	18	52	28	0·68	0·42

42. The following is table 5.14 showing the immigration from other States of India into Assam classified by sex, expressed as percentages of Total, Rural and Urban Population of the State, 1961.

Immigration from other States of India into Assam classified by sex, expressed as percentages of Total, Rural and Urban Population of the State, 1961

TABLE 5·14

Total/Rural/Urban Population of the State	Population	Percentage of total immigration from other States of India to actual population of the State			Percentage of immigration from States adjacent to the State to actual population of the State			Percentage of immigration from States other than those adjacent to State to actual population of the State		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
T	11,872,772	4·13	2·86	1·27	3·09	2·13	0·96	1·04	0·73	0·31
R	10,959,744	3·37	2·24	1·13	2·71	1·80	0·91	0·66	0·44	0·22
U	913,028	13·18	10·30	2·88	7·62	6·13	1·49	5·56	4·18	1·38

43. The above table speaks for itself and most of the comments which can be made here have already been made elsewhere in the preceding paragraphs.

44. *Distribution of migrants by workers (category-wise) and non-workers*—The following is another table 5.15 showing the distribution of selected districts of immigrants from

other States of India in the nine Industrial Classification of Workers and Non-Workers expressed as percentages of total population under each category, 1961.

Distribution of selected districts of immigrants from other States of India in the nine industrial categories of workers and non-workers expressed as percentages of total population under each category, 1961

TABLE 5·15

State/District		Industrial Classification of Workers									Non-Workers
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM											
(a) Total Population	(a)	3 323 500	187 416	518 100	280 353	103 634	39 838	184 707	78,612	424,251	6 735 361
(b) Immigrant Population	(b)	74 483	5 084	106 428	4 590	22 000	17 745	35 978	19 940	76 318	127 365
(c) (b) expressed as percentage of (a)	(c)	2 24	2 71	20 54	1 64	21 23	44 54	19 48	26 37	17 99	1 89
Goalpara	(a)	433 472	38 622	5 908	37 611	12 496	2 140	29 583	6 704	46 874	930 582
	(b)	10 541	1 205	1 463	805	2 509	433	4 638	2 498	9 806	16 774
	(c)	2 43	3 13	24 76	2 14	20 08	20 23	15 68	37 26	20 92	1 80
Kamrup	(a)	513 992	29 609	9 675	120 178	15 051	5 827	34 266	20 930	85 057	1 227 987
	(b)	2 522	394	2 825	508	2 648	1 875	3 384	5 247	14 417	16 812
	(c)	0 49	1 33	29 20	0 42	17 59	32 18	9 88	25 07	16 95	1 37
Darrang	(a)	412 904	21 147	78 079	14 666	10 155	7 042	16 774	6 079	39 548	683 276
	(b)	19 420	1 240	25 263	458	2 640	4 319	5 191	2 768	9 550	20 467
	(c)	4 70	5 86	32 28	3 12	26 00	61 33	30 95	45 53	24 15	3 00
Lakhimpur	(a)	419 702	10 407	179 575	11 580	25 217	11 735	29 036	13 281	53 217	810 092
	(b)	12 452	783	43 571	500	7 213	7 507	13 083	4 669	16 766	33 891
	(c)	2 97	7 52	24 26	4 32	28 60	63 97	45 06	35 16	31 50	4 18
Nowgong	(a)	325 961	22 552	17 349	23 636	8 825	2 436	15 569	8 600	24 124	701 703
	(b)	16 903	614	4 072	870	2 113	722	2,737	2 074	4 611	8 248
	(c)	5 19	2 52	43 47	3 68	23 94	29 64	17 58	24 10	19 11	1 08
Sibsagar	(a)	440 891	13 201	144 883	21 467	18 320	5 188	20 693	8 157	43 426	792 464
	(b)	5 009	465	22 940	450	4 003	1 958	4 472	1 644	7 258	14 817
	(c)	1 14	3 52	15 83	2 10	21 85	37 74	21 61	20 15	16 71	1 87

45 The above is a very useful table because it gives us the category-wise industrial classification of Workers who have come into Assam from other States of India In Category I which is the industrial classification for cultivators; the percentage of immigrants to the total population of cultivators is very low being only 2 24, because most of the people of Assam are cultivators Moreover, Muslim immigrants have also shown themselves as 'indigenous' cultivators. Category II relates to agricultural labourers, and here also the percentage of immigrant labourers is very small because agricultural labourers are available locally and also because the Muslim agricultural labourers are also not in the category of immigrant labourers according to their own statements. Category III relates to plantation, forestry, fishing, livestock, mining and quarrying. Here the percentage is as big as 20.54 because many tea-garden labourers still show their birth-place as being outside Assam although they have settled here for good The percentage ought to have been much more had it not been due to the fact that most of the tea-garden labourers have actually been born and bred in Assam because their forefathers have settled here for some generations. Nowadays, new tea-garden labourers are also no longer imported because sufficient labour is available locally. The conditions of 80 years ago have been reversed In this category, plantation far exceeds the other activities mentioned above.

46. In Category IV which relates to household industry, the percentage of immigrant labour is the lowest (1.64 per cent.) because household industry in Assam mostly relates to weaving, and Assamese people are renowned for their handloom industry. Category V, relates to manufacturing other than household industry and so the figure of im-

migrant workers is again as high as 21.23 per cent., and this fact does not fail to show that industrially, the Assamese people are still very backward. In Category VI which relates to construction, it is strange that the biggest percentage (44.54) of immigrant labour can be found. This shows that the indigenous people of Assam excepting the Khasis are either not good in or are loathe to construction works, so much so, that workers have to be imported from outside Assam. No wonder therefore that most of the money paid as wages for construction works under different development schemes goes outside Assam because local people do not try to take up construction works themselves, leave alone the question of attaining proficiency. It therefore appears that most of the people of Assam are averse to manual work other than cultivation, and this will not contribute to their well-being. Construction contractors and workers come from outside Assam, and they get most of the wages and profits of development works. In Category VII which relates to trade and commerce also, the percentage of immigrants is fairly big thereby indicating that trade and commerce are also held by people from outside Assam, especially the Marwaris. In Category VIII which relates to transport, storage and communications the number of immigrant workers is also fairly big because of the fact that in the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs, most of the workers are from outside Assam. Category IX relates to all 'Other Services' and here also the percentage of immigrant workers is still big, but that may not be altogether bad in the interest of national integration. We cannot be too parochial in everything, but we should also learn trades other than Government service and agriculture.

47. The following is table 5.16 showing the distribution of Industrial Categories of Workers and Non-Workers among the general population and among the migrants from other States of India, 1961. This table is more or less the same as table 5.15, but here the Primary Sector, the Secondary Sector and the Tertiary Sector were shown separately together with the categories of which they are composed which are also shown separately. Another difference of this table from the previous one is that data have been given regarding migrants from the adjacent States of Assam as well as of migrants from States other than those adjacent to Assam. The table speaks for itself because it is supplementary to table 5.15 and no further comments appear called for.

Distribution of Industrial Categories of Workers and Non-Workers among the general population and among immigrants from other States of India, 1961

TABLE 5·16

Total	Population of State	Immigrants from States of India	Immigrants from adjacent States	Immigrants from States other than adjacent States	Percentage of immigrants from States of India to population of State			Percentage of population aged 15 to 59 to total of its category		
					Persons	Males	Females	Total	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Primary Sector . .	4,029,016	185,995	158,653	27,342	4 62	3 04	1 58	86 29	86·29	87·12
Industrial Category I . .	3,323,500	74,483	62,133	12,350	2 24	1 65	0·59	85 57	85·57	85·70
Industrial Category II . .	187,416	5,084	4,348	736	2·71	2 38	0 33	84·75	84·74	87·22
Industrial Category III . .	518,100	106,428	92,172	14,256	20·54	12·22	8 32	91·46	91·48	90·08
Secondary Sector . . .	423,825	44,335	34,163	10,172	10·46	9·63	0·83	89·62	89·03	92·47
Industrial Category IV . .	280,353	4,590	3,473	1,117	1·64	0 82	0·82	87 89	87·65	91·32
Industrial Category V . .	103,634	22,000	15,244	6,756	21·23	20·26	0·97	92·11	91·79	92·49
Industrial Category VI . .	39,838	17,745	15,446	2,299	44·54	43·98	0·56	95 33	95·29	95·50
Tertiary Sector . . .	684,570	132,233	86,330	45,903	19·32	18·74	0·58	92·78	91·70	[illegible]·65
Industrial Category VII . .	184,707	35,978	21,367	14,611	19·48	19·13	0·35	91·76	90·74	93·45
Industrial Category VIII . .	75,612	19,940	15,064	4,876	26·37	26·12	0·25	97·68	96·28	98·63
Industrial Category IX . .	424,251	76,315	49,899	26,416	17·99	17·25	0·74	92·34	91·60	93·94
Non-Workers	6,735,361	127,365	87,615	39,750	1·89	0·71	1·18	22·90	21·62	26·55

48. The following is table 5.17 showing the distribution of Industrial Category of Workers and Non-Workers of immigrants from other States of India per 10,000 of all immigrant population in the States, 1961. This table shows how the people who have come into Assam from other States of India are distributed in the State as well as its various districts according to the kind of work which they are doing. It may be seen that most of them are occupied in agriculture (16.24 per cent.), plantation, etc. (21.72 per cent.) and other services (15.58 per cent.). Non-Workers constitute 26.00 per cent. In trade and commerce, they constitute 7.34 per cent while in transport and communications they constitute 4.07 per cent. Here again it must be borne in mind that these immigrants are only those people coming from other States of India and not those coming from East Pakistan. As far as the urban population of such immigrants is concerned, it is seen that most of them are in other services (30.51 per cent.) and trade and commerce (13.58 per cent.). Non-Workers in the urban areas are also comparatively much bigger inasmuch as they constitute 33.66 per cent. The figures in the districts speak for themselves, but here it must again be borne in mind that in places like the Mizo Hills where the number of immigrants is the least, the percentage may appear to be unduly big although in terms of absolute numbers, it is really very small.

Distribution by Industrial Category of Workers and Non-Workers of immigrants from other States of India per 10,000 of all immigrant population (T.R.U.) in the State, 1961

TABLE 5·17

State/District	Total Rural Urban	Per 10,000 of all immigrant population belonging to									
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ASSAM	T	1,520	104	2,172	94	449	362	734	407	1,558	2,600
	R	2,005	135	2,861	98	329	401	531	218	1,072	2,350
	U	31	8	58	80	817	243	1,358	988	3,051	3,366
Goalpara	T	2,080	238	290	159	495	85	915	493	1,935	3,310
	R	2,823	319	381	200	351	78	617	410	1,534	3,287
	U	23	13	37	45	895	106	1,741	721	3,045	3,374
Kamrup	T	498	78	558	100	523	370	668	1,036	2,848	3,321
	R	1,363	208	1,507	112	145	202	892	110	2,646	2,815
	U	9	4	21	94	737	465	542	1,560	2,962	3,606
Darrang	T	2,128	136	2,762	50	289	473	569	303	1,047	2,243
	R	2,313	147	3,007	53	237	493	435	249	876	2,190
	U	64	8	27	19	872	253	2,059	912	2,950	2,836
Lakhimpur	T	887	56	3,102	36	514	534	932	332	1,194	2,413
	R	1,115	70	3,914	18	378	621	647	203	815	2,219
	U	49	3	123	101	1,012	216	1,977	807	2,585	3,127
Nowgong	T	3,934	143	948	202	492	168	637	483	1,073	1,920
	R	4,989	176	1,196	226	355	169	389	235	656	1,609
	U	92	22	42	119	991	165	1,540	1,385	2,594	3,050
Sibsagar	T	795	74	3,640	71	635	311	710	261	1,152	2,351
	R	939	83	4,312	75	569	343	447	157	841	2,234
	U	30	23	82	54	988	141	2,100	810	2,800	2,972
Cachar	T	1,166	108	2,792	157	107	35	426	336	1,544	3,329
	R	1,384	128	3,315	186	49	33	270	128	1,334	3,173
	U	..	3	3	..	415	44	1,260	1,449	2,665	4,161
Garo Hills	T	467	30	347	321	231	342	1,357	77	5,278	1,590
	R	905	58	615	515	332	233	1,935	83	3,439	[illegible]
	U	..	..	62	115	124	459	742	71	7,235	1,192
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	T	71	11	157	78	337	403	569	116	4,891	3,867
	R	441	65	734	57	126	2,191	633	90	3,174	2,489
	U	..	..	46	82	378	60	557	121	4,625	4,131
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	T	2,743	168	23	560	90	116	478	147	3,068	2,697
	R	2,810	172	22	574	83	117	485	134	3,045	2,558
	U	..	..	55	..	589	111	167	667	4,000	4,611
Mizo Hills	T	6,566	..	9	102	21	174	28	25	819	2,256
	R	6,953	..	5	105	10	181	17	15	495	2,219
	U	41	..	83	41	207	41	207	207	6,281	2,802

49. The following is a note on migration in the eastern border States of the sub-continent prepared by Shri S. P. Jain, Census Actuary and Deputy Registrar General, India. The note gives a masterly analysis of statistics of migration and percentage growth rates in the eastern areas of the sub-continent.

A NOTE ON MIGRATION IN THE EASTERN BORDER STATES

1. The object of this note is to ascertain the extent of migration for arriving at a reasonable estimate of the rate of natural increase of the border States of Assam, West Bengal, Manipur, Tripura and Bihar. During 1951-61 Assam recorded a percentage gross growth rate of 34.5, West Bengal 32.8, Tripura 78.7 and Manipur 35.0, Muslims registered percentage growth rates of 38.6; 36.5; 68.0 and 30.6 respectively. In Bihar, they increased by 32.3 per cent. There is nothing similarly striking in the case of Hindus except that Assam shows a growth rate of 34 per cent. and West Bengal 32.6 per cent. These percentages leave no doubt that in the States mentioned, Hindus and Muslims gained substantially by immigration. On other hand, the usual birth place statistics show little evidence of it. These data show that Assam had a net outmigration of 54,782 (-0.53) and Bihar 53.740 (-0.13) while West Bengal had a net immigration of 614,988 (2.01), Tripura 185,265 (20.80) and Manipur 9,234 (1.36). The figures in bracket give the corresponding percentage change in population due to net migration. These percentages do not clear away the observed abnormal growth rates. In the case of Assam, the net outmigration makes matter worse. There is clear evidence that a lot of immigration has not been substantiated by suitable recording of birth place outside Assam in the 1961 Census. The method of estimation of the extent, to which the recorded population increase should be attributed to this factor, is to slice off the increase over and above what seems to be reasonable considering other recorded growth rates of similarly placed areas during 1951-61. In this method, it is evidently impossible to rule out the possibility of other causes acting conjointly such as change of faith and deliberate inflation on a substantial scale. Only the combined effect of such factors can be so studied.

2. The following growth rates are based on the population figures published by Pakistan Censuses for 1951 and 1961:

CENSUS POPULATION

TABLE 1

(In Lakh)

	East Pakistan			West Pakistan		
	1951	1961	Growth Rate	1951	1961	Growth Rate
General .	419·32	508·40	21·2	337·03	428·80	27·1
Muslim .	322·27	408·90	26·9	327·32	416·66	27·3
Hindu .	41·87	43·87	4·8	1·62	2·04	25·0
Scheduled Caste	50·52	49·93	—1·2	3·69	4·18	13·3

The growth rates for Muslims in the two parts of Pakistan are practically the same, but those for Hindus and Scheduled Castes differ sharply. The growth rates for Hindus and Scheduled Castes in East Pakistan are so glaringly low that there can be no doubt about their having migrated out of East Pakistan on a large scale. In what follows Hindus and Scheduled Castes are clubbed together.

(3.1). Increases in the population count of Muslims and Hindus in 1961 over 1951 in each of the districts of Assam, West Bengal and of Tripura and most of the districts of Bihar (for Muslims only) are given on pages xxxv, xxxvii and xxvi respectively of Census of India Paper 1—1961 Census—Religion. The corresponding percentage increases in districts, showing abnormally high growth rates of Muslims are given on xxviii and of Hindus on xv. Generally speaking, they are border or adjoining districts. The magnitude of the rate of growth in each case leaves little doubt that there was a very substantial influx of Hindus and Muslims. The source must be East Pakistan as is shown in what follows. Every district in Assam (except two) and in West Bengal (except four) shows that the growth rate of Muslims was well above 27.5 per cent. Similarly, the growth rate of Hindus was well above 25 per cent. in every dis-

trict in Assam (except two) and in West Bengal (except three). It will be shown later that these growth rates nearly represent the upper limits and increases above them should be ascribed to infiltration.

(3.2). Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, Manipur and the four districts of Saharsa, Purnea, Santhalparganas and Hazaribagh in Bihar registered the following growth rates during 1951-61 :

TABLE 2

State	Growth Rate		
	General	Muslims	Hindus
Assam	34·5	38·6	34·0
West Bengal	32·8	36·5	32·6
Tripura	78 7	68·0	80·6
Manipur	35·0	30 6	38·5
Bihar 4 districts	22·1	67·3	14·7
Bihar rest	19·2	19·1	20·1
Bihar Total	19·8	32·3	19·0

By their level the State rates clearly reflect the fact of abnormal increase due to influx of Hindus and Muslims. The growth rate of Muslims in the four districts of Bihar stands out. It raised their growth rate in the State as a whole; the rest of the districts of Bihar registered a growth rate of 19.1 only. The abnormal increase of Muslims in the four disdistricts also raised the growth rate of these districts well above that of the rest of the districts.

(3.3). The differential growth rates of Hindus and Muslims in other States during 1951-61 were as follows:

TABLE 3

	State	% increase Hindus	% increase Muslims
1	Andhra Pradesh	15·96	12·65
2	Gujarat	28·11	20·25
3	Maharashtra	13·58	24·54
4	Maharashtra and Gujarat	18·42	22·94
5	Kerala	23·23	27·50
6	Madhya Pradesh	23·14	25·45
7	Madras	11·13	8·14
8	Mysore	21·90	19·40
9	Orissa	19·59	22·11
10	Punjab	30·86	38·01
11	Rajasthan	25·44	36·62
12	Uttar Pradesh	16·13	19·48

The abnormal growth rate of Hindus in Gujarat seems to be due to the effects of reorganisation, since the growth rates of Hindus in Gujarat and Maharashtra combined works out to 18.42 as against 22.94 for Muslims, which are reasonably consistent with the differential in other States. Rajasthan shows a higher growth rate of 32.62 per cent. for Muslims as against 25.44 per cent. for Hindus which again seems to suggest infiltration. The high growth rate of Muslims in Punjab is not of much significance as they are only a small group there. With the gradual restoration of normal conditions with the passage of time after Partition, some more may have returned to their households.

The Muslim growth rate in the different States is generally higher than that of the Hindus by 3-4 points. All-India difference is 5.4 points but it will come down within the above limit, if infiltration of Muslims in the problem States is scraped off. The most relevant point is that the growth rate of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa, the States surrounding the four affected States and for other districts of Bihar, was around 20 and above the Hindu growth rate by 3-4 points. In the next adjoining State Madhya Pradesh, the Muslim growth rate was 25.45 as against 23.14 for Hindus. Since the figures show that the regional peculiarities of growth rate and differentials were maintained in the surrounding States, the extra Muslims in the affected States could have come from East Pakistan only. The extra Hindus also came from the same country, which seem to be established by the extremely low growth rate of Hindus and Scheduled Castes.

(3.4) The case of Bihar requires a little more detailed discussion. The growth rate of Hindus in the State was 19 per cent. as against 20.1 per cent. in the rest of the districts excluding the abnormal four. The growth rate of Muslims in the rest of the districts was only 19.1 per cent. If a differential of 3-4 points is to be maintained, this growth rate is lower than the expected, which may be taken at 23 per cent. Applying this expected rate to the Muslim population in Bihar in 1961 their expected population in 1961 comes out to be 53.79 lakhs, leaving 4.06 lakhs as due to immigration from outside the State. The percentage growth rate of Muslims in the districts of Bihar adjoining these four high growth districts was also quite high being 29.8 for

Bhagalpur, 25.2 for Ranchi, 24.4 for Dhanbad, 21.2 for Darbhanga, 18.2 for Palamau, 13.2 for Gaya. Only the last 2 suggest some possibility of depletion due to outmigration of Muslims. As shown on page xxvi of the Census of India Paper No. 1 of 1963 on 'Religion', out of 17 districts 9 recorded growth rates of Muslims well over 25 per cent. In the districts of Dhanbad, Darbhanga, Shahabad and Palamau their growth rate was around 20 Only Saran and Gaya showed a growth rate of about 12. Singbhum had a very small increase of 1.2 per cent. and Patna showed a decline of 11.2 per cent. Singbhum even in 1951 had only a small population of Muslims Growth rates of Muslims in the individual district do not lend much support to the suggestion that Muslims may have conglomerated to the 4 districts of high growth by immigration. On the basis of 23 per cent. growth rate in the 13 districts, their Muslim population in 1961 comes to 39.07 lakhs, which exceeds the enumerated population by 1.24 lakhs. They are then the Muslim inmigrants to the 4 districts from the rest of Bihar. Deducting this number from the Muslim population of these 4 districts, the Muslim growth rate still remains at 57.0 per cent. which is too high. Allowing for 23 per cent. growth rate for these districts as well, an estimate of 4.06 lakhs due to infiltration of Muslims is obtained.

(3.5) The entire zone comprising East Pakistan, Assam, West Bengal, Tripura and Manipur had a population of 78.28 millions in 1951 and 99.56 in 1961. It may be relevant to note here that in this zone in 1961 out of a total of 50.9 million Muslims, 40.9 were in East Pakistan and out of 46.1 million Hindus 27.5 were in West Bengal, only 9.4 millions being in East Pakistan. Thus, in so far as Muslims are concerned, their growth rate in East Pakistan determines the growth rate of the zone. Similarly, the growth rate of the Hindus in the zone is determined mainly by Indian side of the zone and more particularly by West Bengal. Treating East Pakistan as a closed area without any migration, the total inmigration to the zone from the rest of India and other countries during 1951-61 based on birth-place statistics of Indian Census was as follows:

West Bengal	94,187
Assam	5,137
Tripura . . .	3,286
Manipur . . .	4,906
	107,516

The rate of natural increase of the zone was 27 per cent. Birth place statistics are not available by religion and hence the total inmigration to the zone may be apportioned between Hindus and Muslims in the ratio of their zonal population, taking 81,115 for Hindus, 22,132 for Muslims and the rest for others. The rate of natural increase of Hindus and Muslims in the zone works out to 25.5 and 28 8 respectively. These rates are more reliable amongst the available approximations to the true levels of growth rates of the zone, as they are not affected by the unrecorded migration between the States in the zone. If an outmigration of 4.06 lakh Muslims to Bihar as estimated in para. 3.4 is assumed, the growth rate of Muslims in the zone will be 30 0 giving an overall growth rate of the zone to be 27.6. These growth rates are very much in tune with the growth rates observed in West Pakistan and are quite near those registered by other States of India, which had a high rate of growth. For instance, Gujarat recorded a growth rate of 26.7 per cent., Punjab 25.9, Kerala 24.8 and so on.

(3.6) The recorded rates of 27.3 and 26.9 for Muslims in West and East Pakistan are consistent but if East Pakistan rate is accepted as correct, the large Muslim emigration in India, of which there is no doubt, remains unexplained. On the other hand, a growth rate of 30.0 for Muslims is abnormal in the known circumstances at present. In so far as our immediate problem of estimating the rate of natural increase in the States of India is concerned, it is all the same whether the population increased through unrecorded inmigration or other causes. It seems that the highest growth rate contemporarily recorded for Muslims may be taken to be the natural growth rate of Indian Muslims too. This highest is 27.3 per cent. recorded in West Pakistan and accordingly rate of natural increase of Muslims for estimating natural Muslim population in Assam, West Bengal, Tri-

pura and Manipur in 1961 may be taken as 27.3 per cent. The balance of the enumerated population duly adjusted for migration outside the zone will give the immigration of Muslims from Pakistan.

The zonal rate of natural increase of 25.5 for the Hindus seems to be reasonable, when seen against the rate of 25.9 in West Pakistan The general level for Hindus in Indian States of high growth rate is 23 or below. Rajasthan recorded 25.4. It is safer to err on the higher side and take 25.5 as the growth rate for Hindus in the zone.

On the basis of the above growth rates for Hindus and Muslims, the recorded and unrecorded immigration of Hindus and Muslims from Pakistan works out as follows:

(In Thousands)

State	Enumerated population less recorded migrants excluding those from Pakistan				Natural Population 1961 (Estimated)		Immigration	
	Hindus		Muslims		Hindus (25.5% increase)	Muslims (27.3% increase)	Hindus	Muslims
	1951	1961	1951	1961			2—5	4—6
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Assam	5,886	7,882	1,996	2,765	7,387	2,541	495	224
West Bengal	20,751	27,451	5,118	6,966	26,043	6,516	1,408	450
Tripura	481	863	137	230	603	174	265	56
Manipur	347	475	37	47	436	48	37	..
Bihar (four districts)	..		1,197	2,003	..	.	.	406*
						Total	2,207	1,136

*As estimated in para (3.4)

(3.7) Adding these estimates of inmigration to the 1961 population of East Pakistan, the growth rates come out as follows:

	Per cent.
General	29.2
Muslims	30.4
Hindus including Scheduled Castes	25.4

The figures seem to be reasonably acceptable in the circumstances of the case.

4. Muslims in Rajasthan recorded a percentage increase of 32.6 as against 25.4 for Hindus. It seems reasonable to take the correct rate of increase to be not more than 27.3 as shown by the Muslims in West Bengal. The highest rate of increase of Muslims in India was recorded in Kerala at 27.5. Allowing for this rate of increase of Muslims in Rajasthan, it seems that Rajasthan may have gained to the tune of 50,774 on account of infiltration of Muslims from Western Pakistan. Census Paper on Religion on p. xxii gives instances of border districts, which show an abnormal growth rate of Muslims.

5. The following table shows the estimated infiltration from Pakistan against the recorded figures of fresh, immigrants from Pakistan, as obtained in this note on very conservative basis.

(In Lakhs)

	Estimated	Recorded
Assam	7.19	—0.58
West Bengal	18.58	4.50
Tripura	3.21	1.85
Manipur	0.39	0.02
Bihar (four districts)	4.06	—0.07
Rajasthan	0.51	0.02
	33.94	5.74

NET MIGRATION RATE

	State	$(I_2—E_2)$ $(I_1—E_1)$	Net Migration rate	Exponential Growth rate	Adjusted Growth rate
	1	2	3	4	5
1	Andhra Pradesh	18,609	0·06	14·5	14·48
2	Assam	822,638	7·95	29·6	22·42
3	Bihar	358,904	+0·84	18·1	17·27
4	Gujarat	324,474	1·76	23·8	22·22
5	Kerala	—119,974	—0·79	22·1	22·71
6	Madhya Pradesh	524,964	1·80	21·7	20·01
7	Madras	—412,288	—1·29	11·2	12·41
8	Maharashtra	—94,479	—0·26	21·2	21·42
9	Mysore	35,608	0·17	19·5	19·38
10	Orissa	108,012	0·67	18·1	17·47
11	Punjab	—576,950	—3·17	23·0	25·00
12	Rajasthan	—9,854	—0·05	23·3	23·32
13	Uttar Pradesh	—868,849	—1·27	15.4	16·58
14	West Bengal	2,022,988	6·61	23·4	22·40
15	All-India	3,137,787	0·79	19·5	18·90

CHAPTER VI

AGE, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

1. Age and sex are two very important characteristics studied in any Census. With the gradual growth of economic and social planning, these characteristics play a more prominent role in studying the socio-economic condition of the people.

2. Regarding age, the instructions given to the enumerators in the 1961 Census were:

> "Write age in years completed last birth-day. For infants below one year of age, write 'O'. You will find many persons who cannot state their age correctly. You should assist them to state correct age. If you are not able to elicit correct age directly, you should stimulate their memory by referring to historical incidents or religious events etc. You may use any local calendar of such events that may have been prepared for the purpose."

3. In the 1951 Census the following instructions were issued regarding age:

> "Write the age last birth-day, *i.e.*, the actual number of completed years. For infants below one year, write 'O'. This is an important question but many persons, specially in the villages or those who are old or illiterate, are likely to find it difficult to state their age correctly or even approximately. You should assist them in recording their correct age. If you are not able to elicit the correct age directly, you should get at it by referring to some important events that are remembered by all, *e.g.*, Assam Earthquake of 1897, the Great War in 1914, August Movement of 1942, a heavy flood in the area in the past, the last Resettlement Operations etc.
>
> First ask 'What is your age?'. After any reply, say 27 years, always put a second question—'So you have completed 27 years and are you now in your 28th year?'. If the answer is 'Yes', then write 27 years if the reply is 'No' write 26 years. This will avoid many wrong entries for 'running' age, *i.e.*, age next-birth-day."

4. Thus the difinition of age is practically the same in both the 1961 & 1951 census.

5. *Accuracy or Inaccuracy of Age Returns.*—Due to ignorance and illiteracy, many people in India, especially in rural areas, do not know their exact age. But in almost every region, there is a calendar of important events with reference to which the age of individuals can be ascertained. According to the instructions in the Census, the returns to the questionnaire should be collected by the enumerator from the head of the household or any senior member of the family. Recent experience, however, shows that the most intelligent or the most educated member of the family generally gives the replies. Although literacy is still only 27.4 per cent. in Assam, against the all-India figure of 24.0 per cent., in many households, there is at least one literate member. Moreover, due to greater realization among the people that the Census data are confidential and cannot be used against them for the purpose of getting any advantage, the age returns have become more accurate. There is also the universal tendency for people below 50 or so to understate their age, while people over 50 overstate their age. Understatements and overstatements therefore have a tendency to cancel each other out, although the net balance is still more on the side of the understatement because less people live beyond 50. There are also many people in India who are generally unaware of their own age, let alone the ages of other members of the household. In such cases, the age data are largely guess work of either the informant or the enumerator, and more often of the latter who has to estimate the age of not only those whom he sees, but also the age of those whom he never sees.

6. During the pretest as well during the enumeration, it was found that quite a number of people could not answer anything about their age. Some even went to the extent of asking the enumerator to record their age according to his own estimate. In some instances, the recording of age is not without its lighter vein. In the Khasi village of

Mairang, one very old villager claimed that he was 300 years old and insisted that this should be recorded in the Census slip. In other instances again, comparatively elderly women mentioned their ages as if they were young girls. But such instances are only exceptions and do not practically affect the overall value of the Census data.

7. I reproduce below an extract from the Census of India Paper No. 2 of 1963—Age Tables on Age biases—

> "Biases in census age returns are present even in the case of statistically advanced countries; but they are of a moderate degree and do not affect their usability so seriously, as in the case of countries like India. They are generally due to (i) ignorance of age, (ii) deliberate mis-statement, (iii) omission in enumeration, (iv) failure to reckon precise age due to the misunderstanding of the question, and (v) the manner of obtaining information from the informant. In India where there is mass illiteracy, people are ignorant of their own age. Except among a highly sophisticated minority, there is no system of celebrating birthdays and there are only infrequent occasions, if at all there are, when one is reminded of his own and his relation's age. That being the case about one's age, knowledge of the age of other members of the household is very poor indeed. It is against this background that the Census enumerator (or for the matter of that any investigator in a sample survey) approaches the available elderly member of the household to give his own age and that of other members. To help in fixing age in case an informant is unable to give it, the enumerator refers him to a calendar of important well-known local events. The age is determined by the earliest event, which was witnessed by the person. Possibly he contacts the head of the household in most cases, but there is no such instruction to the enumerator that he must contact the head. The enumerator is not required, for obvious reasons, to establish personal contact with each member of the household at the time of his visit. If he were to do so, gross mis-statements on account of secondhand reporting might be avoided. However, in view of general ignorance of age, the age return would still fall much below the level of accuracy of the age returns of advanced countries. The point is that, by and large, age recorded by the Census and any field survey represents, at best, an estimate of the informant within the limitations of mass illiteracy and general ignorance of precise age".

8 *Preference for certain digits.*—Regarding the preference of certain digits, Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, Actuary to the Government of India, in his 'Report on the Age Distribution and Rates of Mortality deduced from the Indian Census Returns of 1921 and previous enumerations' writes:

> "If an enumerator had to guess the ages of a lot of old men about 80, he would enter most as aged 60; 70; 75; 85; 90; 100 or possibly even 120.* It would be absurd if we were to guess many as aged 77; 79; 81; 83 etc. At the youngest ages, say under 8, there is little preference shown for any particular age other than 5. At ages between 8 and 24 the preference is for even numbers and for age 15. Any one guessing the age of children aged above 10 would unconsciously enter more at 8; 10; 12 etc., than 7; 9; 11; 13 etc At ages 20 and over, the largest numbers are found at each of the decennial ages. In this way '0' is a much more popular digit. The next most popular digit is 5".

9. Mr. Bowman in his Census Report of 1951 (Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch) remarked:

> "The single year age returns in both 1941 and 1951 reveal the overwhelming extent to which age was returned at the census in terms of the nearest five years, particularly after the age of twenty. This tendency to round off ages is comprehensible because recollection tends to fade with increasing years and birthdays have no special significance for most people. It does not matter what a man's exact age is so long as he can be assigned to one or other of life's chief periods —childhood or adolescence, the adult, middle period or old age to each of

which Hindu social custom assigns specific duties."

10. What is true for India or Bombay is also true for Assam. Thus all the Census Actuaries who studied the Indian age data have come to the conclusion that data are subjected to gross errors and 'an investigation into the errors in age statement in India is a study of idiosyncracy'.

11. In addition to the above observations of age biases, the inaccuracy of such age returns is far greater in the case of females due mostly to deliberate understatement. Shri R. B. Vaghaiwalla in his Census Report of 1951 remarked, "For example, the father of an unmarried Hindu girl of 15 would generally return her age as 12 as he would see no reason to advertise a matter which was probably causing him a certain amount of concern". I may add that females generally understate their age if below 50 and that they overstate their age if over 50.

12. *Sex.*—Question No. 13 of the 1961 enumeration slip relates to sex. The instruction given on this question was: "Write 'M' for Males and 'F' for Females. For eunuchs and hermaphrodites, write 'M'". This being the easiest question in the census slip, answers are cent per cent. accurate and complete.

13. *Marital Status.*—Regarding marital status, the instructions given to the enumerators were:

"For a person who has never been married write 'NM'. For a person married whether for the first time or another time, write 'M'. Write 'M' also for persons who are recognised by custom or society as married and for persons in stable *de facto* union. Even if a marriage is disputed in the locality write 'M' if the person concerned says he or she is married or in stable *de facto* union. For a widowed person whose husband or wife is dead and who has not been married, write 'W'. For a person who has been divorced in a lawful manner, either by a decree of a law court or by a regular social or religious custom but who has not remarried, or a person who has been separated from wife or husband and is living apart with no apparent intention of living together again, write 'S'. For a prostitute return her marital status as declared by her."

14. *Mis-statement of Age.*—Before going into the details of marital status, let us discuss about the mis-statement of age. I have already discussed about the digital preference in the preceding paragraphs. The Myer's Index for Assam as prepared by Mr. S. P. Jain, Deputy Registrar General, for 1951 and 1961 to study the digital preference is given below.

Myer's Index for digital preference 1961

TABLE 6.1

Digit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Males . .	4.3	1.1	1.7	1.0	1.1	3.8	1.0	1.3	1.9
Females . .	5.2	1.2	1.9	1.0	1.2	4.8	1.4	1.3	1.9

15. If there were no preference for any digit the ratio should have been nearly unity for all digits. But the above table shows overwhelming preference for digits 0 and 5. Next digits preferred are 8 and 2. There is not much special preference to other digits.

16. The following table shows Myer's Index for 1951 figures:

TABLE 6.2

Digit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Males . .	5.4	0.9	2.1	1.0	1.2	4.2	1.4	1.3	2.2
Females . .	7.0	1.1	2.5	1.2	1.5	5.2	1.6	1.5	2.6

The above table shows that by and large the nature of digital preference has not much changed from 1951, but the lowering down of preferences for 0's and 5's does indicate that people are now more conscious about their correct ages.

17. The blended percentages at each digit 0-9 for 1961 are given in the following table:

TABLE 6.3

Digit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Males	23.0	6.1	9.3	5.5	5.8	20.5	7.6	6.8	10.0	5.4
Females	25.2	5.8	9.0	5.1	5.9	21.4	7.0	6.3	9.3	4.9

18. It is clear from the above table that more than 40 per cent. of the persons have returned their ages in digits ending 0 to 5 as

against an expected percentage of 20. It is also seen that the reporting in the case of females is worse than that of males. The next preferred digit is 2 and 8 followed by 6 and 7. Preference for digit 3 is appreciably low.

19. The above digital preference is shown as a whole in a specific way, but it is not the same for each decennial age segment. The preference for zero becomes larger and larger as the age increases. The preference for 5 also shows an increasing trend which is lower in degree than zero. But one peculiar feature of age 15 is that it has comparatively much less people than the neighbouring ages like 12, 14, 16 and 18.

20. Let us now see the pattern of distribution in ages 0-4 and 5-9 as infants and children of these ages are generally missed not only in our country but even in some advanced countries too. Representing children aged 0-4 by single years of age as a percentage of the total aged 0-4 by sex, we can have an idea about the misreporting or under-reporting at these ages. Had the reporting been correct the percentage would have been the highest at age 0 and least at age 4.

21. The respective percentages for males and females with the sex ratios are given below:

TABLE 6.4

Age	0	1	2	3	4	0—4
Males . .	18.5	18.0	21.2	20.8	21.5	100.0
Females . .	18.3	18.1	20.9	21.6	21.1	100.0
Sex ratio .	1020	1042	1024	1076	1016	1036

22. From the above table it is seen that children aged 1 are the most missed or misreported followed by age 0; otherwise the proportion should have been more in these two ages rather than the other three. From the sex ratio, it appears that under-reporting of infant males is comparatively quite significant. In the age-group 5-9 also the same phenomenon occurs.

23. *Age Pyramid*—The 'age pyramid' diagrams as prepared from the unsmoothed age returns are given in this section for Total, Rural and Urban population separately. The whole population has been divided into five broad classes, *viz.*, (i) infants and young children, (ii) boys/girls, (iii) young men/women, (iv) middle aged men/women and (v) elderly men/women. The age-groups considered for the above classes are respectively 0-4, 5-14, 15-34, 35-54 and 55 and above.

24. It is seen that the bottom slabs of the pyramids are half as broad as all other slabs above them, because they stand for infants and young children of 0-4 years, *i.e.*, five year age-groups. The other slabs are twice as broad as the bottom slabs as they stand for 10 year age-groups, except of course the topmost slab which represents all those above 75 years.

25. What do these slabs represent? We may notice that the length of every higher slab is smaller than the lower one. In the whole State, infants and young children are quite high being 15.7 per cent. for males and 18 6 per cent. for females. Such percentages for urban areas are comparatively low at 14.8 for males and 16.2 in respect of females. The low figures for males in the urban areas are mainly due to high rate of migration of adult male persons who come mainly for higher study and employment. Similarly from the age pyramids we can see that the middle aged and elderly persons are very few in Assam in comparison with boys and young men. The rural and urban areas also show similar type of proportion in different age-groups.

26. From these diagrams we have noticed that the base of the pyramids is very broad. This indicates that even if an average married couple has sufficient resource, the same resource has to be distributed among a large number of non-earners. In Assam, as well as in India, the average income of a family is very limited and the parents can hardly give the bare necessity of life to their children.

27. Diagrams 30 and 31 are prepared for 1951 and 1961 to show the relative age distribution in these two Censuses. The decennial age-groups are shown in the middle. The last age-group however represents the population above 60 years. The percentage of population to the total population of each sex is shown at the end of each slab.

28. These age pyramids clearly indicate that the percentage of children below 10 years has increased considerably during the last de-

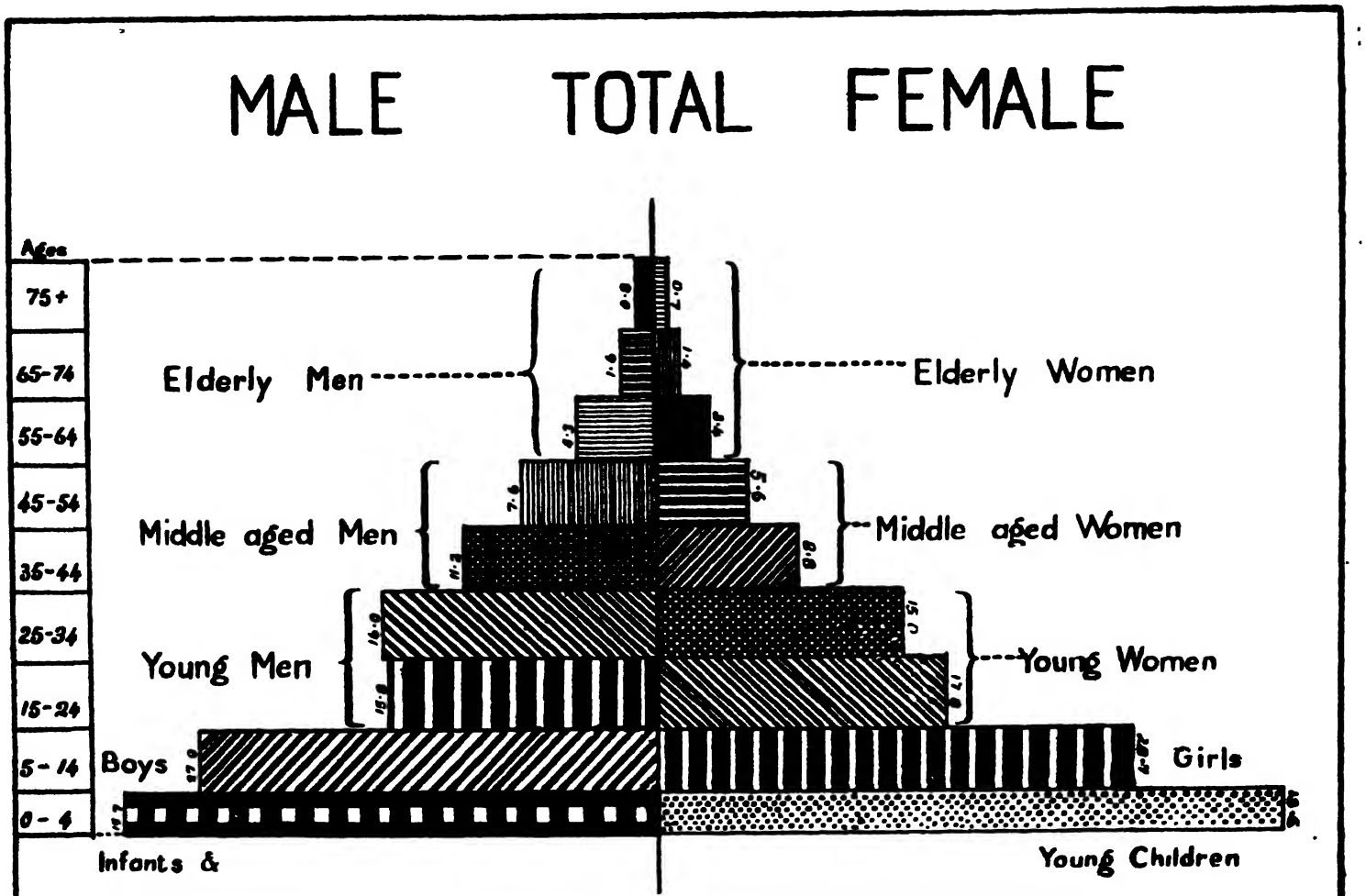

Fig. 27. ASSAM 1961

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cade which means further strain on the average family of the State.

Age and sex Ratio

29. From the simple theory of probability, people would expect to find an almost equal number of males and females as the size of the population is quite large. In other words, the sex ratio should be round about 1,000 if by sex ratio is meant 'the number of females per 1,000 males'. But from the actual Census figures, we get a different picture in different areas of the State.

30. Table 6.5 shows the sex ratio and proportion of persons in different age groups in different States of India and a few foreign countries.

Females per 1,000 males and proportion of persons of each sex in the age groups 0-14, 15-49 and 50+ expressed as per cent of the total population of each sex, in the latest census

TABLE 6·5

Country	Females per 1000 males	Population of each sex in age groups expressed as per cent of total population of these sex							
		0-14		15-49		50+		Age not stated	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALL INDIA	941	40·92 *	41·14 *	47·20 *	47·13 *	11·84 *	11·69 *	0·04 *	0·04 *
Andhra Pradesh	981	39·52	39·56	47·59	47·64	12·88	12·79	0·01	0·01
Assam	876	42·70	47·23	46·93	44·42	10·29	8·29	0·08	0·06
Bihar	994	43·40	41·20	45·36	46·79	11·21	11·99	0·03	0·02
Gujarat	940	43·22	42·51	46·51	46·80	10·24	10·66	0·03	0·03
Jammu and Kashmir	878	39·46	41·94	48·90	48·98	11·45	8·87	0·19	0·21
Kerala	1,022	43·61	41·66	44·75	46·41	11·61	11·91	0·03	0·02
Madhya Pradesh	953	40·93	40·67	48·23	47·65	10·79	11·63	0·05	0·05
Madras	992	37·75	37·46	49·56	50·25	12·68	12·28	0·01	0·01
Maharashtra	936	40·18	41·15	48·66	47·70	11·12	11·11	0·04	0·04
Mysore	959	41·48	42·82	46·67	45·72	11·80	11·42	0·05	0·04
Orissa	1,001	39·30	38·83	48·45	48·20	12·17	12·89	0·08	0·08
Punjab	864	42·92	44·27	43·48	44·66	13·55	11·02	0·05	0·05
Rajasthan	908	42·59	42·67	46·04	46·43	11·29	10·82	0·08	0·08
Uttar Pradesh	909	40·62	40·32	46·24	47·11	13·09	12·53	0·05	0·04
West Bengal	878	39·21	42·86	50·00	46·13	10·76	10·98	0·03	0·03
A. & N. Islands	617	29·81	46·75	63·15	47·08	7·04	6·17	..	..
Delhi	785	38·06	43·56	52·66	47·96	9·25	8·45	0·03	0·03
Himachal Pradesh	923	37·16	39·06	47·13	48·26	15·68	12·66	0·03	0·02
L. M. & A. Islands	1,020	42·76	39·08	45·89	49·92	11·35	10·98	..	0·02
Manipur	1,015	43·84	42·42	44·84	45·79	11·11	11·57	0·21	0·22
Tripura	932	42·12	43·67	46·11	46·24	11·76	10·08	0·01	0·01
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	963	43·41	43·95	46·93	46·92	9·62	9·04	0·04	0·09
Goa, Daman & Diu	1,071	39·23	35·41	47·00	46·96	13·77	17·63	0·00	0·00
N. E. F. A.*	894	12·40	37·29	84·17	57·71	2·51	4·67	0·92	0·33
Nagaland	933	37·90	39·54	49·29	48·68	12·69	11·60	0·12	0·18
Pondicherry	1,013	37·04	36·29	48·41	49·73	14·54	13·96	0·01	0·02
Sikkim	904	37·99	41·24	51·32	48·44	10·59	10·23	0·10	0·09
U. S. A.	1,030	32·10	30·14	45·51	45·72	22·39	24·14	..	..
U. K.	1,068	24·19	21·57	48·22	45·24	27·99	33·19	..	..
France	1,085	26·80	24·42	46·52	42·63	26·68	32·95	..	..
Japan	1,036	31·14	28·94	52·18	53·07	16·68	17·99	..	..

*The classification of 297,852 persons (M 147,100 & F 150,753) of N. E. F. A. into various age groups is not available. Therefore, the figures have not been taken into account while working out the distribution into various age groups for N. E. F. A. and India.

31. While the preponderance of males is seen almost in all the major States of India except Kerela and Orissa; in contrast, all the four major foreign countries show a high proportion of females over males.

32. In Assam, the sex ratio is the lowest in India except the Punjab. This low sex ratio may be partly due to the huge number of migrants coming into the State as the sex ratio of the people born within the State is 915 against the overall ratio of 876.

33. From the age-groupwise sex ratio in the State as shown in the graph below, it is seen that while the sex ratio is higher in the case of infants and children below 5 years, the same goes down in the higher age groups except in the case of age-group 20-24. This peculiarity of sex ratio suggests that mortality among females increases as the years pass, but it begins to improve slightly after the age of 60 and above.

34. We can now draw the following conclusions:

(a) As the reliable data on registration of births and deaths are not available for Assam, the Census age data show that the females are in excess of males at birth and so there is perhaps not much irregularity of excess of one sex over another at birth.

(b) The excess of males over females as a whole is perhaps mainly due to the higher mortality rate among women during the reproduction age, and this gap becomes so wide that it cannot be made up even though their rate of survival appears to be slightly better in old age.

(c) The low sex ratio (621) of the migrants also upsets the State's overall sex ratio to a considerable extent.

35. In the previous Census Reports, this subject of low sex ratio in Assam was discussed in detail. In 1951, Mr. R. B. Vaghaiwalla wrote:

"Personally I have no doubt that early marriages and lack of proper parental attention and care are mainly responsible for the low proportion of females to males in the natural population of Assam. It is one of the commonest experience of any Indian child to hear from the mouth of his or her parents, even when they belong to very advanced and civilised castes or communities, how the birth of a son is always more welcome than the birth of a daughter. The neglect of girls at childhood is even now prevalent."

36. I regret that I cannot fully agree with what Mr. Vaghaiwalla wrote in his 1951 Report. If we look to the sex of children in the age-group 0-9 we see a completely different picture. From the 1961 age data, it is seen that the sex ratio for this age group is as high as 1,013. If the girls are neglected in childhood, how can there be more girls than boys in this age group? Even if a girl is not very much welcome, the parents cannot allow their daughter to die due to their carelessness which is proved by the above figures. Moreover, if it is argued that this high sex ratio is due mainly to more understatement of age in the case of females, I can safely say that such understatement is quite negligible in the age group 0.9. Thus the low sex ratio in the higher age groups suggests that death in the child-bearing period among females is still very high and this is one of the main factors why the sex ratio is so low in Assam.

37. Let us now assess the sex ratio in different districts of the State. The following is table 6.6 showing the distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex by age groups and the number of females per 1,000 males in each age group in the State and its districts, 1961. Under each age—

(*a*) denotes ratio of males in that age-group to total of 1,000 males in all age-groups together;

(*b*) denotes ratio of females in each age-group to total of 1,000 females in all age-groups together;

(*c*) denotes the number of females per 1,000 males (sex ratio) in each age-group.

38. The table below gives a clear indication that sex ratio is quite high in the early period in all the districts of the State. The decline is however in varying degrees in different districts. Lakhimpur district which has the lowest sex ratio of 831 shows a decline from age 4 and above this low rate continues

in the higher age group with slight variation which never improves. This downward trend in sex ratio starts from the age-group 10-14 in the Kamrup and Sibsagar districts; while in Goalpara, Darrang, Nowgong and United Mikir and North Cachar Hills districts, it begins from the age-group 25-29, and in the remaining districts of Cachar, Garo and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, it shows a decline from the age-group 30-34. The Mizo Hills, the only district whose overall sex ratio is 1.009, does not show any wide variation in any age-group Such slight fluctuations may be partly due to the use of ungraduated age-data in this analysis, as mis-statement of ages in different sex in different districts may vary.

Distribution of 1,000 persons or each sex by age-groups and number of females

Under each age : (a) denotes ratio of males in that age-group to total of
(b) ratio of females in each group to total of 1,000
(c) number of females per 1,000 males in each age-

TABLE

Age-Groups		Assam			Goalpara			Kamrup		
1		Total 2	Rural 3	Urban 4	Total 5	Rural 6	Urban 7	Total 8	Rural 9	Urban 10
0	(a)	29	30	21	32	33	22	31	32	19
	(b)	34	34	29	38	39	23	33	34	27
	(c)	1,020	1,027	917	1,053	1,068	763	924	928	877
1	(a)	28	29	18	33	33	22	28	31	13
	(b)	34	34	28	36	36	26	34	34	31
	(c)	1,042	1,041	1,059	987	993	881	1,018	992	1,470
2	(a)	33	34	22	36	38	22	34	36	22
	(b)	39	39	32	42	42	36	40	41	36
	(c)	1,024	1,027	978	1,032	1,024	1,190	1,013	1,015	983
3	(a)	33	34	21	36	37	23	33	34	20
	(b)	40	41	36	43	44	28	42	42	38
	(c)	1,076	1,072	1,128	1,088	1,098	876	1,106	1,104	1,133
4	(a)	34	35	25	36	36	30	35	36	29
	(b)	39	39	37	42	40	69	40	41	35
	(c)	1,016	1,016	1,019	1,062	1,021	1,695	993	1,023	729
5—9	(a)	155	158	124	162	165	127	161	167	116
	(b)	175	175	168	175	175	173	184	186	164
	(c)	991	996	918	973	972	982	983	995	859
10—14	(a)	115	116	104	104	104	105	113	117	87
	(b)	112	110	135	98	96	124	112	110	130
	(c)	849	847	876	847	846	859	849	843	899
15—19	(a)	80	78	98	77	76	89	79	77	92
	(b)	88	88	98	85	85	94	81	79	102
	(c)	968	1,001	681	995	1,017	761	886	920	671
20—24	(a)	78	74	118	71	69	96	79	71	140
	(b)	90	89	97	91	91	87	86	84	100
	(c)	1,012	1,081	555	1,154	1,208	659	927	1,064	432
25—29	(a)	87	85	111	86	85	95	85	79	127
	(b)	85	85	86	87	88	74	83	82	86
	(c)	857	898	527	906	936	569	839	936	409
30—34	(a)	73	71	89	72	72	83	72	68	97
	(b)	65	65	69	63	63	69	63	63	65
	(c)	786	817	523	784	800	603	758	828	406
35—39	(a)	62	62	69	66	66	70	62	62	68
	(b)	48	49	43	47	48	41	48	49	42
	(c)	677	703	425	642	660	430	664	708	377
40—44	(a)	50	49	55	50	49	59	48	47	52
	(b)	39	40	38	39	39	40	39	40	38
	(c)	693	716	473	703	723	89	709	749	446
45—49	(a)	40	39	39	41	40	46	39	39	37
	(b)	28	28	26	28	28	26	27	27	27
	(c)	622	638	450	622	642	105	588	606	445
50—54	(a)	36	37	35	33	32	47	36	37	33
	(b)	28	28	26	28	28	29	31	31	28
	(c)	681	697	502	752	787	447	721	747	514
55—59	(a)	21	22	18	20	19	26	21	21	21
	(b)	15	15	13	15	15	15	16	16	15
	(c)	625	637	475	694	723	419	654	685	435
60—64	(a)	21	22	15	20	20	18	20	21	13
	(b)	19	19	17	19	19	19	20	20	16
	(c)	768	770	737	849	856	753	850	860	743
65—69	(a)	8	8	6	8	8	8	7	7	5
	(b)	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	6	7
	(c)	720	715	801	784	796	638	809	803	871
70+	(a)	16	16	11	16	17	12	16	17	9
	(b)	14	14	14	16	16	20	14	14	13
	(c)	779	771	907	913	900	1,139	736	722	927
Age not stated	(a)	1	1	1	1	1	N	1	1	N
	(b)	1	1	1	1	1	N	1	1	N
	(c)	645	635	830	813	815	778	769	766	837
Total	(a)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	(b)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	(c)	876	895	677	900	913	725	859	894	607

N.B.—'N' means 'negligible.'

per 1,000 males in each age-group in the State and districts, 1961.

1,000 males in all age-groups together.
females in all age-groups together.
group.

6·6

Darrang			Lakhimpur			Nowgong				Age Groups
Total 11	Rural 12	Urban 13	Total 14	Rural 15	Urban 16	Total 17	Rural 18	Urban 19		1
31	32	20	31	33	19	27	27	24	(a)	0
37	37	29	35	36	32	35	35	36	(b)	
1,014	1,017	907	943	935	1 058	1 137	1 144	1 018	(c)	
30	30	21	30	31	20	27	28	22	(a)	1
32	32	27	36	40	23	36	37	27	(b)	
926	929	823	1,088	1,115	731	1,167	1,187	868	(c)	
33	33	22	33	34	23	36	37	26	(a)	2
39	39	36	39	40	30	42	42	37	(b)	
1,018	1,017	1,018	981	996	804	1 019	1,020	996	(c)	
33	34	23	32	33	25	35	35	26	(a)	3
42	42	33	42	42	43	41	41	41	(b)	
1,085	1,091	896	1,090	1,090	1,085	1,010	1,029	1 106	(c)	
33	33	22	36	38	23	35	36	28	(a)	4
40	41	32	40	40	37	41	41	38	(b)	
1,055	1,060	877	906	899	999	1,009	1,011	979	(c)	
149	150	113	152	154	132	169	172	126	(a)	5—9
174	173	189	172	172	174	195	196	181	(b)	
1,000	999	1,036	946	958	832	1,010	1,014	942	(c)	
112	113	104	111	112	100	110	110	103	(a)	10—14
113	112	145	117	115	148	105	104	124	(b)	
865	885	861	880	874	937	841	840	897	(c)	
75	74	98	79	77	94	74	73	91	(a)	15—19
86	86	91	94	93	97	85	85	87	(b)	
984	1,009	574	988	1,038	650	999	1,031	675	(c)	
75	74	108	83	80	107	74	72	103	(a)	20—24
89	89	95	92	92	91	88	88	90	(b)	
1,012	1,044	542	925	988	536	1,040	1 088	622	(c)	
91	90	112	94	92	111	86	85	104	(a)	25—29
88	88	87	84	84	88	83	83	86	(b)	
826	845	483	739	774	502	840	866	580	(c)	
76	75	90	75	72	96	69	68	83	(a)	30—34
67	67	66	62	61	73	62	62	68	(b)	
754	771	448	689	722	484	786	806	582	(c)	
66	66	74	61	59	73	61	60	72	(a)	35—39
48	48	39	50	50	43	44	44	45	(b)	
618	634	320	680	726	375	640	659	443	(c)	
54	53	60	53	52	59	50	49	60	(a)	40—44
40	40	37	38	39	35	38	38	36	(b)	
640	654	381	609	642	376	662	686	419	(c)	
40	40	43	37	37	42	37	37	38	(a)	45—49
27	27	23	26	26	22	25	25	25	(b)	
568	580	336	584	618	337	584	593	464	(c)	
38	38	39	34	35	33	36	36	34	(a)	50—54
28	28	24	21	21	20	27	27	26	(b)	
632	644	388	494	507	387	665	674	544	(c)	
22	23	16	21	22	15	22	23	15	(a)	55—59
14	14	11	16	16	11	14	14	12	(b)	
526	529	427	623	638	447	548	545	597	(c)	
21	21	18	19	20	15	24	24	16	(a)	60—64
18	18	16	17	17	15	17	17	19	(b)	
741	748	553	714	722	619	637	627	824	(c)	
8	8	6	7	7	4	9	9	6	(a)	65—69
6	7	6	6	6	5	6	5	7	(b)	
685	700	569	732	736	682	541	530	751	(c)	
13	13	11	12	12	9	18	18	13	(a)	70+
12	12	13	10	10	12	16	16	15	(b)	
748	749	744	725	712	872	786	783	839	(c)	
N	N	N	N	N	N	1	1	N	(a)	Age not stated
N	N	1	N	N	1	N	N	N	(b)	
1,432	1,472	833	784	764	1,382	289	275	857	(c)	
1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	(a)	Total
1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	(b)	
856	867	618	831	856	631	875	889	706	(c)	

N.B.—'N' means 'negligible'.

TABLE

Age-Groups		Sibsagar			Cachar			Garo Hills		
1		Total 20	Rural 21	Urban 22	Total 23	Rural 24	Urban 25	Total 26	Rural 27	Urban 28
0	(a)	25	26	13	27	26	34	30	31	23
	(b)	37	37	31	27	28	22	33	33	29
	(c)	1,260	1,252	1,527	935	979	520	1,043	1,049	803
1	(a)	25	26	17	24	25	14	28	28	24
	(b)	33	33	27	29	28	34	30	30	40
	(c)	1,130	1,136	971	1,062	1,023	1,927	1,023	1,022	1,053
2	(a)	30	31	18	32	33	18	35	35	23
	(b)	37	38	22	37	37	26	37	37	39
	(c)	1,054	1,065	754	1,056	1,052	1,152	1,031	1,026	1,081
3	(a)	29	29	21	33	34	13	36	36	22
	(b)	36	36	37	39	39	33	37	38	34
	(c)	1,100	1,100	1,100	1,079	1,049	2,063	1,006	1,007	975
4	(a)	30	30	20	34	35	15	34	34	24
	(b)	37	37	24	40	41	31	35	35	32
	(c)	1,074	1,086	772	1,084	1,064	1,676	978	981	860
5—9	(a)	143	144	111	156	157	143	148	151	80
	(b)	178	179	170	163	163	171	153	153	151
	(c)	1,082	1,087	963	949	948	957	993	989	1,200
10—14	(a)	142	144	117	115	113	140	105	105	98
	(b)	123	121	169	111	109	135	98	97	142
	(c)	749	741	905	875	886	771	901	900	923
15—19	(a)	88	86	131	81	81	91	83	82	131
	(b)	98	97	112	87	87	92	91	90	137
	(c)	955	995	534	971	986	808	1,048	1,070	666
20—24	(a)	82	79	133	75	73	100	64	61	131
	(b)	88	88	93	91	91	96	89	89	113
	(c)	929	980	439	1,102	1,139	771	1,342	1,403	555
25—29	(a)	87	86	106	78	78	90	81	80	110
	(b)	79	79	81	86	86	86	105	105	79
	(c)	785	809	476	995	1,016	772	1,245	1,283	461
30—34	(a)	67	66	82	71	70	81	82	81	98
	(b)	64	64	63	68	68	67	80	81	59
	(c)	826	852	484	867	886	662	940	963	388
35—39	(a)	61	61	61	61	60	63	63	63	67
	(b)	48	48	42	50	51	44	51	51	34
	(c)	681	697	425	756	771	565	777	794	324
40—44	(a)	46	45	52	50	50	53	56	56	50
	(b)	35	35	37	41	42	40	48	48	36
	(c)	663	678	455	753	766	601	820	832	452
45—59	(a)	45	46	35	41	41	42	38	38	41
	(b)	31	31	26	33	33	31	27	27	21
	(c)	592	598	459	733	745	587	673	686	333
50—54	(a)	33	33	35	41	41	39	41	42	33
	(b)	25	25	24	34	34	31	32	32	21
	(c)	638	651	432	740	748	632	737	747	394
55—59	(a)	22	23	15	24	24	22	17	17	15
	(b)	15	16	9	16	16	16	11	11	8
	(c)	598	607	370	613	615	587	623	632	333
60—64	(a)	20	20	15	25	25	19	28	29	14
	(b)	18	18	16	21	21	18	21	21	14
	(c)	762	765	698	753	751	786	708	709	636
65—69	(a)	10	10	6	10	11	8	8	8	5
	(b)	8	8	6	8	7	9	5	5	5
	(c)	715	719	600	661	645	941	653	653	655
70+	(a)	14	14	11	21	22	15	22	22	9
	(b)	10	10	9	19	19	18	16	16	6
	(c)	611	615	516	805	798	926	701	705	417
Age not stated	(a)	1	1	1	1	1	N	1	1	2
	(b)	N	N	2	N	N	N	1	1	N
	(c)	443	404	764	587	580	800	788	853	111
Total	(a)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	(b)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	(c)	865	879	626	908	917	802	980	972	639

N.B.—'N' means negligible.

6·6—concld

United Khasi-Jaintia Hills			United Mikir & North Cachar Hills				Mizo Hills			Age-Groups
Total 29	Rural 30	Urban 31	Total 32	Rural 33	Urban 34	Total 35	Rural 36	Urban 37		
31	34	24	30	29	31	18	1	[illegible]	(a)	0
35	36	33	28	28	43	16	16	31	(b)	
1 046	1 037	1 082	834	833	885	934	911	1,216	(c)	
27	29	21	29	29	[illegible]	28	[illegible]	28	(a)	1
30	31	27	33	33	28	6	[illegible]	34	(b)	
1,021	1 034	968	969	970	817	9 6	919	1 047	(c)	
29	31	24	35	35	20	38	38	25	(a)	2
31	31	30	41	41	34	33	33	31	(b)	
976	974	987	1 019	1 018	1 103	1 184	1 189	1 102	(c)	
29	31	20	33	33	21	36	36	28	(a)	3
31	31	31	40	40	28	33	33	29	(b)	
1 002	958	1 204	1 056	1 058	857	936	919	885	(c)	
29	30	25	33	33	20	33	33	27	(a)	4
30	30	31	38	38	44	[illegible]	33	30	(b)	
969	975	950	1 004	1 001	1 436	981	983	947	(c)	
138	145	118	114	144	119	153	152	140	(a)	5—9
150	151	145	160	160	167	157	157	153	(b)	
1 001	1 014	955	963	963	899	1 042	1 047	980	(c)	
119	124	106	94	93	102	145	147	114	(a)	10—14
122	123	119	95	95	135	140	141	125	(b)	
943	964	873	881	881	847	977	979	929	(c)	
90	84	107	76	76	104	85	84	100	(a)	15—19
92	88	105	89	89	99	94	94	98	(b)	
935	1 011	757	1 006	1 014	609	1 133	1 142	852	(c)	
91	78	128	79	79	132	81	78	122	(a)	20—24
101	97	115	93	93	109	92	93	98	(b)	
1 021	1 203	698	1 015	1 026	529	1 150	1 193	698	(c)	
95	88	115	99	98	128	80	79	96	(a)	25—29
93	92	98	97	97	84	85	85	87	(b)	
904	1 014	658	847	855	420	1 076	1 098	785	(c)	
76	74	82	82	82	100	75	74	86	(a)	30—34
68	66	75	74	74	65	69	68	79	(b)	
822	864	711	777	783	415	933	943	801	(c)	
66	64	71	63	63	60	52	52	53	(a)	35—39
51	52	46	48	48	52	48	48	49	(b)	
707	784	504	660	661	550	925	933	803	(c)	
52	53	51	53	53	36	41	41	47	(a)	40—44
44	45	43	44	44	30	43	43	39	(b)	
783	822	663	718	720	535	1 049	1 073	717	(c)	
39	40	35	35	35	31	33	33	31	(a)	45—49
33	35	28	27	26	29	27	27	22	(b)	
800	857	611	658	659	597	823	834	632	(c)	
34	36	28	40	40	33	33	33	27	(a)	50—54
31	33	25	32	32	10	33	33	29	(b)	
841	882	686	674	679	185	999	1 001	946	(c)	
17	18	15	18	18	19	19	20	14	(a)	55—59
15	16	11	14	14	17	18	18	14	(b)	
781	841	570	672	674	538	3	957	876	(c)	
18	20	15	27	27	8	23	24	15	(a)	60—64
19	19	16	20	21	11	22	22	20	(b)	
930	947	864	654	654	824	960	954	1 103	(c)	
7	7	5	6	7	3	15	15	8	(a)	65—69
8	8	8	5	5	4	10	10	11	(b)	
125	1,111	1,181	704	704	714	695	677	1,281	(c)	
12	13	10	23	24	10	23	23	15	(a)	70+
16	16	14	20	20	11	21	21	23	(b)	
1,193	1,216	1,098	731	731	700	918	903	1,291	(c)	
1	1	N	2	2	1	2	2	2	(a)	Age not stated
N	N	N	2	2	1	1	1	1	(b)	
598	583	680	856	857	500	566	562	643	(c)	
1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	(a)	Total
1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	(b)	
921	971	775	863	866	639	1,009	1,017	869	(c)	

N.B.—'N' means negligible.

39. So far as the proportion of persons of each sex to different age group in Assam is concerned, 31.2 per cent. of males out of the total males and 36.1 per cent. of females out of the total females are in the ages below 10 years and this pattern is more or less the same in all the districts of Assam. On the other hand, advanced countries like the U.S.A., U.K., France and Japan have less proportion of males and females even in the age-group 0-14. This portends higher proportion of non-earning children and probably higher birth rate in future for Assam.

40. Table 6.7 below shows the ratio of females to males in general at birth and at death, 1961. The figures of columns 3 and 4 have been calculated from the Reports on Vital Statistics of India 1960. As these figures are completely unreliable in respect of almost all the States, no useful conclusion can be made and this table is given only for the sake of completeness.

Ratio of females to males in the general population at births and at deaths, 1960

TABLE 6·7

States	Number of females per 1,000 males in the general population	Average number of female births to 1,000 male births during decade	Average number of female deaths to 1,000 male deaths during the decade
Andhra Pradesh	981	931	931
ASSAM . .	876	959	931
Bihar . .	994	902	808
Gujarat . .	940	901	932
Jammu and Kashmir	878	..	..
Kerala . .	1,022	936	941
Madhya Pradesh	953	933	922
Madras . .	992	931	992
Maharashtra .	936	938	930
Mysore . .	959	942	949
Orissa . .	1,001	932	929
Punjab . .	864	878	912
Rajasthan .	908	833	811
Uttar Pradesh	909	829	829
West Bengal .	878	924	851

41. *Sex Ratio in Successive Censuses.*— In earlier paragraphs, I have stated that migration played a very important role in lowering the sex ratio in Assam. Since the turn of the century, two large-scale migrations took place. Firstly, the importation of tea-garden labourers and secondly, the Muslim immigration from East Bengal. While the flow of the first type was greatly reduced during the last two decades, the second type was continuing with vigour up to the 1961 Census. After the partition, the displaced persons, mostly Hindus, also began to come in large numbers. Thus, in the districts where these three types of migrants had come in considerable numbers, the sex ratio of those districts fluctuated to a great extent from decade to decade.

42. The following is table 6.8 showing the sex ratio (number of females per 1,000 males) for the decades 1901-61 for the State and its different districts.

43. From the table below we find that the preponderance of males in the State is evident in all the previous decades although the sex ratio is gradually decreasing from 933 in 1901 to 876 in 1961.

44. The sex ratio in the Goalpara district is more or less static between 1911 and 1951; but in 1961 it shows an improvement. Those Hindu and Muslim migrants from East Pakistan who did not bring their families in previous decades might have brought them during the last decade as migrants from other parts have not gone with families to this district in any appreciable numbers.

45. The invasion of Kamrup district by the Muslims of East Bengal started from about 1911 and the sex ratio began to fall from that decade. Moreover, this gradual decline is also due partly to the number of migrants coming from other parts of the State and from other States of India to this district.

46. Darrang district is influenced by two types of migration. Firstly, the tea garden labourers and secondly the Muslim immigrants from East Bengal who began to come to this district during the last 20-25 years. The abrupt fall in sex ratio in 1931 may be due to the importation of male plantation labourers

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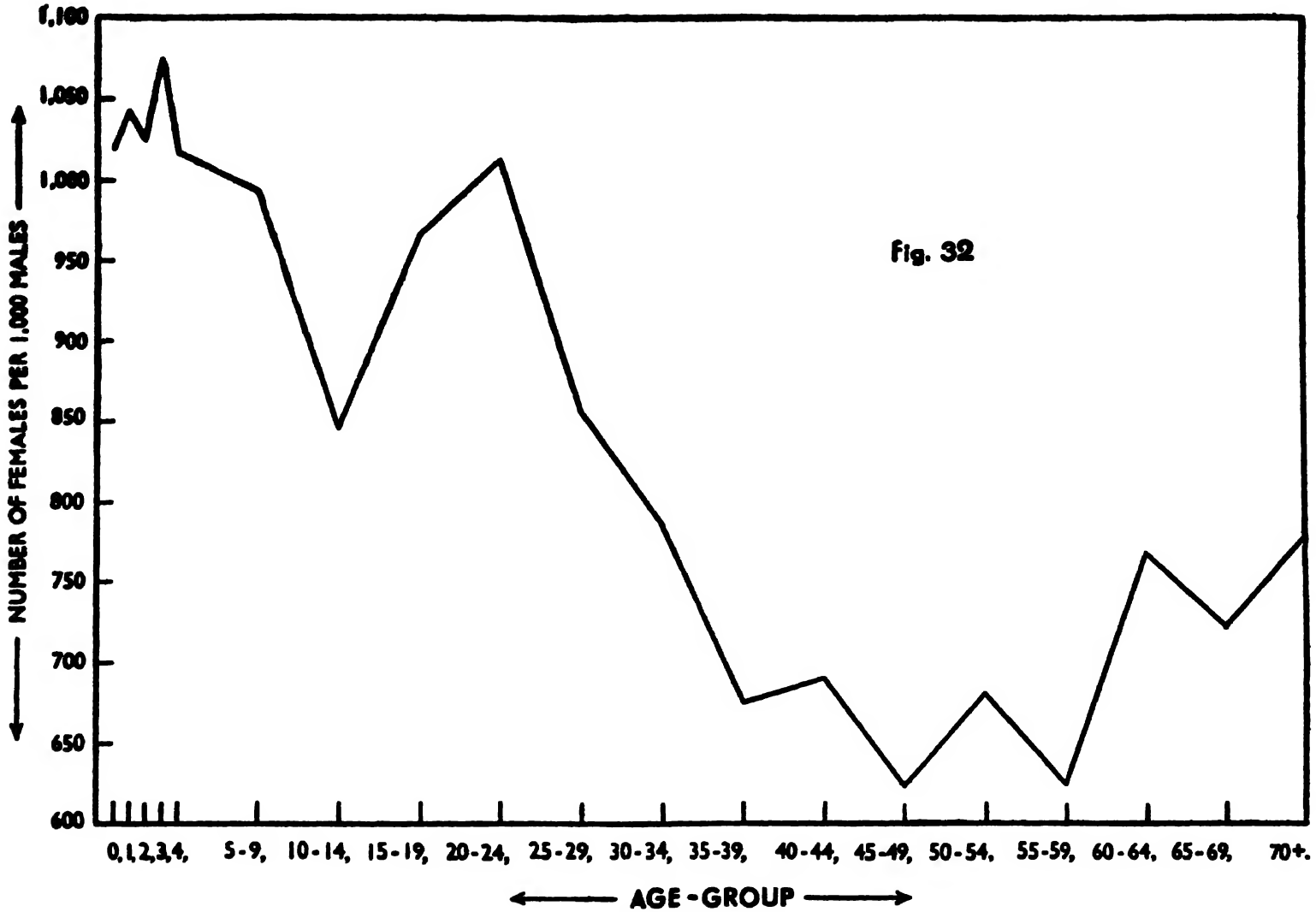

Fig. 32

Statemen tshowing the sex ratio for decades 1901—61 for the State and districts

TABLE 6·8

State/District 1	1961 2	1951 3	1941 4	1931 5	1921 6	1911 7	1901 8
ASSAM	876	877	886	886	908	927	933
1 Goalpara	900	881	880	877	875	886	904
2 Kamrup . .	859	864	877	903	920	968	1,012
3 Darrang . . .	856	856	867	842	884	900	916
4 Lakhimpur . . .	831	835	847	818	870	883	863
5 Nowgong . .	875	861	865	884	907	960	964
6 Sibsagar . .	865	871	882	811	897	894	887
7 Cachar . .	908	897	897	903	919	921	931
8 Garo Hills . . .	960	951	975	959	959	956	974
9 United Khasi Jaintia Hills	921	948	960	978	1,031	1,054	1,080
10 United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	863	914	934	898	882	917	492
11 Mizo Hills . . .	1,009	1,041	1,069	1,102	1,109	1,120	1,113

who were perhaps subsequently joined by their families as the sex ratio showed an improvement in 1941.

47. From the beginning of the century, Lakhimpur district shows the lowest sex ratio in all the decades. The tea industry was started in this district from the latter part of the 19th century and the labourers had to be imported from other States as local labourers were not available to work in this industry. At first, only male persons came and subsequently many of them were joined by their families. So the sex ratio began to fluctuate till 1941. After 1941, this process of bringing tea garden labourers from other States practically ceased, but the sex ratio continued to decrease steadily. This decline is mainly due to the rapid growth of some industries in this district which attracts male workers from other parts of India and Assam.

48. The nature of migration of Muslims from East Bengal is the deciding factor for the sex ratio in the Nowgong district. After the partition, some lakhs of Hindu displaced persons also came to settle in this district. So the increase of sex ratio in 1961 may be due to the fact that many such persons brought their families from East Pakistan during the decade.

49. As Sibsagar is the only district which has got the least effect from migration other than tea-garden migration, it shows a more or less steady sex ratio during the decades 1901-61.

50. The sex ratio of Assam was steadily decreasing from 1901-51 but showed an improvement in 1961. This is due to the coming of the families of the displaced persons and immigrants during the decade.

51. Among the districts, the sex ratio in the Hills is quite high in comparison with the plains districts. This is quite natural because hills districts have not much temporary migrants who can upset the set ratio. The gradual decline of sex ratio in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district from 1,080 in 1901 to 921 in 1961 is due to the migration of a huge male population to the Shillong Town Group during the last 3 or 4 decades. The sex ratio among the Scheduled Tribes of this district is as high as 1,020 in 1961, which clearly proves that the sex ratio of the indigenous people is still very high.

52. The Mizo Hills is the only district in Assam which is still maintaining the preponderance of females over males. But the rate of decline indicates that it may go down in the next Census. But this decline is largely due to the migration of non-Mizo males to this district as the sex ratio among the Mizo Scheduled Tribes is still quite high (1,026).

53. I give below table 6.9 showing the proportion of certain younger age-groups to the total of each sex, 1951 and 1961 (district-wise).

Proportion of Certain Younger Age-group to Total of Each Sex 1951 and 1961.

(a) Males of the age group per 1,000 of all males.
(b) Females of the age-group per 1,000 of all females.
(c) Total persons of the age-group per 1,000 of total persons.

TABLE 6·9

State District	Census year	Proportion of males, females and total persons of each age-group to total of 1,000 of males, females and total persons, 1951 and 1961											
		0—4			5—9			10—14			15—19		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Assam	1961	170	157	186	164	155	175	114	115	112	84	80	88
	1951	166	158	175	152	146	159	112	115	109	85	79	91
Goalpara	1961	186	173	201	168	162	175	101	104	97	81	77	85
	1951	154	148	162	161	154	169	104	109	99	81	76	85
Kamrup	1961	173	160	189	172	161	184	113	113	112	80	79	81
	1951	166	155	179	158	153	163	113	119	107	87	83	92
Darrang	1961	174	159	190	160	148	173	113	112	113	80	75	86
	1951	174	160	191	144	137	152	109	113	104	83	73	94
Lakhimpur	1961	177	162	195	161	152	172	114	111	117	86	79	94
	1951	173	164	185	150	139	164	110	107	114	84	71	99
Nowgong	1961	176	160	194	182	169	195	107	109	105	79	74	85
	1951	165	163	166	150	148	153	108	105	112	79	83	75
Sibsagar	1961	158	139	180	159	143	178	134	142	123	93	88	98
	1951	183	171	196	154	145	164	121	122	120	84	78	91
Cachar	1961	160	149	172	160	156	163	113	115	111	84	81	87
	1951	157	146	169	158	154	164	111	118	103	83	77	89
Garo Hills	1961	168	163	173	151	148	153	101	105	98	87	83	91
	1951	154	153	155	142	144	139	105	111	98	89	80	100
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	1961	151	145	158	144	138	150	121	119	122	91	90	92
	1951	160	158	162	133	129	138	113	112	115	94	91	89
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	1961	169	159	180	151	144	160	94	94	95	82	76	89
	1951	154	153	156	146	136	159	118	128	107	90	81	99
Mizo Hills	1961	141	142	140	154	152	157	142	145	140	89	85	94
	1951	147	151	142	143	145	140	125	128	121	99	97	100

54. The proportion of children in the age-groups 0-4, 5-9 and 10-14 has gone up during the last decade; but the increase is more significant in the case of females. The higher proportion of children shows that the State's abnormal increase is also due partly to the increase of children which, on the other hand, indicates high birth rate during the last decade and higher birth rate in the next decades as many females of these younger age-groups are potential mothers in the next Censuses.

55. *Marital Status.*—The following is table 6.10 showing the distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex among different marital statuses according to the 1961 Census.

Distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex among different marital statuses, 1961

TABLE 6.10

State/District	Males					Females				
	Never married	Married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Unspecified status	Never married	Married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Unspecified status
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Assam	602	371	23	1	1	536	402	56	5	1
Goalpara	590	374	34	1	1	494	427	77	1	1
Kamrup	610	374	14	1	1	534	402	63	1	1
Darrang	577	396	23	4	N	521	427	47	5	N
Lakhimpur	61	350	31	4	N	552	397	47	4	N
Nowgong	629	353	17	1	N	606	370	23	1	N
Sibsagar	630	352	1	1	1	579	396	23	1	1
Cachar	569	372	29	8	2	486	408	93	11	2
Garo Hills	562	418	17	3	N	490	441	64	4	1
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	601	358	20	20	1	533	362	70	34	1
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	567	403	26	1	1	520	413	60	5	2
Mizo Hills	618	350	20	12	N	575	335	62	27	1

N B N means negligible

56. From the above table it can be seen that the proportion of never married males and females is as high as 602 and 536 per 1,000 of males and females respectively. Among males such proportion of never married people varies between 562 in Garo Hills district and 630 in Sibsagar district While in case of females, the Cachar district shows the lowest proportion of 486 per 1,000 females, the Nowgong district records the highest proportion of 606.

57. The proportion of Divorced or Separated and Unspecified Status is so low that it does not deserve any special consideration for study. We can only say that two Hills districts, *viz.*, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Mizo Hills show a comparatively higher proportion both in the case of males and females.

58. As regards widowed persons, females show a high proportion in all the districts in comparison with males, and this reflects the social customs of the State.

59. According to the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (Act No. XIX of 1929) which is popularly known as the Sarda Act, child marriage is punishable under the law. 'Child', according to this Act, is a person under 18 years in the case of males and under 14 years in respect of females. But according to Census data there are as many as 11,684 married females excluding widowed, divorced, etc., in the age-group 10-14 and 1,234 marked males in the same age-group. We do not know the number of married females of aged 14 and males of aged 15, 16 and 17 If we consider the age data to be fairly accurate, the approximate number of such marriages in contravention of the law may be about 25,000.

60. The discussion on marital status will be rather incomplete if we do not discuss it in the context of age-group.

61. The following is table 6.11 showing the distribution by Marital Status of 1,000 persons of each sex in broad age-groups.

Distribution by Marital Status of 1,000 Persons of each Sex in Broad age-groups.

TABLE 6.11

State/District/City	Marital status	Distribution of 1,000 Persons of each sex									
		Males					Females				
		0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Age not stated	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Age not stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
am	Never married	999	531	29	6	501	995	196	9	4	589
	Married	1	456	910	778	419	5	778	798	436	324
	Widowed	N	7	52	207	43	N	16	180	550	52
	Divorced	N	5	8	8	8	N	9	12	9	7
	Unspecified status	N	1	1	1	29	N	1	1	1	28
ipara	Never married	998	474	30	6	491	981	87	6	3	531
	Married	2	517	907	553	385	19	894	741	224	333
	Widowed	N	6	59	437	85	N	16	247	769	116
	Divorced	N	2	3	3	12	N	2	4	2	4
	Unspecified status	N	1	1	1	27	N	1	2	2	16
Kamrup	Never married	999	540	22	5	657	999	146	14	5	702
	Married	1	455	942	842	291	1	842	784	279	229
	Widowed	N	3	33	149	14	N	9	197	711	36
	Divorced	N	1	2	3	3	N	1	3	3	7
	Unspecified status	N	1	1	1	35	N	2	2	2	26
Gauhati Town	Never married	998	542	44	14	750	998	191	11	8	917
	Married	2	457	949	944	250	2	792	832	537	
	Widowed		1	5	42		N	12	152	452	83
	Divorced		N	2				4	5	3	
	Unspecified status	N	N	N			N	1	N	.	
Darrang	Never married	1,000	47	25	1	432	996	135	5	N	390
	Married	N	507	918	775	384	4	840	832	495	552
	Widowed		9	49	212	174	N	17	150	493	22
	Divorced		4	8	11	5	N	7	12	12	18
	Unspecified status	N	1	N	1	5	N	1	1	N	18
Lakhimpur	Never married	1,000	554	34	1	544	998	203	6	2	609
	Married	N	424	879	749	352	2	772	821	502	298
	Widowed	N	15	79	247	38	N	17	163	494	53
	Divorced	N	6	8	2	17	N	8	10	2	13
	Unspecified status	N	1	N	1	49	N	N	N	N	27
Nowgong	Never married	1,000	606	26	1	154	998	349	4	1	344
	Married	N	391	921	867	770	2	644	896	803	613
	Widowed		2	48	130	71	N	5	93	194	39
	Divorced		1	4	1		N	2	6	1	
	Unspecified status	N	N	1	1	5	N	N	1	1	4
Sibsagar	Never married	1,000	618	23	1	504	998	297	3	N	631
	Married	N	377	931	840	380	2	692	906	793	280
	Widowed		3	41	153	16	N	9	84	200	24
	Divorced	N	1	4	3	20	N	1	6	5	14
	Unspecified status	N	1	1	3	80	N	1	1	2	51
Cachar	Never married	998	464	31	11	610	997	122	5	4	559
	Married	1	510	885	781	299	3	820	699	269	283
	Widowed	N	11	69	195	61	N	31	279	718	111
	Divorced	N	12	14	12	15	N	24	15	7	7
	Unspecified status	1	3	1	1	15	N	3	2	2	40
Garo Hills	Never married	996	451	31	24	567	989	185	14	12	586
	Married	4	533	930	863	394	11	777	796	449	268
	Widowed		11	33	107		N	29	183	532	12
	Divorced		4	5	5	29	N	7	6	6	..
	Unspecified status	N	1	1	1	10	N	2	1	1	134
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	Never married	1,000	528	56	28	799	999	279	25	18	693
	Married		439	852	722	160	1	647	695	283	267
	Widowed	.	10	48	166	12	N	22	200	637	30
	Divorced		22	43	83		N	51	80	61	..
	Unspecified status	N	1	1	1	29	N	1	N	1	10
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	Never married	999	477	44	11	842	994	235	13	7	838
	Married	..	502	893	821	150	5	738	801	414	120
	Widowed	..	14	57	161	..	N	18	174	551	14
	Divorced	..	5	5	6	..	N	7	9	26	..
	Unspecified status	1	2	1	1	8	1	2	3	2	28
Mizo Hills	Never married	1,000	516	71	18	259	1,000	378	47	28	397
	Married	..	455	857	810	728	N	561	745	351	518
	Widowed	..	7	49	154	10	..	13	155	578	55
	Divorced	..	21	23	17	3	..	47	52	42	12
	Unspecified status	N	1	N	1	..	N	1	1	1	18

N.B.—'N' means negligible.

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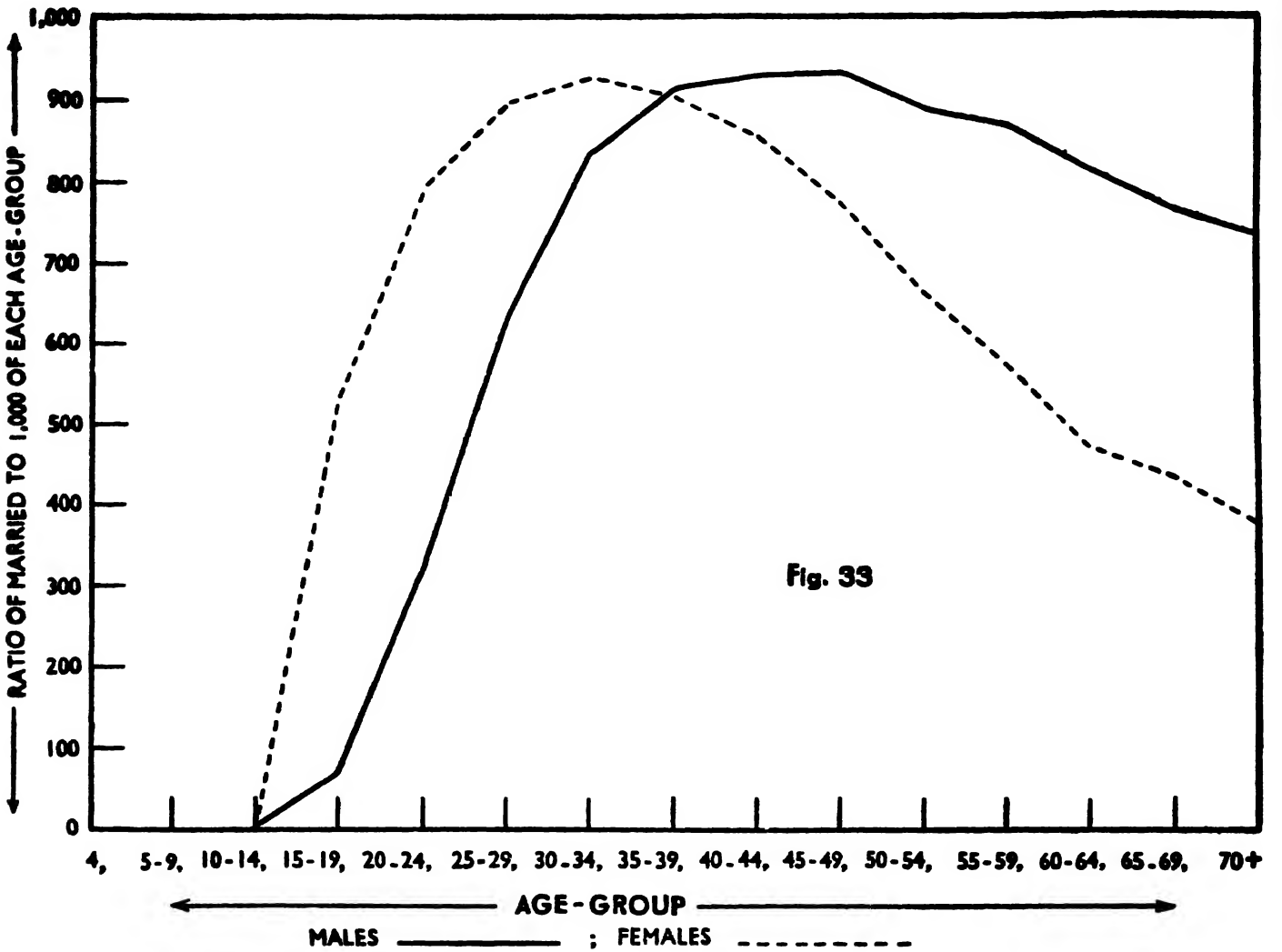

Fig. 33

62. In the age-group 0-14, the proportion of married persons is very small both among males and females. In Goalpara and Garo Hills districts, however, 19 and 11 girls respectively per 1,000 girls in the age-group 0-14 are married. Among males in the age group 15-34, as many as 456 per 1,000 males are married. In this age-group, the school and college going boys are also included. But the porportion of married boys among them is very small In the age-groups 15-19 and 20-24 only 70 and 313 per 1,000 boys of those age-groups are married. The proportion begins to increase from the age-group 25-29 where 626 per 1,000 males are married The proportion rises to 830 in the age-group 30 34.

63. As the universality of marriage is a normal phenomenon, the proportion of married persons is as high as 910 per 1,000 males in the age-group 35-59. The proportion would have been more had there been no widowed, divorced or separated people in that age-group which accounts for 60 per 1,000 persons. The proportion is more or less similar in all the districts except the Mizo Hills where the proportion of married is only 857 per 1,000 persons.

64. In the age-group 60 and above, only 6 per 1,000 males are never married. Such never married males are proportionately more in that age-group in the three hill districts of Garo, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Mizo with 24; 28 and 18 per 1,000 males respectively. As stated earlier that the mis-statement of age is more significant in the higher age-groups, we can hardly rely upon the figures shown in this age-group. Even then we can see one significantly different picture about widowed males and females. While 55 per cent. females in this age-group are widowed; among males only 20.7 per cent. are widowers. The reason for this difference may be due to the social custom prevailing in the State about widow marriage. On the other hand, male widowers generally marry if they lose their wives even at a late stage, and so they are termed as married. In the Hill areas, there is a belief that if a young man marries a widow, the man may lose his life. This is also perhaps one of the reasons why female widows are proportionately more than males. Curiously enough, Goalpara district has a very high percentage of 43.7 widowers whereas the next higher percentage is only 24 7 in respect of Lakhimpur district. Proportions in other districts are very low indeed. Widows show a very wide fluctuation in different districts. For example, Nowgong and Sibsagar show a percentage of 19.4 and 20.0 respectively, and in contrast, Goalpara, Cachar and Kamrup show a percentage to the tune of 76.9 and 71.1 respectively. All the four Hill districts exhibit a fairly uniform proportion varying from 53.2 per cent. in Garo Hills to 63.7 per cent. in United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.

65. In previous Censuses beyond 1941 the tabulation of marital status was done on the basis of castes, tribes and religions, but in the last two Censuses such tabulation was abandoned and so the marriage habits and customs of particular religion, caste or tribe are not known from the Census tables. It is therefore not possible to make any valid comments about such wide variations of widowed females in the plains districts. Moreover, the composition of population in the plains is very heterogenous. On the other hand, the figures in the hills districts are much more homogenous and this is the reason why there is not much variation among the hills districts.

66. Let us discuss about the relative proportions of sexes in each marital status or civil condition at each period of life.

67. I give below two tables and a graph showing such ratios. Table 6.12 shows the ratio of females to 1,000 males for each marital status at broad age-groups and table 6.13 gives the ratio of wives to 1,000 husbands at smaller age-groups to spot out the propor-

tion of married women to married men. The diagram below shows the ratio of married to 1,000 of each age-group for males and females separately.

Ratio of Females to 1,000 Males for each Marital Status at Broad age-groups.

(a) Ratio of spinster females to 1,000 bachelors.
(b) Ratio of wives to 1,000 husbands.
(c) Ratio of widows to 1,000 widowers.
(d) Ratio of divorced or separated females to 1,000 divorced or separated males.
(e) Ratio of unspecified females to 1,000 unspecified males.

TABLE 6.12

State/District/City 1	Description of Ratio 2	Age Groups 0—14 3	15—34 4	35—59 5	60+ 6	A.N.S. 7
ASSAM	(a)	965	334	200	508	788
	(b)	9,468	1,548	584	427	499
	(c)	5,207	1,896	2,278	2,030	784
	(d)	6,682	1,802	1,051	866	585
	(e)	855	1,031	1,142	841	628
Goalpara	(a)	956	174	134	344	880
	(b)	12,425	1,654	552	349	703
	(c)	3,000	2,401	2,833	1,516	1,098
	(d)	1,667	1,343	914	735	286
	(e)	1,143	1,352	919	1,224	500
Kamrup	(a)	958	231	438	735	822
	(b)	1,703	1,582	556	265	606
	(c)	2,333	2,293	3,963	3,814	2,063
	(d)	6,500	2,057	1,297	896	1,500
	(e)	1,701	830	1,163	1,717	571
Darrang	(a)	968	252	126	38	1,293
	(b)	92,545	1,474	551	469	2,055
	(c)	31,000	1,667	1,864	1,707	2,812
	(d)	2,000	1,513	956	814	5,000
	(e)	500	926	1,013	184	5,000
Lakhimpur	(a)	947	305	101	814	878
	(b)	9,887	1,516	568	483	663
	(c)	1,000	914	1,258	1,445	1,091
	(d)	875	1,133	734	789	600
	(e)	500	734	869	236	429
Nowgong	(a)	985	527	93	396	644
	(b)	35,250	1,509	613	623	230
	(c)	2,000	2,432	1,225	1,005	161
	(d)	4,000	1,441	870	667	
	(e)	11,000	933	1,609	1,125	260
Sibsagar	(a)	980	420	76	154	556
	(b)	129,400	1,605	625	665	327
	(c)	1,000	3,105	1,308	917	636
	(d)	2,000	2,121	906	1,210	308
	(e)	8,000	1,150	961	516	283
Cachar	(a)	962	259	112	248	538
	(b)	5,412	1,584	578	261	556
	(c)	6,750	2,784	2,964	2,785	1,069
	(d)	10,625	2,029	753	429	286
	(e)	377	1,047	1,393	938	1,571
Garo Hills	(a)	971	463	337	346	814
	(b)	2,742	1,649	642	363	537
	(c)	20,000	3,157	4,120	3,472	1,000
	(d)	10,000	1,871	961	787	Nil
	(e)	895	2,023	1,217	626	11,000
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	(a)	983	488	345	656	519
	(b)	108,000	1,363	628	412	1,000
	(c)	7,000	1,981	3,236	4,045	1,500
	(d)	9,000	2,113	1,432	772	..
	(e)	2,308	914	643	714	200
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	(a)	945	447	201	477	850
	(b)	288,000	1,331	608	349	684
	(c)	4,000	1,116	2,065	2,362	3,000
	(d)	10,000	1,241	1,204	2,868	..
	(e)	722	1,133	1,800	1,200	3,000
Mizo Hills	(a)	1,004	785	636	1,322	867
	(b)	23,000	1,323	827	381	403
	(c)	..	2,093	3,019	3,301	3,000
	(d)	..	2,370	2,128	2,228	2,000
	(e)	333	1,909	3,833	1,800	3,000
Gauhati Town	(a)	817	131	87	450	1,222
	(b)	1,167	647	307	460	Nil
	(c)	2,000	10,143	11,197	8,695	1,000
	(d)	..	6,091	828	4,000	..
	(e)	2,000	1,400	1,000	..	..

Ratio of Wives to 1,000 Husbands at each age-group.

TABLE 6.13

State/District/City	Age-Groups									
	0—9	10—14	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	60+	A.N.S.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Assam	[illegible]	9,468	7 159	2 581	1 230	778	589	475	427	699
Goalpara		12 425	8 873	3 588	1 230	747	562	419	349	793
Kamrup		1,703	6 936	3 074	1 204	747	569	428	285	686
Gauhati Town		1,167	1 770	867	553	415	298	306	460	Nil
Darrang		92 545	7 647	2 366	1 138	7[illegible]	558	465	469	2,095
Lakhimpur		9 887	6 775	2 443	1 190	766	557	445	481	663
Nowgong		15 250	6 806	2 781	1 287	807	601	380	621	210
Sibsagar		129,400	15 415	3 597	1 315	834	603	471	665	327
Cachar		5 412	7 248	337	1 234	807	611	389	261	356
Garo Hills		2,742	3,773	3 542	1 608	874	859	505	363	337
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills		108,000	5 054	2 204	1 184	764	658	327	412	1,000
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills		288,000	3 883	145	1 185	776	636	487	349	684
Mizo Hills		23,000	1,295	2 156	1 258	909	842	733	381	403

68. From the above tables and graph it is seen that the ratio of wives to husbands is very markedly disproportionate towards the end of life. The age during which the two sexes are more or less evenly balanced is just beyond 30 years. All the districts also show a similar pattern. Sibsagar district, however, shows a very high proportion of married women in the age-group 25-29 unlike other districts of the State. The ratio of Gauhati Town gives a completely different picture where the equality is somewhere in the age-group 20-24. This is not because of different behaviour of marriage but because of very low sex ratio in the town itself.

69. From the diagram it can be noticed that the sudden and marked decrease in the relative proportions takes place as long as males are between 10 and 14 years and as soon as the inequality has passed, it becomes more marked.

70. The ratio of widows to 1,000 widowers shows that the excess is always in respect of widows in all the broad age-groups. The predominance of females is also seen in all the districts. It is only in the Lakhimpur district that the ratio of widows to 1,000 widowers in the age-group 15-34 shows a slightly lower proportion of 914. The absolute figures of divorced or separated persons are so low that they do not call for any comment.

71. *Comparison of Marital Status of last two decades.*—It will be useful to examine whether the civil condition has undergone any change from the last decade. Table 6.14 below shows the percentage of unmarried among males and females aged 15 and above during 1951 and 1961 Censuses

TABLE 6·14

Percentage of unmarried among males and females aged 15 and over

State District	Males aged 15 & over		Females aged 15 & over	
	1961	1951	1961	1951
	2	3	4	5
Assam	30 58	26 52	12 53	9.45
Goalpara	27 09	22 33	5 61	4 73
Kamrup	31 07	26 88	9 51	5.34
Darrang	27 16	28 54	8 73	9.24
Lakhimpur	33 10	26 04	13 27	11.62
Nowgong	33 83	24 16	22 11	9.25
Sibsagar	35 76	28 37	18 95	11.35
Cachar	25 83	25 33	7 53	5.30
Garo Hills	25 39	25 55	12.26	19.49
United Khasi Jaintia Hills	33 30	31 75	18 22	17.76
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	28 36	29.62	15.38	18.65
Mizo Hills	31 93	36 01	24 56	26.43

72. Now, if we compare the figures for males and females we find that the proportion of unmarried aged 15 and over has definitely gone up both for males and females during the last decade But this increase is not uniform in all the districts of the State. While the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, Sibsagar and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills show a definite upward trend, the other districts of Darrang, Garo Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills indicate an appreciable decrease. In the case of Cachar district, however, there is only a very slight increase of such proportion. In rea-

pect of females, except the districts of Darrang, Garo Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills, all other districts show a rise of such proportion.

73. The increase of figures in the State as a whole suggests that the age at marriage has definitely gone up both for males and females.

74. With the spread of education, the tendency to marry late is becoming more prominent among both the sexes and it may even grow further in future. But the decrease in such proportion in some districts gives a baffling picture. I think some survey should be carried out in some selected pockets of these districts to give some valid comments on this social custom. In spite of the sufficient growth of literacy in the Mizo Hills district, the percentage of unmarried among both males and females aged 15 and over has gone down. This shows that there may be some other social customs which may not encourage late marriage.

75. Table 6.15 gives the percentage of married and widowed persons among males and females during the decade 1951-61.

TABLE 6·15

State/District	Percentage of all males who are				Percentage of all females who are			
	Married		Widowers		Married		Widows	
	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Assam	37.11	38.78	2.28	3.89	40.21	41.26	5.56	9.57
Goalpara	37.46	42 53	3.37	3.45	42.68	43.93	7.69	13.72
Kamrup	37 43	39.24	1 44	2.76	40.15	42 32	6.30	11.71
Darrang	39.61	38.07	2.27	4 33	42.71	42.60	4.70	8.30
Lakhimpur	35 02	38.56	3.07	4.96	39.71	40.71	4.65	7.11
Nowgong	35.30	42 03	1.70	2 88	36.97	42.46	2.29	9.73
Sibsagar	35.21	35.49	1.61	4.70	39.58	38.64	2.31	7.70
Cachar	39.24	38.51	2.93	4.51	40 84	41.85	9.29	12.12
Garo Hills	41.76	42 38	1.66	1.93	44.14	44.21	6.41	5.40
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	35.86	35.97	1.97	3.05	36.21	35.82	6.97	7.99
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	40 27	31 24	2 61	9.58	41.30	38.58	6.02	8.25
Mizo Hills	34.94	32 83	2.04	2.18	33.55	33.61	6.16	6.88

76. In table 6.14 we have noticed that the percentage of unmarried persons has increased in the State, and this increase is mostly at the cost of married persons. We have also seen from table 6.15 that the proportion of both married males and females has fallen during the last decade. The proportion of widowers has decreased in the State as well as in all the districts. Such fall in proportion is very significant in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Sibsagar districts. This reduction has two probable causes. Firstly, the females may have lived longer than before due to the increase of expectation of life during the decade 1951-60. Secondly, there is no custom of non-marriage of widowers and this proportion may represent mostly old men who do not remarry because of their old age or for other reasons. There may be some widowers at the time of the Census who may marry later. Out of these two probable reasons, the latter is the more likely because it is possible that both men and women are equally benefited by the increase of longivity. This point is also confirmed by the fact that the proportion of widows has shown a substantial drop in all the districts, except in the Garo Hills where such proportion shows a slight increase.

77. In the case of women, there is not much significant change of social custom during the last decade which encourages remarriage of widows so as to help the fall of the proportion sharply. On the other hand, widowers can marry without any social barrier, but the fall is not so significant as we can expect on the above assumption. Then what is the reason for such a steep fall of the proportion ? The fall may be due to the fact that the husbands live longer than their counterparts; otherwise there is no other reason to justify such fall. Moreover, we can generally observe that premature death of people has gone down considerably, but more so in respect of males.

CHAPTER VII
LITERACY AND EDUCATION

Meaning of Literacy—In the 1961 Census, literacy is defined as the ability of a person to both read and write with understanding. The test for reading is ability to read any simple letter either in print or in manuscript *i.e.*, if the person can read one of the instructions in the enumerator's handbook with felicity he may be taken to have passed the test for reading. The test for writing is ability to write a simple letter. The test for literacy is satisfied if the person can with understanding both read and write.

2. *Standard of Education* –If the person can both read and write and has also passed written examination(s) as proof of an educational standard attained such a person can be said to be an educated person and has attained a certain standard of education.

3. In 1951, a person was defined as being literate for Census purposes if he or she could read or write a simple letter either in print or in manuscript. Those who can read but not write have been recorded and shown separately in Table C-IV of 1951, but they were shown as illiterates in the main Table D-VII. The literacy figures of 1961 are therefore comparable with those of 1951 and even earlier Censuses because the definition has not been practically changed since 1911.

4. The Census definition of literacy is relatively very simple, and as most of our enumerators were school teachers of the locality, there was no difficulty in obtaining satisfactory returns to this question. Moreover, the school-teacher enumerators themselves knew who was literate and who was not literate within his block and so elaborate testing was not necessary. The part-time and honorary enumerators could not have been in a position to check up the exact extent of literacy or its absence by subjecting the people concerned to the actual test of reading and writing any letter in cases where their literacy was in doubt. If enumerators tried to pursue this kind of test to its logical conclusion, there was a danger of their being driven out from the household and thereby vitiating all other Census questionnaires. In any case, testing was necessary in only very few cases because of the local knowledge of the enumerators and the citizens were not put to embarrassment. In many cases, the head of the household normally supplied all the answers to the Census questionnaires, but in Assam, there is no purdah system and educated women and girls generally came out to supply the replies, and in many cases, parents were illiterates whereas the children were literate. In the rural areas of Assam, both in the hills and in the plains, there is co-education in all the schools and so there is no difficulty whatsoever as far as sex is concerned in the matter of giving replies to the questionnaires. Many of the girls may be the pupils of the teacher-enumerator.

5. *Progress of literacy 1901-61*—I give below table 7.1 showing the number of Total, Male and Female, literates per 10,000 of Total, Male and Female population respectively in the State of Assam for the seven decades from 1901 to 1961 excluding Age-Group 0-4. Whatever may be the progress of education, children up to the age of 4 are not expected to be literate. Persons in the age group 0-4 have therefore been excluded in the 1961 Census. To compare these figures with those from 1901 to 1941, it was necessary to recast the population figures by taking the percentage of literates to the Total, Male and Female population of the respective years and these percentages were multiplied by the previously recast total population. In the case of 1951, the proportion was calculated from the sample tables prepared in 1951 by my predecessor.

Number of Total, Male and Female Literates per 10,000 of Total, Male and Female Population Respectively in the State, 1901-1961.

(Excluding age-group 0-4)

TABLE 7.1

State/District	1961			1951			1941		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Assam	3,298	4,428	1,963	2,173	3,225	948	1,314	2,076	438
Goalpara	2,588	3,667	1,346	1,736	2,682	648	1,139	1,827	347
Kamrup	3 310	4 670	1,670	2,378	3,605	918	1,480	2,421	401
Darrang	2,772	3,769	1,563	1,921	2,971	649	974	1,569	276
Lakhimpur	3,482	4,639	2,034	1,887	2,787	782	1,160	1,814	360
Nowgong	3,308	4,335	2,085	1 951	2,904	841	1,258	2,013	373
Sibsagar	4,076	5 232	2,673	2,720	3,969	1,239	1,633	2,539	577
Cachar	3,404	4,726	1,908	2,637	3,869	1,225	1,516	2,425	489
Garo Hills	2,399	3,092	1,669	866	1,120	596	547	823	265
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	3,71[illegible]	4,270	3,104	2,296	2,913	1,641	1,615	2,158	1,051
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	2,096	3,072	940	678	1,067	251	N A	N A	N A
Mizo Hills	5,124	6 225	4,034	3,651	5,445	1,947	2,312	3,889	844

State/District	1931			1921			1911			1901		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Assam	857	1,440	187	711	1,222	140	559	997	77	417	745	59
Goalpara	741	1 257	143	554	955	89	486	868	48	317	576	27
Kamrup	986	1,724	163	929	1,652	139	653	1,223	59	424	822	28
Darrang	618	1,078	106	536	939	73	398	719	34	332	599	35
Lakhimpur	832	1,377	143	627	1,056	115	528	922	65	413	711	55
Nowgong	764	1,305	143	677	1,171	124	604	1,118	60	333	632	18
Sibsagar	900	1,531	163	803	1,388	132	591	1,047	66	400	702	51
Cachar	1,050	1,774	236	837	1,462	148	686	1,230	87	572	1,053	47
Garo Hills	309	505	105	211	348	69	135	239	25	99	171	25
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	1,094	1,473	707	905	1,244	578	651	957	362	672	964	401
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	N.A.	N A.	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	579	818	55
Mizo Hills	1,267	2,362	278	743	1,454	106	472	964	34	295	610	14

Note.—'N.A.' means 'Not Available'.

6. From the above table, it may be seen that the figures of literacy for all the decades are higher than those published for the general population as a whole. This is so because in this table, persons in the age-group 0-4 have been excluded because it is a plain common sense that children under 4 cannot be expected to be literate. The generally published figures of literacy is a percentage based in terms of the total general population including age-group 0-4 and therefore such a percentage figure of literacy has of necessity to be lower.

7. As the figures given above are per 10,000 population, the percentage can easily be read by putting a decimal point in the second figure from the right. Judged by this standard, it is interesting to note how literacy in Assam in the age-group 5+ has increased from 4.17 per cent. in 1901 to 32.98 per cent. in 1961, the progress during the years up to 1951 being progressive as the above figures tell their own tale. This table also gives the number of literates by total number of persons as well as by males and females so that a comparative study of female education can also be made. It may be noted that in 1901, only 0.59 per cent. of the females were literate, but in 1961 as much as 19.63 per cent. of the females have become literate. It may also be noted that up to 1931, female literacy is below 2 per cent. whereas in 1941, 1951 and 1961 it has increased from 4.38 per cent. to 9.48 per cent. and 19.63 per cent., the increase in 1961 being most spectacular. These figures do not fail to speak that female education in Assam has received a great fillip since Independence.

8. District-wise, the percentage of literacy in the age-group 5+ is the highest in the Mizo Hills being 51.24 followed by Sibsagar with 40.76 and the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district with 37.15. The least literate is the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills with 20.98 per cent. followed by the Garo Hills with 23.99 per cent. Thus two hill districts are at the top of literacy, while two are at the bottom. The greatest factor in the hill districts which contributes towards literacy is undoubtedly Christianity. In the Mizo Hills where 86.64 per cent. of the total population are Christians, and 97.33 per cent. of the Mizos are Christians literacy has been the highest. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, 39.73 per cent. of the total population are Christians and 48 46 per cent. Scheduled Tribes are Christians, the percentage of literacy is the third highest in Assam. Among the plains districts of Assam, Sibsagar district is the most literate and it stands second in point of literacy in the whole of Assam This confirms the earlier observation that Sibsagar is the home of Assamese culture As far as female literacy is concerned, the 1961 Census figures show that Mizo Hills tops the list with 40 34 per cent. followed by the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills with 31.04 per cent. and Sibsagar with 26 73 per cent. The district with the least literacy is the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills with 9.40 per cent followed by the Goalpara district with 13 46 per cent. In the plains of Assam, the least literate are the muslim immigrants from East Bengal, and wherever they are found in great numbers, the literacy of that district goes down. No wonder therefore that Goalpara is below even the Garo Hills district in point of female literacy.

9. In 1901, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills was the most literate with 6.72 per cent., but in 1911 and 1921, Kamrup district was the most literate with 6.53 per cent. and 9.29 per cent respectively, followed by the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills. From 1931 onwards, Mizo Hills has been topping the list of literacy. This is mainly due to large-scale conversion of the Mizos into Christianity. Christianity came to the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills since about 1820, but up to now, there are more non-Christian Khasis than Christians, whereas in the Mizos almost all have become Christians from about 1931. After 1931, Kamrup district has fallen down in the ladder of literacy because of the influx of muslim immigrants from East Bengal. In order to supplement the information supplied by the above table, I give below another table 7.2 showing the distribution of 10,000 Total, Male and Female literates among the districts of the State from 1901 to 1961: —

Distribution of 10,000 Total, Male and Female Literates Among the Districts of the State, 1901-1961
(Excluding age-group 0-4)

TABLE 7·2

State/District	1961			1951			1941		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	1,001	1,044	888	1,017	1,053	877	1,183	1,202	1,079
Kamrup	1,717	,843	1,457	1,846	1,905	1,614	1,880	1,944	1,530
Darrang	910	932	849	915	971	694	751	773	630
Lakhimpur	1,380	1,405	1,312	098	1,119	1,013	1,150	1,171	1,036
Nowgong	1,016	996	1,070	903	906	892	831	850	731
Sibsagar	1,594	1,543	1,710	1,684	1,669	1,742	1,753	1,716	1,848
Cachar	1,214	,230	1,170	,550	1,521	1,667	1,414	1,420	1,379
Garo Hills	189	172	234	111	92	184	127	114	196
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	449	372	554	133	354	746	549	443	1,130
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	150	164	113	61	63	53	N A	N A.	N A
Mizo Hills	360	299	523	382	347	518	362	347	441

State/District	1931			1921			1911			1901		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	1,234	1,260	1,087	1,148	1,171	924	1,202	1,228	834	945	973	868
Kamrup	1,782	1,828	1,374	1,890	1,934	1,456	1,762	1,803	1,192	1,580	1,639	772
Darrang	718	739	532	708	731	483	623	640	382	727	740	642
Lakhimpur	1,239	1,275	922	1,083	1,094	980	1,027	1,038	876	996	1,004	888
Nowgong	805	819	688	727	732	674	745	759	546	555	580	216
Sibsagar	1,596	1,628	1,313	1,807	1,840	1,488	1,695	1,719	1,345	1,553	1,568	1,348
Cachar	1,618	1,611	1,687	1,737	1,755	1,568	2,050	2,062	1,869	2,361	2,433	1,365
Garo Hills	113	105	185	104	96	178	89	87	125	89	83	164
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	598	482	1,880	597	445	2,088	630	482	2,730	874	646	4,007
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	163	170	71
Mizo Hills	297	293	337	119	202	161	179	182	101	157	164	89

Note.—'N.A.' means 'Not Available'.

10. In the above table, the relevant point for consideration is the fact that the total of the figures against the districts makes up 10,000. In other words, while in Table 7.1, the percentage of literacy can be found out, in table 7.2, the number of literates per 10,000 of the population of the State is distributed in different districts. A percentage can be a very useful criterion for making certain comparisons, but sometimes, it may also be slightly misleading because in the case of a small population even a comparatively small change in numbers may significantly affect the percentage, whereas if the figures are big, even a big increase may not appreciably affect the percentage basis. In this context, table 7.2 is a very good table because it enables us to look at the figures of literacy from the extensive angle in terms of absolute numbers apart from percentages which may sometimes become fallacious. In terms of absolute numbers per 10,000 it may be seen that the hills districts of Assam are practically nowhere compared to the plains of Assam because of the relatively very scarce population in the hills and the greatness in numbers of people in the plains of Assam. Take the case of 1961 wherefrom it may be seen that out of every 10,000 population of Assam, the Kamrup district has 1,737 literates, the Sibsagar district has 1,594 literates and the Lakhimpur district has 1,380 such literates. As a matter of fact, none of the plains districts has less than 1,000 literates excepting the Darrang district which historically has the least number of literates among the plains districts of Assam. In 1931, Mr. C. S. Mullan observed that Darrang had only 65 literates per mille and was the worst plains district of Assam from the point of view of literacy. It was also the worst in 1911 and 1921. The apparent reason for the long-continued backwardness of Darrang was stated to be that a large number of its inhabitants belong to the 'cooly caste', and in addition, it has a large Kachari population among whom literacy was almost negligible. I can only add that since 1931, a huge number of muslim immigrants have come to settle in this district thereby adding to the number of illiterates. The Mizo Hills is the most literate district of Assam in terms of percentage, but in terms of absolute numbers it has only 360 literate persons per 10,000 of the total population of Assam against 449 of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district. As usual, the least number *i.e.*, 150 per 10,000 exists is in the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills. Even in terms of female literates the number per mille in the Sibsagar, Kamrup, Lakhimpur, Cachar and Nowgong districts far exceeds the female literates of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district and the Mizo Hills district because of the huge population of the plains districts In other words, if female literates of each district are taken together to a common place irrespective of their percentage, the number of literates of the plains can literally swamp the literates of the hills. From Col. 4 of Table 7.2 it may be seen that if all the female literates of the four Autonomous Districts are taken together, they will be less in number than the female literates of Sibsagar district alone because the total population of Sibsagar is 1,508,390 whereas the total population of the four Autonomous Districts of Assam is only 1,315,169 The figures from 1961 backwards to 1901 show a gradual descending order of magnitude and the only fluctuations exist in the case of those districts where the muslim immigrants have settled.

11. Both tables 7.1 and 7.2 provide some material for interesting analysis on the progress of literacy in Assam. Before proceeding further with the analysis, it must be stated that in table 7.1 the percentage can be found out by putting a decimal point before two figures counted from the right, while in table 7.2 the total in columns males and females relates only to the 10,000 males and 10,000 females of the State and not to the total general population. Table 7.1 shows that in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills as well as in the Mizo Hills, the percentage of female literates is not far below that of male literates whereas in the other districts of Assam the percentage of female literacy is comparatively lower. Table 7.2 on the other hand shows that in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, 654 females are literate in every 10,000 female population of the State whereas only 372 males are literate out of every 10,000 male population.

12. *Rural/urban literacy*—The following is another table 7.3 which gives an analysis of literacy by Total, Rural, Urban and by Males and Females for 1961. In this table also persons in the age-group 0-4 have been omitted

and that is why the percentage of literacy is higher than that given for the total population.

Proportion of Total, Male and Female Literates in Rural and Urban Areas of the State, 1961

(Excluding age-group 0-4)

TABLE 7·3

State/District	Literates per 10,000 of total population			Rural Literates per 10,000 of total population			Urban Literates per 10,000 of total population		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Assam	3,298	4,428	1,963	2,767	3,773	1,579	530	654	384
Goalpara	2,588	3,667	1,346	2,193	3,174	1,064	395	493	282
Kamrup	3,310	4,670	1,670	2,562	3,700	1,190	748	971	480
Darrang	2,772	3,769	1,563	2,541	3,473	1,411	231	296	152
Lakhimpur	3,482	4,639	2,034	2,827	3,855	1,542	654	784	492
Nowgong	3,308	4,335	2,085	2,861	3,782	1,763	447	552	322
Sibsagar	4,076	5,232	2,673	3,711	4 783	2,409	365	449	264
Cachar	3,404	4,726	1,908	2,865	4,087	1,482	539	639	426
Garo Hills	2,399	3,092	1,669	2,190	2,823	1,522	209	268	147
United Khasi Jaintia Hills	3,715	4,270	3,104	2,027	2,261	1,770	1,688	2,009	1,334
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	2,098	3,072	940	2,015	2,971	879	82	100	60
Mizo Hills	5,124	6,225	4,034	4,711	5,745	3,689	412	480	345

State/District	Rural Literates per 10,000 of rural population			Urban Literates per 10,000 of urban population			Rural Literates per 10,000 of total Literates			Urban Literates per 10,000 of total Literates		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Assam	3,010	4,151	1 695	6,573	7,184	5,613	8,392	8,522	8,044	1 608	1,478	1,956
Goalpara	2,357	3,442	1,132	5,681	6,341	4,698	8,475	8,657	7,905	1,525	1,343	2,095
Kamrup	2,886	4,260	1,307	6,661	7,382	5,380	7,739	7,921	7,124	2,261	2,079	2,876
Darrang	2,651	3,647	1,460	5,601	6,230	4,521	9,167	9,215	9,028	833	785	972
Lakhimpur	3,149	4,358	1,687	6,401	6,790	5,746	8,121	8,310	7,582	1,879	1,690	2,418
Nowgong	3,074	4,096	1 877	6,449	7,206	5,308	8,648	8,726	8,456	1,352	1,274	1,544
Sibsagar	3,922	5,098	2,521	6,784	7,263	5,972	9,104	9,143	9,011	896	857	989
Cachar	3,093	4,438	1,590	7,300	8,066	6,287	8,417	8,648	7,769	1,583	1,352	2,231
Garo Hills	2,257	2,930	1,558	6,990	7,349	6,389	9,128	9,132	9,120	872	868	880
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	2,671	3,070	2,257	7,008	7,621	6,183	5,457	5,295	5,703	4,543	4,705	4,297
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	2,040	3,014	888	6,786	7,178	6,126	9,608	9,673	9,357	392	337	643
Mizo Hills	4,978	6,102	3,878	7,694	8,220	7,072	9,196	9,229	9,145	804	771	855

13. Comments on points thrown out by columns 2, 3 and 4 have already been given in the previous paragraphs. Columns 5-10 give the total Rural Literates and Urban Literates per 10,000 of the total population of Assam. These columns show that most of the Literates of Assam live in the rural areas, but that is simply due to the fact that 92.3 per cent. of the total population of Assam live in the rural areas. It may also be seen that as far as Urban Literates per 10,000 of the total population are concerned, all the districts of Assam have below 750 excepting the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills which has 1,688 Urban Literates per 10,000 people of the district. This apparently high figure for the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills is simply due to the fact that this district has a biggish urban popula-

tion in the Shillong Town Group and the total population of the district as a whole is comparatively small.

14. Columns 11, 12 and 13 give us the total Rural Literates per 10,000 of the rural population of the State and of each district and herein lies their difference from columns 5, 6 and 7. One significant feature of these columns is that the figures for the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills are relatively lower because of the high incidence of the urban population in this district.

15. Columns 14, 15 and 16 give us the Urban Literates per 10,000 of the urban population. Here it may be seen that Nowgong, Mizo Hills and Cachar districts have higher percentage of such literates but that is simply due to the fact that they have smaller urban population with smaller sizes of towns. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Kamrup districts, the Urban Literates appear to be less because of the big unskilled labour population obtaining in these two districts which is more organised than in the other districts.

16 Table 7.4 below gives the distribution of 10,000 total, male and females literates in the rural and urban areas of the State 1961 in which the age group 0-4 has been excluded.

Distribution of 10,000 Total, Male and Female Literates in the Rural and Urban areas of the State, 1961

(Excluding age group 0-4)

TABLE 7·4

State/District	Total Literates			Male Literates			Female Literates		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10 000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	1,001	1,011	950	1,044	1,060	949	888	872	951
Kamrup	1,737	1,602	2,443	1,843	1,713	2,592	1,457	1,290	2,143
Darrang	910	994	471	932	1,008	495	849	953	422
Lakhimpur	1,380	1,335	1,612	1,405	1,370	1,607	1,312	1,237	1,623
Nowgong	1 016	1,047	854	996	1,019	859	1,070	1,125	845
Sibsagar	1,594	1 729	888	1,543	1,655	895	1,730	1,938	874
Cachar	1,214	1,218	1 195	1,230	1,249	1,126	1,170	1,130	1,335
Garo Hills	189	205	102	172	184	101	234	266	105
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	449	292	1,268	372	231	1,184	654	463	1,436
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	150	172	37	164	187	36	113	231	37
Mizo Hills	360	395	180	299	324	156	523	595	229

17. This table shows that had the total population of Assam been only 10,000, the population of the districts would have been according to the figures given against each district horizontally. The total number of literates here therefore bear a direct relation to the total population of each district and not to the percentage.

18. I give below table 7.5 showing the Total Rural and Urban literacy of various districts of Assam in decreasing order of absolute numbers of total literates as well as the number per 10,000 of the population. I also present table 7.6 showing the districts of Assam in a rearranged form according to the sizes of literate population in each district compared to that for the entire State.

19. Table 7.5 is a good table because it gives the total number of literates to Total, Rural and Urban literates for each district of Assam in descending order of magnitude. This confirms my earlier observation that because of their comparatively larger population, the literates in the plains of Assam are numerically much more than the literates of the hills of Assam although in terms of percentage, two hills districts of Assam are higher. Both the tables show that there are no clusters of districts in Assam where there are distinct zones of high or low literacy. This observation applies not only to total literacy but also to rural and urban literacy.

20. I give below tables 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9 the headings of which give the purpose for which each table is presented.

Total Rural and Urban Literacy in districts arranged in decreasing order, 1961
(Excluding age-group 0-4)

TABLE 7·5

Serial No	Total Literacy in Decreasing Order — Name of District	Per 10 000	Serial No	Total Rural Literacy in Decreasing Order — Name of District	Per 10,000	Serial No	Total Urban Literacy in Decreasing Order — Name of District	Per 10,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	564,307 Kamrup	3,310	1	471,231 Sibsagar	3,922	1	127,595 Kamrup	6,661
2	517,622 Sibsagar	4,076	2	436,712 Kamrup	2,886	2	84,207 Lakhimpur	6,401
3	448,182 Lakhimpur	3,482	3	363,975 Lakhimpur	3,149	3	66,224 U K-J Hills	7,008
4	394,308 Cachar	3,404	4	331,890 Cachar	3,093	4	62,418 Cachar	7,300
5	330,025 Nowgong	3,308	5	285,406 Nowgong	3,074	5	49,595 Goalpara	5,681
6	325,172 Goalpara	2,588	6	270,860 Darrang	2 651	6	46 391 Sibsagar	6,784
7	295,463 Darrang	2,772	7	275,577 Goalpara	2,357	7	44 619 Nowgong	6,449
8	145,763 U K-J Hills	3,715	8	107,679 Mizo Hills	4,978	8	24 603 Darrang	5,601
9	117,097 Mizo Hills	5,124	9	79,539 U K-J Hills	2,671	9	9 418 Mizo H ills	7,694
10	61,334 Garo Hills	2 399	10	55,986 Garo Hills	2,257	10	5 348 Garo Hills	6,990
11	48,782 U M & N C Hills	2,098	11	46,871 U M & N C Hills	2,040	11	1 911 U M & N C Hills	6,786

Distribution per 10,000 Total, Rural and Urban Literates among the Districts of Assam in decreasing order, 1961

TABLE 7·6

Sl No	Districts in decreasing order of total literacy	Per 10,000	Sl. No	Districts in decreasing order of total rural literacy	Per 10,000	Sl No	Districts in decreasing order of total urban literacy	Per 10,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Kamrup	1,737	1	Sibsagar	1,729	1	Kamrup	2,443
2	Sibsagar	1,594	2	Kamrup	1,602	2	Lakhimpur	1,612
3	Lakhimpur	1,380	3	Lakhimpur	1,335	3	U K-J Hills	1,268
4	Cachar	1,214	4	Cachar	1,218	4	Cachar	1,195
5	Nowgong	1,016	5	Nowgong	1,047	5	Goalpara	950
6.	Goalpara	1,001	6	Goalpara	1,011	6	Sibsagar	888
7	Darrang	910	7	Darrang	994	7.	Nowgong	854
8.	U.K-J Hills	449	8.	Mizo Hills	395	8.	Darrang	471
9.	Mizo Hills	360	9.	U.K-J Hills	292	9.	Mizo Hills	180
10.	Garo Hills	189	10.	Garo Hills	205	10.	Garo Hills	102
11.	U.M. & N.C. Hills	150	11.	U.M. & N.C. Hills	172	11.	U.M. & N.C. Hills	37

Distribution of districts in relation to the average rate of literacy in Rural and Urban Areas of the State as a whole, 1961

[Rate of rural literacy for the State per 10,000 of rural population]
[Rate of urban literacy for the State per 10,000 of urban population]
[Excluding age group 0-4]

I. Districts which are above or below the rural average for the State

TABLE 7·7

More than 50 per cent above 1	25-50 per cent above 2	Upto 25 per cent above 3	Upto 25 per cent below 4	25-50 per cent below 5
Mizo Hills	Sibsagar	Lakhimpur Cachar	Goalpara Darrang Nowgong United Khasi Jaintia Hills	Garo Hills United Mikir & North Cachar Hills

II Districts which are above or below the urban average for the State

More than 50 per cent above 1	25-50 per cent above 2	Upto 25 per cent above 4	Upto 25 per cent below 4	25-50 per cent below 5
—	—	Kamrup Nowgong Sibsagar Garo Hills United Khasi-Jaintia Hills United Mikir & North Cachar Hills Cachar Mizo Hills	Goalpara Darrang Lakhimpur	—

Districts and Police Stations in which Rural Literacy is above or below the rural average for the State

Police Stations with Rural Literacy

TABLE 7·8

District 1	More than 50 per cent above 2	25-50 per cent above 3	Upto 25 per cent above 4	Upto 25 per cent below 5	25 50 per cent below 6	More than 50 per cent below 7
1 Goalpara	—	—	Goalpara Dudhnai	Kokrajhar Bidli Bijni Golokganj North Salmara	Dhubri Gossaingaon Bilasipara	South Salmara Mankachar Lakhipur
2 Kamrup	—	Patacharkuchi Naibari Jhalukbari	Barama Rangia Kamalpur Palasbari Gauhati	Sorbhog Barpeta Hajo Boko	Tamabari Tamulpur Chhaygaon	Baghbor
3. Darrang	—	—	Mangaldai Tezpur Chutia Gohpur	Udalguri Kalaigaon	Pasari Majbat Dalgaon Dhekiajuli Rohali Doom Dooma	—
4. Lakhimpur	—	—	Bihpuria North Lakhimpur Dhakuakhana Dhemaji Sadiya	Tinsukia Berdubi Digboi		

District 1	More than 50 per cent above 2	25-50 per cent above 3	Upto 25 per cent above 4	Upto 25 per cent below 5	25-50 per cent below 6	More than 50 per cent below 7
4. Lakhimpur—(*concld*)			Dibrugarh Moran Jaipur Margherita			
5 Nowgong	Nowgong Lumding	Raha	Kaliabar Marigaon Samuguri Jamunamukh	Lanka	Laharighat Dhing Rupahihat	—
6 Sibsagar	Amguri Sibsagar Nazira	Dergaon Majuli Jorhat Teok Sonari	Golaghat Titabar	Bokakhat	—	—
7 Cachar	—	—	Borkhola Silchar Sonai Badarpur Ratabari Hailakandi	Katigora Udarband Lakhipur Karimganj Patharkandi Katlichara	—	—
8 Garo Hills	—	—	Mauza IV Mauza V Mauza IX	Mauza I	Mauza II Mauza VII Mauza VIII	Mauza III Mauza VI Mauza X
9 U K & J Hills	—	—	Nongpoh Cherrapunji	Shillong	Jowai	—
10 U M & N C Hills	—	—	—	Howraghat Diphu	Bokajan Haflong	Baithalangso
11 Mizo Hills	Aizal	Lungleh	—	—	—	—

Districts and Police Stations where Urban Literacy is above or below the Urban average for the State

Police Stations with Urban Literacy

TABLE 7·9

District 1	More than 50 per cent above 2	25—50 per cent above 3	Up to 25 per cent above 4	Up to 25 per cent below 5	25—50 per cent below 6	More than 50 per cent below 7
1 Goalpara	—	—	—	Kokrajhar Dhubri North Salmara Goalpara	Bilasipara Mankachar	—
2 Kamrup	—	—	Barpeta Nalbari Hajo Gauhati	Sorbhog Barama Rangia Palasbari Jhalukbari	—	—
3 Darrang	—	—	—	Paneri Mangaldai Dhekiajuli Tezpur	Dalgaon	—
4 Lakhimpur	—	—	North Lakhimpur Dibrugarh	Bihpuria Tinsukia Doom Dooma Digboi	Jaipur	—
5 Nowgong	—	—	Nowgong	Dhing Jamunamukh Lumding	—	—
6 Sibsagar	—	—	Dergaon Golaghat Jorhat Sibsagar Nazira	—	—	—
7. Cachar	—	—	Lakhipur Silchar Karimganj Badarpur Hailakandi	—	—	—
8. Garo Hills	—	—	Mauza X	—	—	—
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	—	—	Shillong	Jowai	—	—
10. United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	—	—	Haflong	—	—	—
11. Mizo Hills	—	—	Aizal	—	—	—

21. Table 7.7 speaks for itself and comments have already been given in the previous paragraphs. It may only be reiterated that the districts with less number of towns and less urban population show higher percentage of Rural Literacy while those which have more towns and more urban population like the Kamrup and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills districts show Rural Literacy as being even below the average of the State. In the case of the Garo Hills and the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills districts, their percentage is much below the percentage of the State whether in the rural or urban areas.

22. Table 7.8 depicts only the Rural Literacy by police stations and it helps us to find out the smaller geographical areas where literacy is either high or low. It may be seen from this table that only six police stations have a Rural Literacy which is 50 per cent. above the average of the State (which is 30.10). These police stations are Nowgong, Lumding, Amguri, Sibsagar, Nazira and Aijal. Column 3 of table 7.8 shows the police stations which are 25-50 per cent. above the average of the State, while columns 4 and 5 show those police stations which are up to 25 per cent. above and 25 per cent. below the average Rural Literacy of the State. From column 7 of this table it may be seen that in the plains of Assam, literacy is the lowest in the police stations of South Salmara, Mankachar, Lakhipur and Baghbor which are almost entirely occupied by Bengali Muslim immigrants from East Bengal. Column 6 also shows that literacy in the Dhubri, Bilasipara, Tarabari, Chhaygaon, Dalgaon, Dhekiajuli, Laharighat, Dhing and Rupahihat police stations is low because they have sizeable Muslim immigrants. This fact therefore confirms my earlier observations that wherever East Bengal Muslim immigrants have settled, the literacy of those areas falls down. Columns 6 and 7 also show that areas of low literacy are also those occupied by Scheduled Tribes and Tea Garden tribes. It may also be noted that most of the police stations of Assam have rural percentages of literacy in the range up to 25 per cent. above the State average as well as up to 25 per cent. below the state average.

23. Table 7.8 has, however, to be related to table 7.9 because some police stations have both urban and rural areas, while many police stations have only rural areas. A comparative study of these two tables show some distinctive characteristics. For example, in the Shillong police station of the Khasi Hills, Urban Literacy is up to 25 per cent. above the average of the State whereas in the rural areas, the Shillong police station is up to 25 per cent. below the average of the State. This indicates that literacy in the Shillong police station is more in the urban areas because it is there that there is a concentration of schools, colleges and Government offices, while in the rural areas of the same police station, educational institutions are more scarce and communications are also bad. In the case of the police stations of the Sibsagar district, it is seen that 8 out of the 11 police stations of this district have literacy in the rural areas ranging from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. and above while in another two police stations, the Rural Literacy is above 25 per cent. above the average of the State. Only one police station of this district has a rural literacy up to 25 per cent. below the State average. From table 7.9 it is also seen that all the five police stations of this district which have urban areas have a percentage of literacy ranging up to 25 per cent. of the State average. This shows that both Rural and Urban Literacy in the Sibsagar district are more or less within the same ranges and that is so because of the homogeneity of its population, constant social intercourse between the rural and urban areas of this district, similar social composition, a good distribution of educational institutions, roads and communications and more or less the same general prosperities in the agricultural countryside because in this district tea gardens are numerous and the yield of other agricultural products is also comparatively very good. In the case of Jhalukbari police station, it is seen that in the urban areas, the literacy is only up to 25 per cent. below the State average whereas in the rural areas, the percentage of literacy is 25-50 per cent. above the State average. The simple reason for this is that the Gauhati University is situated in the rural areas of this police station and so the percentage of literacy in the rural areas is very high, while in the urban areas of this police station are the Pandu and Amingaon railway colonies

which have a high percentage of unskilled labourers and so the percentage of Urban Literacy is down.

24. *Educational Statistics*—I give below tables 7.10 and 7.11 showing the educational statistics in the *rural* areas of all the districts of Assam with such details as average area per school, average population served by each school, the number of scholars per school and per teacher, percentage of literates, percentage of school enrolment, etc. It may be emphasized that both these tables relate only to rural areas and not to urban areas. It may also be noted that these statistics relate only to primary schools in the rural areas and that all the units in respect of each such data are available only up to districts and not to administrative divisions lower than the district. This is so because the Education Department of the Government of Assam did not give data according to police stations or even according to administrative subdivisions because school subdivisions are different from administrative subdivisions. The statistics relating only to the number of primary schools in each district of Assam, the number of school children in the whole district, the number of single-teacher schools and multi-teacher schools have been collected personally by my staff from the office of the Director of Public Instruction and the other data have been collected from our own Census statistics. All the data were then processed in the above form. The data collected from the Director of Public Instruction had to be reconciled time and again with his office as well as with the Director of Statistics.

TABLE 7·10

District	Area per School (in square mile)					Scholars per 1,000 population			
	Less than 1 sq. mile	1-2.4	2.5-4.9	5.0-7.4	7.5 and above	1-24	25-49	50-74	75 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Goalpara	..	2·0	..	.	..		..		102
Kamrup	..	1·3	..	..	.	..	..	.	108
Darrang	..	2·2	..	..	..	..	..	74	.
Lakhimpur	..	.	2·6	..	..	..	..	..	85
Nowgong	..	1·4	.	..	..	..	..	..	98
Sibsagar	..	1·5	..	..	..	..	..	..	115
Cachar	..	1·7	..	..	..	..	..	..	89
Garo Hills	..	.	4·0	..	..	..	..	..	84
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	..	..	..	..	7·6	..	..	..	90
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	..	..	..	..	11·4	..	..	72	..
Mizo Hills	..	..	..	..	14·0	..	..	..	151

District	Scholars per teacher				Scholars per School				Population of age 5+	Total literate and educated	Percentage of population literate and educated to population of age 5+	Percentage of population in Primary schools to population of age 5-14
	1-19	20-39	40-49	50 and over	1-49	50-99	100-199	200 and over				
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Goalpara	..	..	49	..	..	73	..	..	1,169,284	275,577	23.57	37.6[illegible]
Kamrup	..	..	45	..	..	71	..	..	1,512,350	436,712	28.86	37.4[illegible]
Darrang	..	36	..	..	..	60	..	..	1,021,989	270,860	26.51	27.1[illegible]
Lakhimpur	..	39	..	..	..	62		..	1,159,720	363,975	31.49	30.7[illegible]
Nowgong	..	..	43	..	..	71	..	..	928,426	285,486	30.74	33.4[illegible]
Sibsagar	..	..	40	..	..	71	..	..	1,201,444	471,231	39.22	38.9[illegible]
Cachar	..	38	..	..	..	70	..	..	1,072,976	331,890	30.93	32.4[illegible]
Garo Hills	..	30	..	..	32	..		..	248,038	55,986	22.57	33.5[illegible]
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	..	33	..	..	44	..	..	..	297,833	79,339	26.71	30.3[illegible]
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	..	31	..	..	38	..	..	..	229,749	46,871	20.40	29.3[illegible]
Mizo Hills	..	..	49	..	..	65	..	..	216,306	107,679	49.78	50.4[illegible]

N. B.—All the figures relate to rural areas only.

TABLE 7·11

District	Percentage of Literates			Percentage of School enrolment		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Goalpara	19 11	28 32	9 04	10 15	14 35	5·96
Kamrup	23 69	35 43	10 57	10 85	13 62	7 73
Darrang	21 85	30 57	11 81	7 41	9 27	5·27
Lakhimpur	25 77	36 24	13 54	8 49	9·91	6·84
Nowgong	25 27	34 30	15 10	9 77	11 81	7·48
Sibsagar	32 91	43 73	20 62	11 46	12 30	10,51
Cachar	25 90	37 58	13 14	8 85	11 26	6·23
Garo Hills	18 77	24 47	12 89	8 42	9 88	6·93
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	22 50	25 92	18 97	9 03	9 42	8·62
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	16 95	25 31	7 [illegible]	7 17	9 46	4 52
Mizo Hills	42 76	52 30	33 39	15 06	15 98	14 16

District	Percentage of one teacher school to schools having more than one teacher	Percentage of male scholars in single-teacher schools to total male scholars in both single-teacher and multi-teacher schools	Percentage of girl scholars in single-teacher schools to total girl scholars in both single-teacher and multi-teacher schools	Percentage of villages having no schools	Percentage of villages having one school schools	Percentage of villages having more than one teacher schools	Percentage of agricultural labourers to total workers	Percentage of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to total population
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Goalpara	175·99	44·58	41·93	46·93	34 06	19 01	6·63	20·13
Kamrup	163 05	41 26	43 24	5 79	58 67	35 54	3 95	17 41
Darrang	80 26	39 73	34 11	37·73	27 61	34 66	3 59	16 10
Lakhimpur	151 31	45 31	44 44	42 46	34 70	22 84	1 48	16·81
Nowgong	117 67	36 57	36·83	12 53	46 56	40 91	5 31	16·35
Sibsagar	86 56	29·52	23·80	3·95	45 14	50 91	1·91	12·82
Cachar	88·32	29 45	30 46	34 53	30 52	34·95	7 18	15·51
Garo Hills	1,267 24	85 37	84 35	67 66	30 39	1·95	1·92	86·97
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	285 19	48 56	48 23	64 21	27 16	8 63	7·36	93·95
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	387 74	61·17	61 32	72 77	21·88	5·35	1·42	78·61
Mizo Hills	291·28	47·96	46 30	22 74	58/77	18 49	0·03	98·62

N. B.—All the figures relate to rural areas only.

I think these data are so valuable that an attempt should be made to collect them by the next Census in the village notes or some other kind of Census documents which can be canvassed along with the usual Census questionnaires. If such data are collected by the Census, we can have more accurate and reliable data for all villages, police stations and districts of Assam. In the hill areas of Assam, there are many venture single-teacher schools maintained by the churches and many of these might not have been incorporated in the data of the Education Department of the Government of Assam. Such data will enable Government to pinpoint areas of low literacy so that the scheme of compulsory education and promotion of literacy can be more effectively implemented.

25. The data in the above tables cannot be compared with previous decades because such data have never been attempted by previous Censuses or by departments of the Government of Assam. Due to the absence of such data police station-wise, it is not possible for me to relate high, medium or low rural literacy with those police stations where in table 7.8 statistics have been given about percentage of literacy being much below the State average I have also shown in table 7.8 that literacy is least prevalent in areas occupied by Scheduled Tribes in the plains of Assam and in the hill districts of Garo Hills and United Mikir & North Cachar Hills together with those areas where muslim immigrants have settled Those data in table 7.8 have been collected by the Census and so they are accurate. It can therefore be inferred that venture schools and primary schools are least prevalent in the above areas, or that even if the schools are there, parents are reluctant to send their children to school for some social or economic reasons. It may also be reiterated here that in areas where Christianity predominates, literacy schools are prevalent because Christians have to learn how to read the Bible and Hymn Books and also to write something, wherever possible. These social changes have of necessity brought about high literacy in the Mizo Hills and the Christian areas of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district. Many of these schools are however mere venture schools with only one teacher and so many of them cannot cater education upto the primary standard although they do contribute greatly to the cause of literacy. As compulsory primary education has now been taken as a Government policy, all areas including such venture school areas should be taken up by Government and brought up to the level of primary schools to ensure greater literacy plus some standard of education. It is encouraging to note that during the first three years of the Third Plan, the Education Department of the Government of Assam has laid greater stress on the expansion of primary education in the hills. During these three years, as many as 2,176 additional posts were sanctioned for the four hill districts against 4,314 in the rest of the State. In addition, a special scheme for the development of education in the Mizo Hills was taken up in 1963, and under this scheme, 209 additional primary school teachers were sanctioned in the Mizo Hills.

26. As far as sheer literacy is concerned, it is immaterial whether the school is a one-teacher school or a multi-teacher school because even in the single-teacher school, children are taught the three R's, *i.e.*, reading, writing and arithmetic. It is also noted that one of the main causes of low literacy in the Garo Hills and the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills is the fact that villages are too small with a tendency to be shifted every two or three years because of the prevalence of the shifting method of cultivation It is seen that in these areas some villages may be so small and that they may consist of only 3, 4 or 5 households with temporary huts. Evidently a school cannot be established in every such village. Moreover, such small villages are at some distance from each other and the intervening space may be full of jungles and wild animals. Schools cannot be therefore established in such isolated settlements and so illiteracy is high in these two districts. Moreover, many Garos or Mikirs do not like to go to school because of complacency. Such a situation is also true of some areas in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills where non-Christians predominate. The economic condition of many of the Scheduled Tribes of the hills is also so bad that even children who have just learnt to walk have to do such household work as tending goats and cows or looking after the house while parents go out to work in the fields whose yield is very poor. It is a hard life for many of them against the rigours of the climate, the difficulties of the terrain and the fight against the forces of nature.

27. The muslim immigrants are more intelligent and their instinct for owning land is almost uncanny. Once in possession of land they work from sunrise till sunset and they make mother earth yield the maximum that it is capable of. They have no time for education and even the small children have to do household works such as tending or feeding cattle, goats and fowls or to take meals for those who are working in fields. That is why illiteracy is very high among them. Moreover, muslim immigrants also live in small hutments as near their paddy fields as possible and schools are situated some distance away from such settlements. Another

cause of low literacy among the muslim immigrants is the fact that they do not like to send females for education.

28. Among the indigenous people of Assam, *i.e.*, the Assamese and the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, there is no prohibition for women to obtain higher education although in the past, due to various social customs, women had less chance for education than men. Lack of economic incentive has also got a lot to do with parental indifference to send girls to schools. So even in 1961 in the plains of Assam, literacy among males is far higher than that of females. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills and the Mizo Hills, however, the literacy among females is almost as much as that of males because there is no prohibition in them for giving women folk the highest kind of education available to them.

29 I give below tables 7.12 and 7.13 in which the former shows the number of teachers in Primary and Junior Basic Schools during 1961 for Rural Areas only and the latter shows the number of single and multi-teacher Primary and Junior Basic schools in the State and Districts of Assam during 1960-61 for Rural Areas only.

Statement showing the number of teachers in primary and junior basic schools during 1960-61

(For Rural Areas only)

TABLE 7·12

State/District	Teachers in Primary and Junior Basic Schools		
	Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4
Assam	22,219	3,572	25,791
Goalpara	2,639	322	2,961
Kamrup	3,990	414	4,404
Darrang	2 253	297	2,550
Lakhimpur	2 689	373	3,062
Nowgong	2 189	351	2,540
Sibsagar	3 452	662	4,114
Cachar	2,301	647	2,948
Garo Hills	788	64	852
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	646	307	953
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	570	67	637
Mizo Hills	702	68	770

Statement showing the number of single and multi-teacher primary and junior basic schools in the State and Districts of Assam during 1960-61

(For Rural Areas only)

TABLE 7·13

State/District	Number of Schools	
	Single-Teacher	Multi-Teacher
1	2	3
Assam	9,668	[illegible]
Goalpara	1,283	[illegible]
Kamrup	1,756	[illegible]
Darrang	687	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	1,159	[illegible]
Nowgong	899	[illegible]
Sibsagar	1,069	[illegible]
Cachar	756	[illegible]
Garo Hills	735	[illegible]
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	599	[illegible]
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	481	[illegible]
Mizo Hills	[illegible]	[illegible]

30. From table 7.13 it is seen that the number of Primary and Junior Basic Schools are maximum in the Kamrup and Sibsagar districts, but that is also inevitable because of the huge population in these two districts. What is more significant, however, is that in both these districts, the number of multi-teacher schools is also fairly big as can be seen from table 7.13. As a matter of fact, the Sibsagar district has the largest number of multi-teacher primary schools and that probably accounts why it has the largest literacy in the plains districts of Assam. As far as the Hill Districts of Assam are concerned, it is seen that the Garo Hills has 852 teachers against 770 teachers in the Mizo Hills, but literacy in the Garo Hills is less than half of the Mizo Hills It may therefore be concluded that in the Garo Hills, many of the children do not attend schools. It will be rewarding if the Education Department of the Government of Assam makes investigations into such situations.

31. In the whole of Assam there are only 16,402 Primary and Junior Basic Schools in 1961, that is one such school for every 724 of the total population of the State or one such school for every 201 persons of the age group 5-14.

32. I give below table 7.14 which gives the number of scholars in single-teacher schools and multi-teacher schools by sex break-up as well as the number of villages having no schools and the number of villages having single-teacher schools or multi-teacher schools.

Sex-wise break-up of scholars in single-teacher and multi-teacher schools (Primary and Junior Basic) and number of villages having no schools, having single and multi-teacher schools, 1960-61

(For Rural Areas only)

TABLE 7·14

State/District	Number of scholars in single-teacher schools			Number of scholars in multi-teacher schools			Number of villages having no schools	Number of villages having single teacher schools	Number of villages having multi-teacher schools
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Assam	276,273	146,073	422,346	406,767	231,771	638,538	9,788	9,449	6,465
Goalpara	48,203	16,051	64,254	59,924	22,226	82,150	1,740	1,263	705
Kamrup	54,688	29,152	83,840	77,860	38,261	116,121	172	1,743	1,056
Darrang .	24,440	10,350	34,790	37,081	19,991	57,072	921	674	846
Lakhimpur .	34,180	19,793	53,973	41,249	24,742	65,991	1,389	1,135	747
Nowgong .	25,819	14,633	40,452	44,791	25,098	69,889	215	799	702
Sibsagar	27,652	16,756	44,408	66,008	53,651	119,659	87	993	1,120
Cachar	22,181	11,621	33,802	53,148	26,536	79,684	825	729	835
Garo Hills .	12,761	8,594	21,355	2,186	1,594	3,780	1,634	734	47
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	8,205	7,244	15,449	8,693	7,776	16,469	1,279	541	172
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	8,576	3,553	12,129	5,443	2,241	7,684	1,360	409	100
Mizo Hills . . .	9,568	8,326	17,894	10,384	9,655	20,039	166	429	135

33. From the above table it may be seen that out of 25,702 villages in Assam, as many as 9,788 villages have no schools at all while only 6,465 villages have more than one teacher schools. These figures do not fail to show that if wholesale literacy is to be obtained in the near future, the number of Primary and Junior Basic Schools should be greatly augmented in Assam and that the number of multi-teacher schools should also be greatly increased. The figures from this table do not fail to speak that the number of girl pupils is still almost half that of the boys and therefore there is great need for female education if literacy is to be increased. It is also seen from this table that out of 2,200 villages in the Sibsagar district, only 87 have no schools and that as many as 1,120 villages have multi-teacher schools. In contrast to this, out of 2,415 villages in the Garo Hills, as many as

1,634 have no schools at all. Similarly, in the case of United Mikir & North Cachar Hills, out of 1,869 villages, as many as 1,360 villages have no schools at all. No wonder therefore that the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills district is the least literate in Assam closely followed by Garo Hills. Even in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, out of 1,992 villages which are more established than those of the Garo Hills and the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills districts, as many as 1,279 villages have no schools at all, while out of 730 villages in the Mizo Hills, only 166 villages have no schools Villages in the Mizo Hills are fairly big and so if 166 villages have no schools at all, that is also a disturbing factor, especially when from table 7 10 it is seen that in the Mizo Hills, one school serves as much as 14 square miles in the rural areas. In the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills district, one school serves an area of 11 4 square miles as can be seen from table 7 10 All the above figures and tables clearly point out that there is great need for planning in the Education Department of the Government of Assam for giving effect to the Compulsory Primary Education Scheme of the Government, and that in planning any such scheme of education, regional disparities have to be attended to with greater care and solicitude. Such glaring disparities require thorough investigation and rectification by the Education Department of the Government of Assam

34. *Progress of educational level.*—One of the aims of the 1961 census is to attempt an appraisal of the impact of the two Five Year Plans on the State's economy and progress Progress can, to some extent, be measured in terms of increase in literacy and standard of education In 1951, some data were collected regarding standards of education, but comparable statistics are available only for below matriculation, and matriculation and above I therefore present table 7.15 below showing the total number of persons with sex break-up during 1951 and 1961 whose literacy and education are either below matriculation or matriculation and above.

TABLE 7·15

	1951			1961		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Below Matriculation . .	1,538,641	1,219,823	318,818	3,106,107	2,238,395	867,712
				Percentage increase in 1961—101·87		
Matriculation and above	73,400	67,579	5,821	141,948	123,329	18,619
				Percentage increase in 1961—93·39		

35. Judged by the standard of literacy and education as is thrown out by the above table, it may be seen that the number of literates below matriculation in 1951 is 1,538,641 while the corresponding figure for 1961 is 3,106,107 showing a percentage increase of 101.87 during the ten-year period covered by the Census and the two Five Year Plans. As regards higher standards of education of matriculation and above, it may be seen that there were 73,400 such persons in 1951 while there are 141,948 such persons in 1961 showing a percentage increase of 93.39. Sex-wise, the number of female literates below matriculation is only 318,818 in 1951 whereas in 1961 it has increased to 867,712 showing a percentage increase of 172·17 which is quite spectacular. Similarly in the case of female educated persons with matriculation and above, there were 5,821 persons in 1951 against 18,619 in 1961 showing an increase of 219.86 per cent, which is still more spectacular. The above figures do not fail to show that one of the greatest achievements of the First and Second Five Year Plans is the increase in literacy and education for the total population and more so in respect of female education.

36. I present below another table, 7.16, showing the total population of Assam, the number of persons who are literate without any educational level, the number of students who have passed primary or junior basic examinations and those who have read up to

matriculation classes but not passed it and those who have attained the standard of education of matriculation and above in 1961 for Assam and all its districts.

TABLE 7·16

State/District	Total population	Literate (without educational level)	Primary, Junior Basic and below Matriculation	Matriculation and above
1	2	3	4	5
Assam	11,872,772	2,298,570	807,537	141,948
Goalpara	1,543,892	241,246	75,190	8,736
Kamrup	2,062,572	363,466	166,427	34,414
Darrang	1,289,670	218,690	67,873	8,900
Lakhimpur	1,563,842	328,486	99,187	20,509
Nowgong	1,210,761	237,819	81,962	10,244
Sibsagar	1,508,390	393,323	103,645	20,654
Cachar	1,378,476	231,744	144,584	17,980
Garo Hills	307,228	54,201	6,187	946
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	462,152	96,589	31,829	17,345
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	279,726	35,321	12,319	1,142
Mizo Hills	266,063	97,685	18,334	1,078

37. This table shows the number of literate and educated persons, with matriculation as the dividing line in Assam as well as all its districts, in terms of absolute numbers. In the whole of Assam, the number of educated persons who have passed matriculation and above is only 4.37 per cent. of the total literate population and only 1.20 per cent. of the total population of the State. Looked at from this angle, it appears that our standard of higher education is still very poor although in popular imagination, there is a thinking that we are producing too many under-graduates, graduates and post-graduates. The figures in column 5 also show that as far as literacy below matriculation is concerned, the hill districts appear to compare favourably with those of the plains in terms of percentage, but when it comes to education from matriculation and above, the number of such persons in the hills is very very low compared to those in the plains of Assam. It is also strange that the Garo Hills has only 946 persons who have passed matriculation and above against 1,142 in the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills district. Even the Mizo Hills has only 1,078 persons who have passed matriculation and above which is less than even the figures for the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills leave alone any comparison with those of the plains districts. While the State average for such persons is 4.37 per cent. of the total literate population, the figures of matriculation and above in the Mizo Hills is 0.92 per cent. of the total literate population of the district. The United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district has 17,345 persons who have passed matriculation and above which is 11.90 per cent. of the total literate population of the district, but this is simply due to the fact that Shillong is the capital of Assam and almost all the administrative offices of the State and Central Governments are situated here and so the employees of the government offices account for this big number of persons with matriculation and above. But among the Khasis, there are 3,042 persons constituting 3.52 per cent. of the total literates of the Khasis which is much below the State average. There is therefore no doubt that the crying need of the hill districts is for higher education. The Central Government was already seized of this question and has set up a commission for enquiring into the state of higher education in the hill areas of North East India and the location of a Central Hill

University for these areas. With the setting up of such a university, the imbalance may be adjusted at some distant date. Even the very poor number of those having education with matriculation and above among the hill tribes is greatly due to the scholarship scheme of the Central Government under Article 275 of the Constitution of India. This scholarship scheme has to be maintained for the next two or three decades to make up the imbalance.

38. *Urban Areas—Unemployment.*—Data about unemployment are always of great interest, but the definition of work in the 1961 Census is such that it is very difficult to gauge the extent of unemployment. In 1961, persons are divided into Workers and Non-Workers and this is the definition of work as given in the Instructions to Enumerators—'The basis of work will be satisfied in the case of seasonal work like cultivation, livestock, dairying, household industry, etc., if the person has had some regular work of more than one hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season. In the case of regular employment in any trade, profession, service, business or commerce, the basis of work will be satisfied if the person was employed during any of the fifteen days preceding the day on which the household was visited'. Accordingly, the enumerators collected the data strictly on the basis of this instruction. Judged by the standard of work, the number of unemployed persons became small because even partially employed persons have been included in the category of workers. In the case of Urban Areas of Assam, the total number of unemployed persons according to this definition is only 5,247 of whom 4,871 are males and 376 are females. Out of these persons, 3,525 persons were found seeking employment for the first time out of whom 259 persons were females. From table B-VIII Part A which relates to persons unemployed aged 15 and above by sex, broad age groups and educational levels in the Urban Areas, it is seen that persons seeking employment for the first time are mostly found in the age-groups 20-24 followed by age-group 15-19 and thence age-group 25-29. It is also seen that people seeking employment for the first time are mostly found among literates without educational level, and among those who have passed only the primary or junior basic examinations. Thereafter the extent of unemployment is great among those who have passed matriculation. It is also seen that among the degree-holders also, there were 85 persons who were seeking employment for the first time in age-groups 20-29 of whom 12 are females. Seekers of job for the first time might have not been unemployed for a long time because they might have been found to be unemployed at the time of the enumeration only because they had just passed the examinations It is also seen that even among technical degree holders in medicine, there are nine male persons seeking employment for the first time, but that may be either due to the fact that they had just passed the examinations or they might be contemplating private practice

39 In the whole of the Urban Areas of Assam, there were 1,722 persons including 117 females who were employed before but were out of employment and seeking work during the time of the enumeration. Out of this number again, 430 persons were illiterate and the rest were either barely literate or matriculation and above.

40. *Rural Areas.*—In the Rural Areas of Assam, there were 32,431 total unemployed persons out of whom 7,457 were females and as many as 18,248 persons were illiterate. The number of literate persons who were unemployed in the Rural Areas by educational level is as follows:

TABLE 7.17

1. Literate without Educational Level	6,364
2. Primary or Junior Basic	5,503
3. Matriculation and above	1,816

Table B-VIII Part B simply gives the data of unemployed persons aged 15 and above by sex and educational level in the Rural Areas of Assam but without any other data such as age groups and whether they were seeking employment for the first time or not.

41. *Education among Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste compared to Non-Scheduled Communities.*—I give below table [illegible] which gives a particular analysis of the [illegible] features and the gap that exists between [illegible]

General Population and the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes of Assam This table has been prepared from Union Tables B-III Parts A and B and SCT-III Parts A and B.

Statement showing education among scheduled tribes and scheduled castes compared to non-scheduled communities

TABLE 7·18

Educational levels	Total		Scheduled Tribes	Scheduled Castes	Non-Scheduled Communities
		Total A			
Literates below Matriculation	3,106,107		480 048 (23 25)	176 447 (24·08)	2 449 612 (27 00)
Matriculation and above	141,948		6 741 (0 33)	2 397 (0 33)	132 810 (1 46)
		Rural B			
Literates below Matriculation	2,663 928		447 226 (22 40)	156 582 (23 30)	2 060 120 (24 86)
Matriculation and above	61,798		3 055 (0 16)	1,515 (0 23)	57 228 (0 69)
		Urban C			
Literates below Matriculation	442 179		32 822 (48 24)	19 865 (32 74)	389 492 (49 66)
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	61,322		3 038 (4 47)	706 (1 16)	57 578 (7 34)
University Degree	13 066		585 (0 86)	95 (0 16)	12,386 (1 58)
Technical Diploma not equal to Degree	1 893		30 (0 04)	39 (0 06)	1,824 (0 23)
Technical Degree	1 790		29 (0 04)	5 (0 01)	1 756 (0 22)

42 It may be seen that this table has three parts, the first part relating to Assam as a whole, the second part relating to Rural and the third part to Urban Areas of Assam, and that the data for the State and the Rural Areas of Assam have been given only for two categories of literacy and education, while the data for the Urban Areas of Assam have been given for five categories of literacy and education This is so because in the table for Rural Areas of Assam, details about University degrees and Technical degrees or Diplomas have not been tabulated That is one of the regrets of this Census The figures for Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Communities have been given in terms of absolute numbers as well as in terms of percentage with reference to the total strength of each community in order to enable us to make a comparative study of the progress of each community. From table 7.18, A and B, it may be seen that in respect of literacy and education below Matriculation, the Scheduled Tribes are still at the bottom of the ladder while the Scheduled Castes are slightly better and the Non-Scheduled Communities are still ahead but not very far off. In respect of education from Matriculation and upwards, the Non-Scheduled Communities are far ahead of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes; but among themselves the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are at par in the whole of Assam, but the Scheduled Castes are better in the Rural Areas of Assam

43 In the Urban Areas of Assam, the Scheduled Tribes are not very far behind the Non-Scheduled Communities in respect of literacy below the Matriculation while that of the Scheduled Castes is rather much lower This is due to the fact that in Urban Areas of Assam, the Scheduled Castes from other States of India like the Bansphor, Dhobi, Mehtar and Muchi with very low literacy have come to work In the category of Matriculation or Higher Secondary, the Non-Scheduled Communities are leading well ahead, followed by the Scheduled Tribes, but the Scheduled Caste communities in this category in the Urban Areas of Assam is very low. When we come to University and Technical degrees, the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are rather far behind the Non-Scheduled Communities.

44. The above facts seem to suggest that safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes and

Scheduled Castes are still necessary for more decades to come, especially in the category of Higher education, but mostly in the category of Technical education. In other words, the State should take steps to give more facilities to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes to attain higher education and technical degrees if they are to come up to the level of others as is required by the Constitution

45. The total number of non-working population among the Scheduled Castes is 426,358 of whom 172,081 are males and 254,277 are females out of whom only 3,605 are unemployed persons. Among the unemployed persons 1,665 are illiterate and 1,186 are literate without educational level, 545 have passed primary or junior basic examinations but below matriculation, 145 are matriculates and 14 are above matriculation These figures show that there is practically no unemployment in the Scheduled Castes in Assam once they have passed the matriculation and above Even those who have been shown as being unemployed above, may have been so only temporarily during the period of the enumeration Total unemployment among the Scheduled Castes of Assam is therefore comparatively very small. The above information has been collected from table SC-I.

46. It is unfortunate that a similar table has not been prepared for the Scheduled Tribes of Assam because such a table has not been envisaged in the Tabulation Plan Had a similar table been prepared, we would have obtained valuable information about the Scheduled Tribes as a whole or even of particular tribes of Assam. Preparing such a table for the Scheduled Tribes of Assam at the time of writing this General Report would have meant resorting of all the 11,872, 772 slips of Assam which would have been too costly and have taken much time; but had it been done at the time of general sorting and tabulation, the cost and time factor would have been negligible. This is another regret of the 1961 Census. Perhaps the 1971 Census will improve on this.

47. For Scheduled Tribes, only very few informations can be collected from Table ST-II from which it may be seen that there are 1,004,235 non-working persons among the Scheduled Tribes of Assam out of whom 171,923 are full-time students and 2,317 are unemployed persons. In the absence of a table similar to SC-I, the educational qualifications of these unemployed persons cannot be gauged, but it is presumed that they are mostly educated people because it is unthinkable that this small number can account for unemployed persons among the 2,064,816 Scheduled Tribes of Assam

48 *Educational Institutions.*—I collected the statistics regarding different types of educational institutions and the number of students in each such type up to the year 1960-61 for Assam and its districts from the Director of Public Instruction, Assam The informations thus collected were then tabulated in my office In table 7 19, I have given a statement showing the number of different broad types of educational institutions and the number of students in each type This condensed table will enable us to see the number of different broad types of educational institutions in the State of Assam as well as in each of its districts We can thus have a comparative study of the number of institutions and the number of students in each district and see the disparities district-wise In table 7.20, I have given the type of institutions, the number of institutions and the number of students in each such institution for each district of Assam to facilitate more detailed study of the existence of educational institutions in each district and to see where the special types of education are localised and where they are not in existence

49 In table 7 19, the Colleges for General Education are those catering only for general Arts, Science and Commerce; while Colleges for Technical and Special Education cover various subjects from Engineering to Medical, Ayurvedic, Veterinary etc. Schools for Technical and Special Education include not only such general subjects as Engineering, Surveys, Basic Training etc., but they also include such small type of Technical Schools as Typewriting and Stenography which may be run by private individuals and which may contain only a few typewriters and only a few pupils.

50. Table 7.20 does not require any explanation because the entries there speak for themselves.

Statement showing the number of different broad types of educational institutions (Recognised and Unrecognised) and the number of students in each type in 1960-61 in Assam and its Districts

TABLE 7·19

State/District	Colleges for General Education		Colleges for Technical and Special Education		Schools for Technical and Special Education		High and Higher Secondary Schools		Middle Schools and Senior Basic		Primary Schools, Junior Basic and Nursery	
	No of Institutions	No of Students	No of Institutions	No of Students	No of Institutions	No of Students	No of Institutions	No of Students	No of Institutions	No of Students	No of Institutions	No. of Students
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Assam	41	24,202	12	2,558	932	37,666	754	244,733	2,057	217,276	16,925	1,094,943
Goalpara	5	1,355	..	..	108	5,315	72	22,846	239	20,556	2,071	124,331
Kamrup	8	6,408	7	1,474	109	4,599	146	50,813	389	46,853	2,985	212,532
Darrang	3	1,071	..	.	58	1,841	61	18,953	166	18,533	1,557	96,189
Lakhimpur	3	2,085	1	646	81	3,076	93	29,832	254	28,577	1,956	123,687
Nowgong	4	1,568	.	..	90	2,879	81	25,484	203	24,228	1,573	118,587
Sibsagar	6	4,025	4	438	93	5,117	146	48,321	326	36,007	2,356	173,139
Cachar	4	3,473	.	.	139	5,111	81	28,676	212	21,345	1,663	122,315
Garo Hills	1	80	.	.	72	1,881	12	2,944	51	3,644	820	26,988
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	6	3,992	..	..	96	5,569	34	11,439	80	8,461	802	39,518
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	..	..	.	..	59	1,252	10	1,500	44	2,415	525	17,418
Mizo Hills	1	145	..	..	27	1,026	18	3,925	93	6,657	617	40,679

Statement showing the Number of Different Types of Educational Institutions (Recognised and Unrecognised) and Number of Students in each Type in 1960-61 in the different Districts of Assam

TABLE 7.20

Serial No.	Type of Institutions	No. of Institutions	No. of Students
1	2	3	4
	GOALPARA		
1	*Colleges for general education*	*5*	*1,355*
2	*Schools for general education*	*2,382*	*1,67,733*
	(a) Higher Secondary	3	2,033
	(b) High	69	20,813
	(c) Senior Basic	21	2,690
	(d) Middle	218	17,866
	(e) Junior Basic	541	39,406
	(f) Primary	1,528	84,793
	(g) Nursery	2	132
3	*Schools for professional education*	*7*	*321*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	3	47
	(b) Basic Training Schools	4	274
4	*Schools for special education*	*101*	*4,994*
	(a) Music and Dance	2	9
	(b) Oriental Studies	5	290
	(c) For Adults	94	4,695

Serial No. 1	Type of Institutions 2	No. of Institutions 3	No. of Students 4
	KAMRUP		
1	*University*	*1*	*1,486*
2	*Colleges for general education*	*8*	*6,408*
3	*Colleges for professional education*	*6*	*1,456*
	(a) Engineering College	1	447
	(b) Medical College	1	100
	(c) Ayurvedic College	1	27
	(d) Veterinary College	1	289
	(e) Assam Textile Institute	1	75
	(f) Law College	1	518
4	*Colleges for general education*	*1*	*18*
	(a) Sanskrit College	1	18
5	*Schools for general education*	*3,520*	*310,198*
	(a) Higher Secondary	9	6,255
	(b) High	137	44,558
	(c) Senior Basic	23	4,515
	(d) Middle	366	42,338
	(e) Junior Basic	207	24,353
	(f) Primary	2,777	188,124
	(g) Nursery	1	55
6	*Schools for professional education*	*15*	*1,900*
	(a) Agriculture	1	94
	(b) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts (including other fine arts)	4	283
	(c) Commerce	3	489
	(d) Engineering and Survey	2	663
	(e) Basic Training Schools	3	246
	(f) Non-Basic Training Schools	2	125
7	*Schools for special education*	*94*	*2,699*
	(a) Music	2	15
	(b) Oriental Studies	48	875
	(c) Physically Handicapped	1	45
	(d) For Adults	42	1,738
	(e) Other (Jail)	1	26
	DARRANG		
1	*Colleges for general education*	*3*	*1,071*
2	*Schools for general education*	*1,784*	*133,675*
	(a) Higher Secondary	5	1,427
	(b) High	56	17,526
	(c) Senior Basic	12	2,057
	(d) Middle	154	16,476
	(e) Junior Basic	162	16,948
	(f) Primary	1,394	79,219
	(g) Nursery	1	22
3	*Schools for professional education*	*5*	*555*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	1	163
	(b) Basic Training Schools	2	178
	(c) Non-Basic Schools	2	214
4	*Schools for special education*	*53*	*1,286*
	(a) Music and Dance	1	41
	(b) Oriental Studies	15	264
	(c) For Adults	36	961
	(d) Others (Jail)	1	20

Serial No. 1	Type of Institutions 2	No. of Institutions 3	No. of Students 4
	LAKHIMPUR		
1	*Colleges for general education*	*3*	*2,085*
2	*College for professional education*	*1*	*646*
	(a) Medical College	1	646
3	*Schools for general education*	*2,303*	*182,096*
	(a) Higher Secondary	2	1,786
	(b) High	91	28,046
	(c) Senior Basic	37	6,612
	(d) Middle	217	21,965
	(e) Junior Basic	225	19,295
	(f) Primary	1,730	104,360
	(g) Nursery	1	32
4	*Schools for professional education*	*8*	*652*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	2	15
	(b) Commerce	4	538
	(c) Basic Training Schools	2	99
5	*Schools for special education*	*73*	*2,424*
	(a) Music and Dance	2	70
	(b) Oriental Studies	12	496
	(c) For Adults	58	1,830
	(d) Others (Jail)	1	28
	NOWGONG		
1	*Colleges for general education*	*4*	*1,568*
2	*Schools for general education*	*1,857*	*168,299*
	(a) Higher Secondary	3	2,500
	(b) High	78	22,984
	(c) Senior Basic	22	4,737
	(d) Middle	181	19,491
	(e) Junior Basic	324	29,317
	(f) Primary	1,248	89,230
	(g) Nursery	1	40
3	*Schools for professional education*	*10*	*770*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	3	244
	(b) Commerce	2	124
	(c) Basic Training Schools	3	279
	(d) Non-Basic Training Schools	2	123
4	*Schools for special education*	*80*	*2,109*
	(a) Music and Dance	4	97
	(b) Oriental Studies	6	238
	(c) Physically Handicapped	1	36
	(d) For Adults	68	1,706
	(e) Others (Jail)	1	32
	SIBSAGAR		
1	*Colleges for general education*	*6*	*4,025*
2	*College for professional education*	*4*	*438*
	(a) Agricultural College	1	285
	(b) Basic Training College	1	25
	(c) Non-Basic Training College	1	67
	(d) Engineering College	1	61

Serial No. 1	Type of Institution 2	No of Institutions 3	No of Students 4
3	*Schools for general education*	*2,828*	*257,467*
	(*a*) Higher Secondary	1	2,618
	(*b*) High	143	45,703
	(*c*) Senior Basic	72	12,534
	(*d*) Middle	254	23,473
	(*e*) Junior Basic	444	40,299
	(*f*) Primary	1,909	132,636
	(*g*) Nursery	3	204
4	*Schools for professional education*	*14*	*2,353*
	(*a*) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	2	546
	(*b*) Commerce	8	1,032
	(*c*) Engineering and Survey	1	388
	(*d*) Basic Training Schools	2	192
	(*e*) Non-Basic Training School	1	195
5	*Schools for special education*	*79*	*2,764*
	(*a*) Music	6	217
	(*b*) Oriental Studies	9	215
	(*c*) Social Works	1	40
	(*d*) For Adults	62	2,264
	(*e*) Others (Jail)	1	28
	CACHAR		
1	*College for general education*	*4*	*3,473*
2	*Schools for general education*	*1,956*	*172,336*
	(*a*) Higher Secondary	4	3,250
	(*b*) High	77	25,426
	(*c*) Senior Basic	21	3,694
	(*d*) Middle	191	17,651
	(*e*) Junior Basic	316	31,323
	(*f*) Primary	1,346	90,956
	(*g*) Nursery	1	36
3	*Schools for professional education*	*21*	*1,210*
	(*a*) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	10	389
	(*b*) Commerce	6	419
	(*c*) Polytechnic	1	58
	(*d*) Basic Training Schools	2	226
	(*e*) Non-Basic Training School	2	118
4	*Schools for special education*	*118*	*3,901*
	(*a*) Music and Dance	7	104
	(*b*) Oriental Studies	25	1,189
	(*c*) For Adults	85	2,590
	(*d*) Others (Jail)	1	18
	GARO HILLS		
1	*College for general education*	*1*	*80*
2	*Schools for general education*	*883*	*33,136*
	(*a*) Higher Secondary	1	880
	(*b*) High	11	2,064
	(*c*) Middle	51	3,644
	(*d*) Junior Basic	45	2,414
	(*e*) Primary	760	23,627
	(*f*) Nursery	15	507

Serial No. 1	Type of Institutions 2	No. of Institutions 3	No. of Students 4
3	*Schools for professional education*	*5*	*109*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	3	43
	(b) Basic Training Schools	1	42
	(c) Non-Basic Training Schools	1	24
4	*Schools for special education*	*67*	*1,772*
	(a) For Adults	67	1,772
	UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS		
1	*College for general education*	*6*	*3,992*
2	*Schools for general education*	*916*	*59,418*
	(a) Higher Secondary	1	593
	(b) High	33	10,846
	(c) Senior Basic	12	1,838
	(d) Middle	68	6,623
	(e) Junior Basic	111	7,403
	(f) Primary	685	31,481
	(g) Nursery	6	634
3	*Schools for professional education*	*9*	*530*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	3	154
	(b) Commerce	3	297
	(c) Basic Training School	1	37
	(d) Non-Basic Training Schools	2	42
4	*Schools for special education*	*87*	*5,039*
	(a) Oriental Studies	1	25
	(b) For Adults	86	5,014
	UNITED MIKIR AND NORTH CACHAR HILLS		
1	*Schools for general education*	*579*	*21,333*
	(a) High	10	1,500
	(b) Middle	44	2,415
	(c) Junior Basic	53	2,873
	(d) Primary	472	14,545
2	*Schools for professional education*	*3*	*47*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	1	19
	(b) Commerce	1	14
	(c) Non-Basic Training school	1	14
3	*Schools for special education*	*56*	*1,205*
	(a) For Adults	56	1,205
	MIZO HILLS		
1	*College for general education*	*1*	*145*
2	*Schools for general education*	*728*	*51,261*
	(a) Higher Secondary	1	663
	(b) High	17	3,262
	(c) Middle	93	6,657
	(d) Junior Basic	90	9,346
	(e) Primary	512	30,604
	(f) Nursery	15	729
3	*Schools for professional education*	*5*	*95*
	(a) Industrial and Technical Arts and Crafts	2	30
	(b) Basic Training School	1	36
	(c) Non-Basic Training School	2	29
4	*Schools for special education*	*22*	*931*
	(a) For Adults	22	931

51. From table 7.19 it may be seen that in the plains of Assam and in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, the number of Colleges for General Education is from 3 in the Darrang and Lakhimpur districts to 6 in the Sibsagar and the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills districts and 8 in the Kamrup district. In the Garo Hills and Mizo Hills there is one College each, but these are still in the stage of infancy. At best, they may be termed as proceeding colleges, while in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district, there is not even one College up to 1961. One College has recently been started at Haflong.

52. As far as Colleges for Technical and Special Education are concerned, these have practically been monopolised by the Kamrup district and the Sibsagar district, the number of such institutions being 7 in Kamrup and 4 in Sibsagar. Only Lakhimpur district also has one such College and that is the Assam Medical College. As far as Schools for Technical and Special Education are concerned, these are found in all the districts of Assam, in greater number in the plains districts and less in the Hill districts.

53. High and Higher Secondary Schools exist in varying numbers in all the districts of Assam, but the biggest number, 146 each, is in the Kamrup and the Sibsagar districts. These High Schools are comparatively much less in number in the Hill districts of Assam. It may be stated that the population in the Hill districts is less and so the number of High, Middle and Primary Schools should correspondingly be smaller, but proportionately in respect of areas, such institutions are much less in the Hills districts than in the plains districts. But apart from the number of people, the Hill districts are generally very big in area with a very difficult terrain and so school children cannot cover very long distances to attend any school. Judged at from this angle, the number of High, Middle and Primary Schools in the Hill Areas ought to have been much more than they are now. For example, in the Mizo Hills, even a Primary School covers 14.0 square miles of area, while that in the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills district covers 11.4 square miles of area. Even in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, a primary school covers 7.4 square miles of area, but in the plains districts where land is flat and communications are better, primary schools cover only from 1.5 to 2.2 square miles excepting Lakhimpur district in which a primary school covers an area of 2.6 square miles, but that is only due to the scarce population in the Dhemaji and Sadiya areas. Even predominantly Christian districts like the Mizo Hills and the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills may suffer in the next decade if the imbalance is not corrected in time, not to speak of such very backward districts as the Garo Hills and the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills where the percentage of literacy is the lowest in Assam and in India. Much leeway therefore has to be covered to bring up these backward areas to the level of others even in terms of sheer literacy. When it comes to Higher Education the proportion in the Hills is even much worse than in the plains. This is the reason why more High Schools have to be established in the Hill Areas. But it is at the stage of Higher Education that the Hill Areas suffer most. The Government of India has therefore proposed to set up a Central University for the Hill Areas of North-East India and so if this University is set up at very early date, the imbalance may be slowly corrected. Schools and Colleges for Technical and Specialised Education, excepting Schools for typing, are non-existent in the Hill Areas. No wonder therefore that the number of technical personnel among the Scheduled Tribes of the Hills is very very poor. The Central University will have to cater to all these needs as soon as it is set up. Medical and Engineering Colleges are the crying needs of the Hill Districts.

54. "Education in Assam has mainly developed on the basis of local initiative and enterprise. This is more so in the field of secondary and collegiate education. The establishment of School Boards in the plains districts with popular representatives in them created an atmosphere conducive to the expansion of primary education in most of the plains districts. Schools started by the local communities used to be maintained by them for years before they were taken over by the School Boards. It is expected that similar beneficial results will follow from the transfer of control and management of the primary schools in the hills to the District Councils". The above is the view of the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, with whom I am in

entire agreement. But initiative and enterprise is lacking in the hills and that is why they are backward ; and that is also the reason why the Constitution has made provisions for bringing up these backward people to the level of others within the shortest time possible. In other words, initiative and enterprise in respect of the backward areas have to come from the authorities where it is lacking among the local people.

55. Table 7.20 shows that while in the plains districts of Assam, different kinds of educational institutions are found in sufficient numbers, localisation has been rather too heavy in the Kamrup district only. Apart from the University, all important Technical Colleges are practically only in this district excepting the Agriculture College which is located in the Sibsagar district. The only Government General College for the whole of Assam is also located in the Kamrup district. Even in the plains of Assam, there is thus regional disparities in respect of location of Technical Institutions.

56. *Special Enumeration of Technically Qualified personnel.*—At the instance of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, a special enumeration of technically qualified personnel was undertaken along with the Census of 1961. In the case of Assam, that enumeration was confined only to the Urban Areas and some selected Rural Areas. where such technically qualified personnel were likely to be found. Technically qualified personnel are only those persons who hold a recognised degree or diploma in Science, Engineering, Technology and Medicine. Under-graduate Scientists, even though holding certificates were not recognised as technically qualified persons; but a B.A. with mathematics as one of his subjects is considered to be a technically qualified personnel. People with higher degrees like doctorates in any one of the Science subjects are also covered by the enumeration. The enumeration was done by handing over a card to each such technically qualified personnel and each such card contains the questionnaire which should be filled up by the persons. After filling up the details in the card, the technically qualified personnel might either hand back the card to the enumerator or he might post it in the post office without any postage. The enumeration was also confined only to Urban Areas and some selected Rural Areas. Many technically qualified persons might have posted the cards direct to the Registrar General, while many handed them over to the enumerators and these were sent to me, after which, I again sent them to the Registrar General. It is not known whether all the technically qualified personnel who received such cards had sent the same to the Registrar General or whether they had returned the same to the enumerators. At best, this is only a sort of a sample survey.

57. The cards received by the Registrar General were mechanically tabulated and the results along with tables were sent to me.

58. I give below table 7.21 showing the Format of the questionnaire for such technically qualified personnel as well as table 7 22 showing the Classification by each Branch and Sub-Branch of Science or Technology.

TABLE 7.21

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961 , SCIENTIFIC & TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

Only a person with a recognised Degree or Diploma in Science Engineering, Technology or Medicine should fill in this card

(Obverse)

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961 SCIENTIFIC & TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

Only a person with a recognised Degree or Diploma in Science Engineering Technology or Medicine should fill in this card

CENSUS LOCATION CODE

READ CAREFULLY BEFORE FILLING IN TICK ( ) WITHIN BRACKETS PROVIDED WHERE APPLICABLE

1 NAME

2 DATE OF BIRTH

3 DESIGNATION & OFFICE ADDRESS (*If employed*)

4 PERMANENT ADDRESS

5 (a) Male ( )
(b) Female ( )

6 (a) Never Married/ ( )
(b) Married ( )

7 On Feb 1, 1961 were you

(a) Employed ? ( )
If so monthly total income Rs

(b) Full time student ? ( )

(c) Unemployed ? ( )
If so how long ?
Yrs mths

(d) Retired ? ( )

8 ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS (*ANSWER FULLY*)

Degree/Diploma	Subjects taken	Division	Year of Passing

If employed fill in Qs 9—12

9 Nature of employment
(a) Teaching in School ( )
(b) in College ( )
(c) Technical in Industry ( )
(d) outside Industry ( )
(e) Non technical ( )

10 Any Research Assignment ?
Yes ( )/No ( )

11 Where employed ?
(a) Public Sector ( )
(b) Private Sector ( )
(c) Self employment ( )

12 How employed ? ( )
(a) Permanent ( )
(b) Temporary ( )
(c) On contract ( )
(d) Research Scholar etc ( )
(e) Otherwise ( )

Date

Signature

(Reverse)

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

Postage will be paid by the Addressee

NEW DELHI G. P. O.
PERMIT NO. 1518

No Postage necessary if posted in India

The Registrar General, India,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
2A, Man Singh Road,
NEW DELHI-11.

Scientific & Technical Personnel

Classified by each Branch & Sub-Branch of Science or Technology

TABLE 7.22

Classification No. of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology			Description of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology	Persons	Males	Females
1			2	3	4	5
0—8			Post-Graduate (Including Doctorates) in Science	271	259	12
	0		Physics	47	46	1
		00	Physics (including Mathematical Physics)	47	46	1
	1		Mathematics	35	31	4
		10	Pure Mathematics	32	28	4
		11	Applied Mathematics	3	3	..
	2		Statistics	22	22	..
		20	Statistics	22	22	..
	3		Chemistry	42	41	1
		30	Physical Chemistry	35	34	1
		31	Inorganic Chemistry	..	..	..
		32	Organic Chemistry	2	2	..
		33	Bio-Chemistry	5	5	..
	4		Agriculture	20	20	..
		40	Agriculture (including Agricultural Botany & Agricultural Economics).	20	20	..
	5		Bio-Sciences	80	74	6
		50	Zoology	20	18	2
		51	Botany	46	42	4
		52	Anthropology	12	12	..
		53	Others (*e.g.* Physiology, Fisheries, etc.)	2	2	..
	6		Geology/Geophysics	14	14	..
		60	Geology	12	12	..
		61	Geophysics	2	2	..
	7		Geography	7	7	..
		70	Geogarphy (including Anthropo Geography)	7	7	..
	8		Other Sciences	4	4	..
		80	Other Sciences (*e.g.* Psychology, Applied Psychology, Archaeology Meteorology, etc.)	4	4	..
	9		GRADUATES (B.A. & B.Scs. including Honours) in General Science Subjects	1,260	1,197	63
		90	General Sciences (Phys., Math., Stat., Chem., Bio-Sciences, Geol., Geo-Phys., & Others Sciences)	1,159	1,096	63
		91	Agriculture	100	100	..

Classification No. of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology		Description of Branch Sub Branch of Science or Technology	Persons	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5
	92	Forestry	1	1	..
	93	Horticulture		..	..
	94	Others		..	..
10—33		ENGINEERING & TECHNOLOGY DEGREE (Graduates & Doctorates)	336	334	2
10		Aeronautics	1	1	..
	100	Aeronautics	1	1	..
11		Agricultural Engineering	2	2	.
	110	Agricultural Engineering (General)	2	2	..
	111	Applied Botany	.	..	..
	112	Farm Power & Machinery		..	..
	113	Soil & Water Conservation		..	..
12		Applied Geology Geophysics	2	2	..
	120	Applied Geology & Geophysics (General)	..	..	..
	121	Exploration Geophysics	2	2	..
	122	Geo-Chemistry	..	..	..
13		Architecture &Regional Planning	1	1	..
	130	Architecture & Regional Planning	.	..	..
	131	Town & Country Planning	1	1	..
	132	Housing	..	..	..
14		Automobile	..	..	..
	140	Automobile	..	..	..
15—16		Chemical Engineering & Technology	19	18	1
	150	Chemical Engineering & Technology (including Applied Chemistry)	16	15	1
	151	Technology of Gas Reactions at High pressures	.	..	..
	152	High Polymers & Rubber Technology	..	..	..
	153	Synthetic Drugs & Chemical	.	..	..
	154	Technology of Oils, Fats & Waxes etc.	1	1	..
	155	Pigments, Pains & Varnishes	.	..	..
	156	Applied Microbiology	1	1	..
	157	Petroleum Technology	1	1	..
	158	Intermediate & Dyes Technology		..	..
	159	Plastics	.	..	..
	160	Design of Chemical Plants	..	..	..
	161	Technology of Fine Organic Chemicals	..	..	..
	162	Electro-Chemical Technology	.	..	..
	163	Technology of Heavy Inorganic Chemicals	..	..	..
17—18		Civil	167	166	1
	170	Civil Engineering (General).	158	157	1
	171	Advanced Hydraulics, Dam Constructions & Irrigation Engineering.	2	2	..

Classification No. of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology		Description of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology	Persons	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5
	172	Aerial Survey	1	1	..
	173	Dam Design, Irrigation Engineering Hydraulics.	..	..	..
	174	Harbour Engineering . . .	..	..	..
	175	Highway Engineering . . .	1	1	..
	176	Hydraulics, Irrigation & Flood Control.	1	1	..
	177	Municipal Engineering . . .	..	..	..
	178	Photogrammetric Engineering .	..	..	..
	179	Public Health Engineering . .	..	..	..
	180	Soil Engineering	..	..	..
	181	Soil Mechanics & Foundation .	..	..	..
	182	Structural Engineering . . .	1	1	..
	183	Water Power & Dam Construction .	3	3	..
19—20		Electrical	44	44	—
	190	Electrical (General) . . .	32	32	..
	191	Accoustical Engineering . .	..	..	..
	192	Advanced Broadcasting Engineering	..	..	..
	193	Advanced Electronics . . .	1	1	..
	194	Advanced Line Communication .	..	..	..
	195	Applied Physics	3	3	—
	196	Control System & Instrumentation .	..	..	..
	197	Electrical Communication Engineering.	3	3	—
	198	Electrical Machine Design . .	..	..	—
	199	Electrical, Mechanical, Civil, Hydraulics & Voltage.	..	..	—
	200	Electro Accoustical Engineering .	..	..	—
	201	Electro Vaccum Technology . .	..	..	—
	202	Electronics & Radio Engineering .	3	3	—
	204	Radio Physics & Electronics . .	1	1	—
	205	Radio & V.H.F. Engineering . .	1	1	—
	206	Ultra Short & Micro-Wave Engineering.	..	..	—
21		Elecrtical Mechanical . . .	17	17	—
	210	Electrical Mechanical . . .	17	17	—
22		Food, Sugar & Dairy Technology .	—	—	—
	220	Food, Sugar & Dairy Technology .	..	..	—
23		Fuel & Petroleum Technology . .	..	—	—
	230	Fuel & Petroleum Technology .	..	—	..
24		Glass, Silicate, Ceramics & Cement Technology	1	1	..
	240	Glass, Silicate, Ceramics & Cement Technology	1	1	..
25		Leather Technology	2	2	..
	250	Leather Technology . . .	2	2	..

Classification No of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology		Description of Branch/Sub Branch of Science or Technology	Persons	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5
26—27		Mechanical Engineering	48	48	..
	260	Mechanical Engineering (including Mechanics & Prime Movers (General)	48	48	..
	261	Applied Thermodynamics (including Heat Power Engineering)			..
	262	Gas Turbines		.	..
	263	Foundry Engineering		.	..
	264	Industrial Engineering		.	..
	265	Internal Combustion Engineering	..	.	..
	266	Machine Design		.	..
	267	Mechanical Handling of Materials	.	..	..
	268	Production Engineering or Technology	..	..	..
	269	Power Engineering	.	..	..
	270	Refrigeration, Air-Conditioning & its Plant Design	.	..	..
	271	Servo-machanism & Instrumentation	..	..	..
28		Metallurgy	2	2	..
	280	Metallurgy (including Advanced & Ferrous Production Metallurgy)	2	2	..
29		Mining	7	7	..
	290	Mining (including Ore Dressing)	7	7	..
30		Naval Architecture & Marine Engineering.	3	3	..
	300	Naval Architecture & Marine Engineering.	3	3	..
31		Pharmaceuticals & Fine Chemicals .	13	13	..
	310	Pharmaceuticals & Fine Chemicals .	13	13	..
32		Textiles	7	7	..
	320	Textile Chemistry	4	4	..
	321	Textile Technology . . .	3	3	..
33		Others	..	..	..
	330	Others (*i.e.*, Instrument Technology, etc.).	..	..	..
34—47		ENGINEERING & TECHNOLOGY DIPLOMAS.	619	615	
34		Aeronautical Engineering . .	4	4	..
	340	Aeronautical Engineering . .	4	4	..
35		Automobile Engineering . . .	24	24	..
	350	Automobile Engineering . .	24	24	..

Classification No. of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology		Description of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology	Persons	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5
36		Chemical Engineering . . .	6	6	..
	360	Chemical Engineering (including General & Chemical Technology).	6	6	..
37		Civil Engineering	342	341	1
	370	Civil Engineering (including Draughtsmen, Overseers, Surveyors & Computors, etc.).	342	341	1
38		Electrical Engineering . . .	45	45	..
	380	Electrical Engineering . . .	45	45	..
39		Electrical Mechanical Engineering .	16	16	..
	390	Electrical Mechanical Engineering	16	16	..
40		Glass & Ceramics Technology . .	..	..	..
	400	Glass & Ceramics Technology .	..	..	..
41		Leather Technology	1	1	..
	410	Leather Technology . . .	1	1	..
42		Mechanical Engineering . . .	57	57	..
	420	Mechanical Engineering . .	57	57	..
43		Metallurgical Engineering . .	1	1	..
	430	Metallurgical Engineering . .	1	1	..
44		Mining Engineering	4	4	..
	440	Mining Engineering (including Mine Surveying).	4	4	..
45		Tele-Communication/Radio & Communication Engineering.	25	25	..
	450	Tele-Communication (including Wireless) Telegraphy/Radio (including Sound Projection) & Communication Engg.	25	25	..
46		Textile Technology	9	9	..
	460	Textile Technology (including Textile Chemistry).	9	9	..
47		Others	85	82	3
	470	Others (*i.e.* Architecture; Printing Food, Fisheries etc).	85	82	3
48		Engineering & Technology—Certificate Courses.	98	97	1
	480	Engineering & Technology—Certificate Courses.	98	97	1

Classification No. of Branch/Sub-Branch of Science or Technology 1			Description of Branch/Sub Branch of Science or Technology 2	Persons 3	Males 4	Females 5
49—51			Medicine (Modern System), College Bachelor's Degree & above.	471	445	26
	49		General Human Medicine/Surgery .	371	351	20
		490	General Human Medicine/Surgery	371	351	20
	50		Specialised Human Medicine Surgery	98	93	5
		500	Specialised Human Medicine/Surgery	98	93	5
	51		Nursing	2	1	1
		510	Nursing	2	1	1
	52		Animal Husbandry, Livestock & Veterinary.	22	20	2
		520	Animal Husbandry, Livestock & Veterinary	22	20	2
53—55			Medicine (Modern System) Diploma Level.	586	553	33
	53		Human Medicine/Surgery . .	487	473	14
		530	Human Medicine/Surgery . .	487	473	14
	54		Nursing	22	3	19
		540	Nursing	22	3	19
	55		Animal Husbandry, Livestock & Veterinary.	77	77	..
		550	Animal Husbandry, Livestock & Veterinary.	77	77	..
	56		Ayurvedic, Unani & Other Systems of Medicine.	51	50	1
		560	Ayurvedic, Unani & Other Systems of Medicine.	51	50	1
	57		Unclassifiable	4	2	2
		570	Not elsewhere classified . .	4	2	2
			TOTAL ALL BRANCHES . .	3,718	3,572	146

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE

1. Assam is a land of hills and plains, of mountains and rivers, and of peoples whose ethnic groups and languages are as varied as its scenery. This variety has been further enriched by the influx into this State of various peoples from other parts of the sub-continent. No wonder therefore that in the 1961 Census, as many as 192 Mother tongues have been recorded by our enumerators. Among the principal languages of Aryan origin are Assamese, Bengali and Hindi; and among the non-Aryan languages are the various tongues of different Hill Tribes of Assam as well as of the languages introduced into the State by the Tea Garden labourers and other settlers from various parts of India.

2. The questions on Mother tongues and Bilingualism are given in the Individual Slip of the 1961 Census as 7(a) Mother Tongue and 7(b) Any other Language(s). Enumerators have been fully instructed how to record the answers to these two captions. I reproduce below the exact instructions given to Enumerators in this connection:—

7(a). *Mother Tongue.*—Write the mother tongue in full including dialect as returned by the person enumerated. Mother tongue is the language spoken in childhood by the person's mother to the person or mainly spoken in the household. If the mother died in infancy write the language mostly spoken in the person's home in childhood. In the case of infants and deaf-mutes give the language usually spoken by the mother.

7(b). *Any other Language(s).*—After recording the mother tongue, enquire whether the person knows any other language(s), returned by him against this question. In case he does not know any other language put 'X'.

The number of languages recorded against this question should not be more than two. These languages should be other than his mother tongue which he speaks and understands best and can use with felicity in communicating with others. Such language or languages will exclude dialects of the same language.

3 In Assam, there have always been some controversies about the languages, particularly about the Assamese and Bengali languages. The British occupied the Assam Valley in 1826 A.D immediately after the Burmese have been driven from this Valley Due to the confusion then prevailing in the Brahmaputra Valley, Bengali was introduced in the courts and schools of Assam in 1837 A.D. The educated Assamese people, however, did not like this imposition of Bengali which many of them could not understand because the written language is really that of the Nadia district of West Bengal, while the spoken language even in Eastern Bengal, and more so in Sylhet, is quite different from the written Bengali. There was therefore great agitation against the Bengali language by leading Assamese gentlemen like the late Anandaram Dhekial Phukan. The American missionaries also helped the cause of Assamese by writing books and articles in this language. Among the then British officers, some were in favour of Assamese while some were in favour of retaining Bengali as the court language of Assam In 1872, Sir George Campbell, the then Lt. Governor of Bengal, on receipt of numerous memorials from different parts of Assam for introduction of Assamese in the courts and schools in the Valley, caused an enquiry to be made. After hearing all viewpoints and after fully considering the views expressed by Assam officers, Sir George Campbell decided on 19th April 1873 that Assamese should be the language of the courts and schools in the five districts of the Assam Valley, that is from the Kamrup district upwards. But even then, there were difficulties about implementation of that order because of the inadequacy of text books and other literatures in Assamese and so the controversy continued.

4. That continuing controversy is vividly depicted in the Census Report of 1881 which I reproduce below:—

"Between Bengali and Assamese there has been waged a battle of the dialects to which some interest attaches, and which has not altogether been composed to rest. A few years ago it was the fashion for Government

officials to assert that Assamese was only a corrupt and vulgar dialect of Bengali, a *patois* bearing to it the same relation which Yorkshire bears to the literary English, and that it ought in no way to be encouraged, but to be crushed out as quickly as possible by using Bengali as the official tongue and teaching it in schools. This view was earnestly opposed by those educated Assamese who cherished a feeling of patriotic pride in their country, and who claimed for their speech the position of a distinct dialect and a literary tongue; they were warmly supported by the American missionaries settled at Sibsagar, who were the first to print educational works in Assamese; and in the end they won the day. Assamese is recognised as a separate tongue, and is taught in all primary schools in the Brahmaputra Valley, while instruction is conveyed only through the medium of Bengali in the middle schools in default of a complete set of educational works in the Assamese language. The real position of the facts in this controversy appears to be as follows. All over the Bengali-speaking areas, there is much fluctuation and variation of idiom; the vernacular dialect of Western Bengal differs strongly from that of Central Bengal, and still more strongly from that of Eastern Bengal; but the language which in its fixed and literary form is called Bengali is a special dialect (that of Nadiya), which has been selected and cultivated as the standard speech and which differs in some degree, greater or less, from every vernacular dialect. The gradations in the popular utterance from west to east are insensible, but on reaching the easternmost extremity of the Bengali area, the Brahmaputra Valley, these insensible variations are found to have become so great that the speech of the west is hardly understood in the east. Assamese is, properly speaking, only one of many dialects springing probably from one central origin, the majority of which dialects are ordinarily grouped under the name of Bengali, but it has received a literary form under the Assam kings (for indigenous Assamese literature in the shape of Boranjis, Kirtans, and translation of Sanskrit religious poems is far from inconsiderable), and this has tended to stereotype its dialectical peculiarities, and it stands in undeniable opposition to literary Bengali. Probably the vernacular of Sylhet, and still more so that of Cachar, would appear to the speaker of Western Bengali equally foreign and difficult with that of Nowgong or Sibsagar; and had Sylhet ever acquired a literature, we might have been entitled to speak of the vernacular of that district as a distinct tongue, as we do of Assamese; but it has no literature of its own; its literacy standard is that of Nadiya, and thereby its distinctiveness is lost."

5. From 1881 to 1931, Assamese continued to gain ascendancy in the Assam Valley and was making heavy inroads into the Goalpara district also, while Bengali held sway in the Sylhet and Cachar districts of the Surma Valley and the western portion of the Goalpara district. In the five districts of the Assam Valley, however, there were many tea-garden labourers who generally spoke their own languages at home, but with others they spoke a language known as 'coolie-bat' which is a mixture of Hindustani, Assamese and Bengali. These people were therefore exploited, and in the beginning most of their languages were returned as Bengali because most of the clerks in the tea-gardens were Bengalis. Apart from that, even Assamese enumerators were prone to record any non-Assamese language as Bengali because according to the Assamese, 'Bengal' means outsider. This imbalance was sought to be corrected in the 1931 Census by Mr. C. S. Mullan. Since then, the Assamese have been more conscious not to call outsiders' language as Bengali and they rather tried to record all tea-garden languages as Assamese. In the Hill districts, however, the people spoke their own tribal languages.

6. In 1941 there was no tabulation of the Census data but the position then was that Assamese was the predominant language of the Assam Valley, Bengali was the predominant language of the Surma Valley, while in the hill districts, the tribal people continued to speak their own tribal languages and dialects. After Independence, most parts of Sylhet went to Pakistan and so Cachar, to which a part of the Karimganj Sub-division was added, was the only district where Bengali is the most predominant language although the Bengali population was also widely scattered in the six districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. Since then, there was an agitation in the Assam Valley to declare Assamese as the offi-

cial language for the whole of Assam and this was resented by the Bengali as well as by the Hill people. The Hill people of the Garo Hills, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills do not know Assamese. Some people of the Mikir Hills, especially those living in areas formerly belonging to the Sibsagar and the Nowgong districts, know bazar Assamese which they use in intercourse with others, but among themselves, the Mikir people also speak only their own language. Some Naga tribes know 'broken' Assamese which they use in communicating with the Assamese people or even among themselves, but Nagaland has since then become a separate State. So all the Hill people of Assam have languages and dialects of their own which they cannot exchange with any other language. Moreover, certain languages like Khasi, Mizo and Garo have become so developed, that they are recognised by Universities. Khasi has been recognised up to the B.A. standard for many decades by the Calcutta University, and by the Gauhati University ever since its inception. In all the Hill Areas of Assam, excepting the lowland portions of the Mikir Hills, the Roman script was used for the tribal languages and so the hill people cannot read anything in Assamese. Gazetted officers of the Scheduled Tribes of the Hills find Assamese as the greatest hurdle in the departmental examinations.

7. The Assamese people, on the other hand, continued their agitation for declaring Assamese as the official language of the State and this agitation became rather aggressive just before the 1951 Census, so much so, that Shri R. B. Vaghaiwalla, the Superintendent of Census Operations for 1951 had to write as follows in his Census Report:—

"A comparison with the percentage of population speaking these different languages in 1931, for which alone figures are available, reveals an interesting tale. There was no tabulation in 1941 as a measure of war economy. Hence we have no figures regarding the distribution of Assam's population according to language for 1941. There is a striking increase in the percentage of the people who speak Assamese in 1951 (56.7) over those of 1931, which was only 31.4 per cent.; there is an equally striking decrease in the percentage of people speaking Bengali in 1951 which was only 16.5 against 26.8 in 1931. With the solitary exception of Assamese, every single language or language group in Assam shows a decline in the percentage of people speaking the same. All this decline has gone to swell the percentage of the people speaking Assamese in 1951. The figures do not fail to reflect the aggressive linguistic nationalism now prevailing in Assam, coupled with the desire of many persons among the Muslims as well as tea garden labour immigrants to adopt Assamese as their mother-tongue in the State of their adoption. It is not unlikely that some amongst the persons who have returned their mother-tongue as Assamese have done so from devious motives, even though their knowledge of Assamese may not amount to much. The phenomenon is also coupled with the genuine increase in the number of people speaking Assamese with the introduction of more schools in tea garden areas in the Assam Valley where the medium of instruction is naturally Assamese."

8. The controversy continued after the 1951 Census, and even the figures of Assamese given by my predecessor were questioned. During the inter-censal period, there were intermittent agitations for declaring Assamese as the official language of the State of Assam. As soon as the preparations for the Census were taken in 1959, the agitation continued in crescendo till it culminated in the disturbance of July 1960. Fortunately for us, the big storm came before the actual operations, and by the time the Big Count was actually taken, there was lull everywhere. Psychologically, the people of Assam seemed to have regretted the ugly incidents of July 1960, and organisationally, effective steps had been taken to maintain law and order during the enumeration. Among the special administrative steps taken at my instance were the deployment of army and police forces in places where there was potentiality of troubles and the District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police were alerted by the Chief Secretary and the Inspector General of Police three months ahead of the actual enumeration. Circulars and leaflets had also been circulated widely in the whole of Assam requesting the citizens to take the Census questions in a constructive and national spirit and to give only factual replies to all questions without any [illegible]

consideration. The enumerating staff had also been cautioned to be tactful and truthful. The result was that there was no dislocation at all during the final enumeration and the data produced after tabulation also appear to show that by and large the people have returned their mother tongues without fear and without any coercion. Some complaints were received here and there and these were duly investigated into by my officers. Only in very few cases were the allegations found to be correct, while in many other cases they were unduly exaggerated. On the whole, the allegations appear to have cancelled each other that the final results may be taken as being largely accurate.

9. The Assamese people, whether Hindus or Muslims, always returned Assamese as their mother tongue, while Bengali Hindus always returned Bengali and nothing else as their mother tongue. Bengali Muslim immigrants into the Assam Valley, on the other hand, have a tendency to return Assamese as their mother tongue even in pre-Independence days because what they want is land in the Valley, and if knowledge of Assamese language helps them to become 'indigenous', they do not mind about their mother tongue. After Independence, the Bengali Muslim immigrants into the Assam Valley have, almost to a man returned their mother tongue as Assamese whether they know the language or not. In fairness to them, it must however be said, that all Muslim immigrants from East Bengal do not speak the soft-spoken Bengali of Nadiya. What they really speak is a rough dialect of Bengali which they call 'Bhatiali' according to the enquiry report of one of my Deputy Superintendents. When they come to Assam these Muslim immigrants honestly try to know the Assamese language and send their children to schools where the Assamese language is the medium of instruction. In the Census, enumerators are enjoined to record the answers as returned by the persons themselves If the Muslim immigrants return their language as Assamese, that has to be recorded.

10. I give below Table 8 1 showing the alphabetical list of all languages returned in Assam, as well as the dialects that have been incorporated in this list of languages after consultation with the Census Linguist

Alphabetical List of Mother tongues (Rationalised)

TABLE 8·1

Serial No.	Name of Mother tongue	Serial No.	Name of Mother tongue
1.	Abor/Adi	20.	Bhatri
2.	Achik	21.	Bhili
3.	*Afghani/Kabuli/Pakhto/Pashto/Pathani*	22.	Bhoi-Khasi†
4.	Aka/Hrusso	23.	Bhojpuri
5.	*American*	24.	Bhotia-Unspecified
6.	Angami	25.	Bhumij
7.	Ao	26.	Bihari
8.	Apatani*†	27.	Bilaspuri†
9.	*Arabic/Arbi*	28.	Birjia/Brijia/Binjhia
10.	Arleng	29.	Brahmpuriya†
11.	Assamese	30.	Bodo/Boro
12.	*Australian*	31.	*Burmese*
13.	Bahe	32.	*Canadian*
14.	*Balochi/Baluchi*	33.	Chakma
15.	Banai	34.	Changsen
16.	Bangaru	35.	Chin-Unspecified
17.	*Belgian*	36.	*Chinese/Chini*
18.	Bengali	37.	Chiru
19.	Bete	38.	Chotanagpuri*
		39.	*Czech/Czechoslovakian*

TABLE 8·1

Serial No.	Name of Mother tongue	Serial No	Name of Mother tongue
40.	Dafla	87	Koch
41.	Dalu	88	Kol
42.	Deori	89	Kolami
43.	Deswali	90	Konda
44	Dimasa	91	Konkani†
45.	Dogri	92	Konyak
46	*Dutch*	93	Korwa
47.	*English*	94	Kova
48.	*European*	95	Kuki Unspecified
49.	*French*	96	Kurmi*†
50.	Gangte*†	97	Kurukh Oraon
51.	Garhwali	98	Lakher
52.	Garo	99	Lalung
53	*German*	100	Lama
54.	Ghati	101	Langrong
55.	Goanese†	102	Langtung
56	Govari	103	Limbu
57.	Gowro†	104	Lotha
58.	Gujarati	105.	Lushai/Mizo
59.	Gurmukhi	106.	Madrasi
60	Hadem*†	107	Mahili
61.	Haijong/Hajong	108	Maithili
62	Hairamba*†	109	Malayalam
63.	Hengna*	110	Malpaharia
64.	Hijomdel	111	*Maltese*
65.	Hindi	112.	Mangari
66.	Hindustani	113	Manipuri/Meithei
67.	Hmar	114	Manjhi
68.	*Irani/Iranian*	115.	Mao
69.	*Italian*	116.	Marari
70.	Jaintia*†	117.	Marathi
71.	Kabui	118.	Maria
72.	Kachari	119.	Marwari
73.	Kachari-Bengali	120.	Matu
74.	Kalahandi	121.	Mech
75.	Kannada	122.	Mewari
76.	Kashmiri	123.	Mikir
77.	Khami	124.	Miri
78.	Khampti/Khamti	125.	Mishing
79.	Kharia	126.	Mishmi
80.	Khasi	127.	Mogh
81.	Khawathlang*†	128.	Mompa*
82.	Khelmd	129.	Munda-Unspecified
83.	Kherwari	130.	Naga-Unspecified
84.	Khond/Kondh	131.	Nagari-Hindi
85.	Khowar	132.	Nagpuri-Marathi
86.	Kisan	133.	Nepali

TABLE 8·1

Serial No.	Name of Mother tongue	Serial No.	Name of Mother tongue
134.	Nongtung*†	164.	*Siamese/Thai*
135.	*Norwegian*	165.	Sindhi
136.	Oriya	166.	Singpho
137.	Paite	167.	*Spanish*
138.	Pang*†	168.	Sunwar
139.	Parji	169.	Surgujia
140.	Parsi-Bhumij†	170.	*Swedish*
141.	Pawi*†	171.	*Swiss*
142.	Pawite*	172.	Tableng
143.	Pnar/Synteng	173.	Takam*†
144.	Poi	174.	Tamil
145.	*Portuguese*	175.	Tangkhul
146.	Punjabi	176.	Telugu
147.	Rabha	177.	Thado
148.	Rajasthani	178.	Thangngen*†
149.	Rajputani	179.	Tibetan
150.	Ralte	180.	Tikhak*†
151.	Rangdania	181.	Tlangtlang
152.	Rangkhol	182.	Tripuri
153.	Reang	183.	Turi
154.	Rengma	184.	*Turkish/Turkistani*
155.	*Roumanian*	185.	Upama Naga*†
156.	*Russian*	186.	Urdu
157.	Sadan/Sadri	187.	Urima Naga*†
158.	*Sam*	188.	Vaiphei
159.	Santali	189.	War
160.	Savara	190.	*Welsh*
161.	*Scottish*	191.	*Yugoslavian*
162.	Sema	192.	Zemi Naga*†
163.	Shekasip		

Mother tongues printed in italics belong to countries outside the Indian sub-continent.
Names occurring after hyphen (-) have been introduced by the Linguist to indicate groupings.
*Means that the mother tongue is unclassified in the Linguistic Survey of India.
†Means that the mother tongue though classified in L.S.I. is either tentatively reclassified or considered unclassifiable by the Linguist.
*†Means that the mother tongue is unclassified by Grierson but is tentatively classified by the Linguist.

11. In the above table, only a list of languages and dialects as returned in the 1961 Census has been given. In some cases, however, the Census Linguist has grouped together some languages or dialects which really relate to the same thing. For example, there are some slips where the word 'Lushai' has been returned as mother tongue, while in many other slips, the word 'Mizo' has been returned as mother tongue. The Linguist has grouped together Lushai/Mizo against serial 105. Similarly, Afghani/Kabuli/Pakhto/Pashto/Pathani have been grouped together against serial 3. It may also be noted that in the list of mother tongues returned in the 1961 Census, some enumerators have written the words 'American', 'Canadian', 'Australian', etc. against the caption Mother Tongue. We know that Americans and Australians speak English only and there is no such language as American or Australian, but because the enumerators had recorded these words in the Census slips, the Linguist

decided that they may be retained as they are in the case of languages relating to foreigners. Most likely, the enumerators had written the word 'American' against the caption 'Mother Tongue' when they entered the house of an American for the purpose of canvassing the Census questionnaires. No American would have given his mother tongue as 'American' if he had been asked by the enumerator regarding his mother tongue. Despite some rationalisation by the Linguist, the number of mother tongues returned in the 1961 Census in Assam still runs into 192.

12. Having given the list of languages and dialects as returned in Assam in 1961, it is rewarding to re-arrange these languages and dialects according to the Grierson Classification as given in the Linguistic Survey of India. I therefore give Table 8.2 below which has been specially prepared for this purpose, and all the languages and dialects have been grouped under Families, Sub-Families, Branches, Groups and Sub-Groups according to the classification followed by Grierson in his monumental work. It may, however, be remembered that Grierson wrote his famous work about 50-60 years ago, and since then, certain obscure languages and dialects have come up with each Census. The Census Linguist has therefore tried to make some classification regarding those obscure names. Wherever the Linguist has done so, the letters (T and TR) are given immediately after each mother tongue, the letter 'T' standing for Tentative Classification by the Linguist, while the letters 'TR' stand for Tentative Reclassification by him.

LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS OF ASSAM RE-ARRANGED UNDER FAMILIES, SUB-FAMILIES, BRANCHES, GROUPS AND SUB-GROUPS ACCORDING TO THE GRIERSON CLASSIFICATION, 1961 CENSUS

TABLE 8.2

AUSTRIC FAMILY
AUSTRO-ASIATIC SUB-FAMILY
MON-KHMER BRANCH
KHASI GROUP
- Khasi/Bhoi-Khasi (TR)
- Pnar/Synteng/Nongtung (T)/Jaintia (T)
- War

MUNDA BRANCH
- Kherwari
- Santali/Mahili/Manjhi
- Bhumij/Kurmi/Parsi-Bhumij (TR)
- Turi
- Birjia/Brijia/Binjhia
- Korwa
- Kharia
- Savara

TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY
SIAMESE-CHINESE SUB-FAMILY
- Sam
- Khampti/Khamti

TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY
TIBETO-HIMALAYAN BRANCH
TIBETAN GROUP
- Bhotia-Unspecified
- Tibetan/Lama

PRONOMINALIZED HIMALAYAN GROUP
EASTERN SUB-GROUP
- Limbu

NON-PRONOMINALIZED HIMALAYAN GROUP
- Sunwar
- Mangari

NORTH ASSAM BRANCH
- Aka/Hrusso
- Abor/Adi
- Miri
- Mishing
- Dafla/Apatani (T)
- Mishmi

ASSAM-BURMESE BRANCH
BARA OR BODO GROUP
- Bodo/Boro/Kachari
- Mech
- Lalung
- Dimasa/Hairamba (T)
- Garo
- Achik
- Dalu
- Koch
- Banai
- Rabha
- Rangdania
- Tripuri/Reang
- Deori

NAGA GROUP
WESTERN NAGA SUB-GROUP
- Angami
- Sema
- Rengma

CENTRAL NAGA SUB-GROUP
- Ao
- Lotha

EASTERN NAGA SUB-GROUP
- Tableng

NAGA-BODO SUB-GROUP
- Jema/Upama Naga (T) Urima Naga (T)/Zema Naga (T)

NAGA-KUKI SUB-GROUP
- Mikir/Arleng
- Mao
- Tangkhul

KACHIN GROUP
- Singpho

KUKI-CHIN GROUP

MEITHEI SUB-GROUP
- Manipuri/Meithei/Bishnupuriya (TR)

NORTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP
- Thado/Thangngen/Changsen
- Langtung
- Ralte
- Paite

CENTRAL CHIN SUB-GROUP
- Lai (Pawi) (T)
- Tlangtlang
- Lakher

Lushai/Mizo/Pang (T)/Pawite (T)

OLD KUKI SUB-GROUP
- Rangkhol
- Bete/Hadem (T)
- Khelma
- Shekasip
- Langrong
- Chiru
- Hmar
- Vaiphei

SOUTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP
- Khami

BURMA GROUP
- Mogh

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

DRAVIDA GROUP
- Tamil
- Malayalam
- Kannada

INTERMEDIATE GROUP
- Kurukh or Oraon/Kisan
- Khond/Kondh (TR)
- Konda
- Kolami
- Koya
- Maria
- Parji (TR)

ANDHRA LANGUAGE
- Telugu

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

ARYAN SUB-FAMILY

DARDIC OR PISACHA BRANCH

KHOWAR GROUP
- Khowar

DARD GROUP
- Kashmiri

INDO-ARYAN BRANCH
- Sanskrit

OUTER SUB-BRANCH

NORTH-WESTERN GROUP
- Sindhi

SOUTHERN GROUP
- Marathi
- Ghati
- Nagpuri—Marathi
- Govari
- Goanese (TR)
- Konkani (TR)

EASTERN GROUP
- Oriya/Kalahandi
- Bhatri
- Bihari
- Maithili
- Bhojpuri
- Sadan/Sadri
- Bengali/Kachari—Bengali
- Mal Paharia
- Bahe
- Haijong/Hajong
- Chakma/Takam (T)
- Assamese
- Bishnupuriya

MEDIATE SUB-BRANCH

MEDIATE GROUP
- Marari
- Bilaspuri (Chhattisgarhi) (TR)
- Gowro (Baigani) (TR)

INNER SUB-BRANCH

CENTRAL GROUP
- Hindustani
- Urdu
- Hindi/Deswali/Nagari-Hindi
- Bangaru
- Punjabi/Gurmukhi
- Dogri
- Gujarati
- Bhili
- Rajasthani/Rajputani
- Marwari
- Mewari

PAHARI GROUP
- Nepali
- Garhwali

13. While the above table speaks for itself to those who have studied languages and dialects in a scientific way, a few words may, however, be given by way of explanation of the groupings of the languages and dialects. It may be seen that quite a few Indian languages owe their origin to the Austric Family, Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family which has again been subdivided into two Branches, namely the Mon-Khmer Branch and the Munda Branch. Under the Mon-Khmer Branch there is one group, namely the Khasi Group and under this Group there are seven languages and dialects—Khasi, Bhoi-Khasi, Pnar, Synteng, Nongtung, Jaintia and War. Among these dialects, Khasi has attained the status of a recognised language because the foreign missionaries have used this language for teaching and writing of books and it has developed a literature of its own during the last 120 years or so. The Khasi language has been recognised as a major vernacular in North-East India by the Calcutta University and the Gauhati University. The spoken dialects may vary slightly from place to place in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, but the written language with a literature of its own is only the Khasi language. Moreover, such a famous Linguist as Sir George Grierson, had recognised that the Khasi language is a language by itself which is different from all other languages in Assam and in India. In subsequent Tables I have used Khasi to represent the Khasi Group of languages and dialects.

14. The Munda Branch of the Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family is entirely different from the Mon-Khmer Branch although the family is one.

15. Similarly, Lushai and Mizo have been grouped together for all subsequent tables. Lushai belongs to the Tibeto-Chinese Family, Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family, Assam-Burmese Branch, Kuki-Chin Group, Central Chin Sub-Group. There are many tribes in the Mizo Hills, each speaking a dialect of its own, but the written language of literature is only one, namely Lushai or Mizo. This language has therefore been returned by almost all the tribes of the Mizo Hills. There is no doubt that a Group or Sub-Group language is a great factor for integration.

16. When Tables 8.1 and 8.2 are read together, it may be seen that there are some languages or dialects which cannot be grouped in any of the above Groups or Sub-Groups. Those languages and dialects have therefore been left out of Table 8.2. Similarly, there are also some languages and dialects which cannot be classified. I give below a list of such unspecified and unclassified languages :—

UNSPECIFIED LANGUAGES

KUKI-CHIN GROUP—Chin-Unspecified, Poi, Matu, Kuki—Unspecified

MUNDA BRANCH—Munda—Unspecified, Kol

NAGA GROUP—Naga—Unspecified, Konyak

UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES

Chotanagpuri, Hengna, Hijomdel, Mompa.

17. Of the above obscure names of languages and dialects, it may be stated that only 1 male person returned his mother tongue as Chotanagpuri from Jowai Police Station, 2 female persons returned their mother tongue as Hengna from Haflong police station, 1 male person returned his mother tongue as Hijomdel from Shillong police station and 1 male person returned his mother tongue as Mompa from Bokajan police station.

18. I give below Table 8.3 showing the principal languages of Assam spoken by more than 50,000 persons in 1961 giving the number

of speakers and the percentage of speakers to the total population.

TABLE 8·3

PRINCIPAL LANGUAGES OF ASSAM

Languages	1951		1961	
	No of persons speaking the language as mother tongue	Percentage to total population	No of persons speaking the language as mother tongue	Percentage to total population
1	2	3	4	5
1 Assamese	4,971,229	56 29	6,784,271	57.14
2 Bengali	1,717,381	19 45	2,061,533	17 36
3 Hindi	334,879	3.79	511,818	4 31
4 Khasi	292,876	3.32	362,970	3.06
5 Garo	235,752	2 67	301,094	2.54
6 Bodo/Boro	166,427	1.88	280,343	2 36
7 Lushai/Mizo	162,301	1.84	215,667	1 82
8 Nepali	122,823	1.39	215,213	1 81
9 Mikir	129,305	1.46	154,232	1 30
10 Oriya	114,033	1.29	145,488	1 23
11 Manipuri/Meithei	89,144	1 01	88,962	0.75
12 Santali	92,638	1 05	67,262	0 57
13 Miri	57,615	0.65	102,920	0 87
14 Munda-Unspecified	2,415	N	89,799	0.76

N means Negligible'

19. The above table shows that the number of Assamese speakers has risen from 4,971,229 in 1951 to 6,784,271 in 1961, but the percentage of Assamese speakers to the total population has made only a negligible increase from 56.29 per cent. in 1951 to 57.14 per cent. in 1961. The number of Bengali speakers in 1951 is 1,717,381 but in 1961 it is 2,061,533 showing an increase of almost 3½ lakhs in terms of absolute numbers, and a percentage increase of 20.04 among themselves but a decrease of a little over 2 per cent. in terms of percentage against the general population as a whole The gain in Assamese may be largely due to the muslims of the Assam Valley who have mostly given their mother tongue as Assamese. It may also be partly due to the ex-tea-garden labourers who have settled in Assam for many decades and who have sent their children to schools where Assamese is the medium of instruction. The Bengali speakers have increased as aforesaid in terms of absolute numbers but their small decrease in percentage is also largely due to the big increase of the total population in Assam. It may however be noted that as far as urban population is concerned, the total number of Bengali speakers is 349,935 whereas the total number of Assamese speakers is 304,649. It may also be noted that the Hindi speakers have increased by 52.84 per cent and the Oriya speakers have increased by 27.58 per cent.

20. The 1961 Census also shows the re-emergence of some tribal languages in the plains of Assam. For example, the Bodo speakers have risen from 166,427 in 1951 to 280,343 in 1961 showing a net increase of 113,916 or 68.45 per cent. The number of Boro speakers would have been much more than this had it not been for 64,421 persons who returned their mother tongue as Kachari which is akin to Boro, as the Boros are Kacharis. The speakers of Garo, Khasi, Mizo and Mikir have also increased in terms of absolute numbers although in terms of percentage to the total general population they have shown some decrease, but this is due to the fact that the total population of Assam has increased considerably. Similarly the Miri speakers have increased from 57,615 in 1951 to 102,920 in 1961 or a percentage increase of 78.63.

21. The percentage increase of Khasi, Garo, Mizo and Mikir speakers with reference to themselves is 23.93, 27.72, 32.88 and 19.28 respectively.

22. The number of Nepali speakers has increased from 122,823 in 1951 to 215,213 in 1961 or 75.22 per cent. as among themselves. They have also improved their percentage with reference to the total general population from 1.39 in 1951 to 1.81 in 1961. Manipuri has shown a slight decrease from

89,144 in 1951 to 88,962 in 1961, but this is largely due to the fact that many Manipuri speakers, particularly those of the Cachar district, have returned their language as Bishnupuriya which is another form of Manipuri language slightly different from Meithei. The Manipuris do not say that they are Manipuri speakers—they would say that they speak either Meithei or Bishnupuriya The number of Bishnupuriya speakers as thrown out by the 1961 Census is 15,169 against nothing in 1951 If we add together the Manipuri speakers and the Bishnupuriya speakers, we have a total of 104,131 showing an increase of 16.81 per cent among the Manipuris which is quite reasonable

23 I give below a series of tables showing district-wise the principal languages of Assam giving the number of persons speaking a certain mother tongue for 1951 and 1961 as well as the percentage increase in 1961 over 1951. By principal language in these tables is meant the language spoken by at least 5,000 people in the plains districts of Assam and by at least 2 000 persons in the hills districts of Assam :—

District wise Principal Languages of Assam

GOALPARA

TABLE 8·4

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	No of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	No of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	687,027	62 00	1,021,145	66 14	48 63
Bengali	193,366	17 45	184 902	11 98	—4 38
Bodo/Boro	104,290	9 41	154,359	10 00	48.01
Hindi	28,601	2 58	44,646	2 89	56.10
Santali	40,039	3 61	44,107	2 86	10.16
Garo	23,748	2 14	33,405	2 16	40.66
Rabha	10,165	0 92	23,566	1 53	131.83
Nepali	9,926	0 90	12,487	0 81	25 80
Kurukh/Oraon	4,691	0 42	5,821	0 38	24 09

24. The predominant language in this district is Assamese which has increased from 62.00 per cent of the total population of the district in 1951 to 66.14 per cent. in 1961. The percentage increase of Assamese in 1961 over 1951 is 48.63. The Muslims in this district have increased by 40.45 per cent. among themselves and 39 32 per cent. as against the total general population of the district. This increase in the number of Muslims together with the fact that some Muslims who returned their mother tongue as Bengali in 1951 might have returned as Assamese in 1961, may account for this increase of Assamese speakers in the district. The Santali speakers have also shown a decrease which may be due to the fact that many of them have adopted Assamese as their mother tongue Bengali has suffered a decline in this district obviously because of the Muslim population On the other hand, the Boro speakers have increased from 104,290 in 1951 to 154,359 in 1961, their percentage increase during the decade being 48.01. Similarly the number of Hindi, Garo, Rabha, Nepali and Oraon speakers has also increased appreciably during 1961. Whatever might be the history of the language trouble in this district, the Censuses of 1951 and 1961 have clearly vindicated that Assamese is now by far the most predominant language in this district. As far as I can see, this predominance of Assamese in this district has come to stay.

Rabha is another form of Kachari language which is akin to Boro or Bodo So the speakers of indigenous tribal languages in the Goalpara district have asserted themselves in the 1961 Census.

KAMRUP

TABLE 8·5

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	No of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	No of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	1,177,587	79 01	1,665,994	80 77	41.68
Bengali	225,209	15 11	203,642	9 87	—9 58
Bodo/Boro	28,152	1 89	77,724	3 77	176 09
Hindi	24,679	1 66	47,246	2 29	91 44
Nepali	10,454	0 70	15,680	0 76	49 99
Garo	8,156	0 55	10,759	0 52	31 92
Kachari	2,306	0 15	7,213	0 35	212 79
Santali	1,230	0 08	6,977	0 34	467 24
Mikir	3,089	0 21	6,952	0 34	125 06

25 Quite naturally, Assamese is by far the most predominant language of the Kamrup district, because according to the 1961 Census, 80.77 per cent of the total population of this district have returned Assamese as their mother tongue The percentage increase of the speakers of this language in 1961 over that of 1951 is 41 48 and this increase also may be largely due to the Muslims having returned their mother tongue as Assamese Bengali has shown a decrease in this district because of the Muslim population as already aforesaid and also because some Bengali settlers in the rural areas of this district have left for Northern Bengal The speakers of Boro and Kachari which are of the same family of languages, have increased tremendously in this district, and this is another indication that the plains tribals of Assam have asserted themselves during this Census Even the Garos and Mikirs, only some of whom have settled in this district, have shown appreciable increase in terms of percentage Nepali has also increased everywhere in Assam which indicates that many of these people have settled in Assam

DARRANG

TABLE 8.6

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	No of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	No of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	714,395	77 35	839,788	65.12	17.55
Bengali	64 151	6 95	126,987	9.85	97.95
Nepali	31,409	3 40	68,885	5.34	119.32
Hindi	30,721	3.33	65,355	5.07	112.74
Oriya	19,217	2.08	44,083	3.42	129.40
Bodo/Boro	8,797	0.95	37,618	2.92	327.62
Munda-Unspec fied	—	—	33,759	2.62	—
Kachari	—	—	17,859	1.38	—
Miri	4,715	0 51	10,389	0.81	120.34
Kurukh/Oraon	4,367	0.47	8,232	0.64	88.50
Santali	3,909	0.42	6,515	0.51	66.67

26. Here Assamese is spoken by 65.12 per cent. of the total population of the district in 1961 as against 77.35 per cent. in 1951. Bengali speakers, on the other hand, have shown an increase from 64,151 in 1951 to 126,987 in 1961 showing a percentage decade increase of 97.95. There are not many Bengali Hindus in this district and so it appears that new Bengali Muslim migrants have returned their mother tongue as Bengali in this district. It is also remarkable that Nepali, Hindi, Oriya, Boro, Munda, Oraon and Santali have shown big increases in this district in 1961. All these increases of tribal languages as well as of Bengali have put down the number of Assamese speakers in this district. The Kachari speakers who were nil in 1951 now number 17,859 in 1961.

LAKHIMPUR

TABLE 8·7

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	No. of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	No. of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	721,535	64.06	985,157	63.00	36.54
Bengali	85,891	7.63	127,874	8.18	48.88
Hindi	61,658	5.47	109,594	7.01	77.74
Miri	42,200	3.75	63,746	4.08	51·06
Mishing	—	—	18,653	1.19	—
Oriya	50,612	4 49	56,237	3.60	11.11
Nepali	30,933	2.75	49,902	3.19	61.32
Munda-Unspecified	—	—	38,525	2.46	—
Sadan/Sadri	—	—	16,243	1.04	—
Kurukh/Oraon	9 304	0.83	11,180	0.71	20.16
Kachari	—	—	8,977	0.57	—
Telugu	5,392	0.48	8,405	0.54	55.88
Maria	—	—	7,000	0.45	—
Santali	36,837	3.27	6,219	0.40	—83.12
Deori	6,036	0.54	6,110	0.39	1.23
Urdu	3,955	0.35	5,525	0.35	39.70

27. In this district, Assamese is spoken by 63.00 per cent. of the total general population of the district against 64.06 per cent. in 1951. Among themselves, the Assamese speakers have increased by 36.54 per cent. during the decade, but because of the big rise in the general population of the district the over-all percentage of Assamese has shown a slight decline. Bengali has shown some improvement in this district also, because among themselves, the Bengali speakers have increased by 48.88 per cent. and the percentage to the total population of the district has also increased from 7.63 in 1951 to 8.18 in 1961. The plains tribals of Assam have also asserted themselves in this district because the Miri speakers have shown an increase of 51.06 per cent. during the decade while the Mishings and Kacharis who were non-existent in 1951 have now shown themselves in appreciable numbers. While some different tribes have also asserted themselves, like the Mundas, the Oraons, the

Sadans and the Marias, the Oriya speakers have shown only a very slight increase which is not commensurate with their natural increase. But the Santali speakers among the different Tea Garden tribes have gone down from 36,837 in 1951 to 6,219 in 1961 showing a decrease of 83.12 per cent. during the decade. Obviously many of the Santali speakers have merged themselves with the Assamese.

NOWGONG

TABLE 8.8

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	No. of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	No. of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	612,802	69.09	929,843	76.80	51.74
Bengali	207,254	23.37	209,190	17.28	0.93
Hindi	23,862	2.69	33,390	2.76	39.93
Manipuri/Meithei	5,180	0.58	8,282	0.68	59.88
Nepali	3,319	0.37	8,159	0.67	145.83
Mikir	11,387	1.28	5,953	0.49	—47.72
Oriya	5,015	0.57	3,818	0.32	—23.87
Kachari	—	—	2,162	0.18	—
Lalung	2,092	0.24	2,069	0.17	—1.10

28. In this district also Assamese is by far the most predominant language having improved its position from 69.09 per cent. in 1951 to 76.80 per cent. in 1961 against the the total general population of the district. On the other hand, Bengali has shown only negligible increase in terms of absolute numbers; but in terms of percentage of Bengali speakers against the general population of the district. it has suffered a decrease from 23.37 in 1951 to 17.28 in 1961. This great increase of Assamese speakers and the decrease of Bengali speakers is assumed to be largely due to the muslim population who have adopted Assamese as their mother tongue. It may also be noted, that there are 499, 320 muslims in this district in 1961 who constitute 36.51 per cent. of the total population of the district. Speakers of Hindi, Manipuri and Nepali have slightly improved but speakers of Mikir, Oriya and Lalung have shown a comparatively big decrease. Ostensibly these people have also returned their mother tongue as Assamese. Kachari speakers who were non-existent in 1951 have now returned 2,162 speakers of this language which is indicative of the assertiveness of the Kachari people in the State as a whole.

SIBSAGAR

TABLE 8·9

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	1,023,569	84.44	1,289,451	85.49	25·98
Hindi	36,385	3.00	50,436	3·34	38·62
Bengali	41,581	3.43	46.036	3·05	10·71
Miri	10,483	0.86	27,783	1·84	165·03
Mishing	—	—	14,749	0·98	—
Oriya	25,444	2.10	24,317	1·61	— 4·43
Nepali	9,125	0.75	14,573	0·97	59·70
Munda-Unspecified	—	—	10,010	0·66	—

29. The Sibsagar district has always been held to be the home of Assamese culture and the only place where the Assamese can always hold their own. This observation has been justified by the number of Assamese speakers in the district who constitute 85.49 per cent of the total general population of the district against 84 44 per cent. in 1951 Bengali speakers have shown some increase in terms of absolute numbers, but in respect of the over-all percentage against the general population they have shown a slight decrease Speakers of Hindi and Nepali have shown appreciable increase while speakers of Mishing and Munda have shown their presence for the first time in 1961 in this district. Oriya speakers have declined in number The most spectacular rise is that of Miri speakers who have increased from 10,483 in 1951 to 27,783 in 1961 showing a percentage decade variation of 165 03. The Mishings are also Miris, but they have returned their mother tongue as Mishing and in terms of absolute numbers, they have now a population of 14,749. Mishing is listed as a language because according to the 1961 Census, enumerators have to record the mother tongue as returned by the enumerated persons But Mishings have not been listed as Scheduled Tribes in the President's Order, and so those persons who gave the name of the tribe as Mishing have not been tabulated as Scheduled Tribes because their name does not feature in the President's Order

CACHAR

TABLE 8.16

Languages	1951 Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	1951 Percentage to total population of the district	1961 Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	1961 Percentage to total population of the district	Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bengali	860,772	77 14	1,085,287	78 73	26·08
Hindi	116,725	10 46	142,402	10 33	22·00
Manipuri/Meithei	81,127	7 27	75 116	5 45	— 7·41
Bishnupuriya	—	—	15,055	1 09	—
Dimasa	1,020	0·09	10,959	0 80	974·41
Oriya	10,538	0 94	10,852	0·79	2·98
Khasi	4,830	0 43	6,955	0 50	44·00

30. In this district, Bengali is by far the most predominant language because 78.73 per cent of the total population of Cachar speak Bengali, the over-all percentage having improved from 77.14 during 1951. In this district, both Hindus and Muslims returned their mother tongue as Bengali. The number of Muslims, although big in itself, has not shown great increase during the decade 1951-61 because there is no land left in this district. The only other language which claims more than 100,000 speakers is Hindi which has increased its speakers from 116,725 in 1951 to 142,402 in 1961 showing an increase of 22.00 per cent. during the decade. Hindi speakers now constitute 10 33 per cent. of the total population of the district and most of these Hindi speakers are workers in the tea gardens most of whom must have come from Bihar. There are many Manipuri settlers in this district because of its proximity with Manipur, and among themselves, the Manipuris are now divided between Meithei (Manipuri) speakers and Bishnupuriya speakers. In 1951, all Manipuris have returned their mother tongue as Manipuri, but in 1961, there has been a great agitation by speakers of Bishnupuriya who wanted to assert that they are not only speakers of this language but also that they are a separate community by themselves. So

the Manipuri language in this district has shown a decrease during the decade to give place to 15,055 speakers of Bishnupuriya.

31. Historically, the Kacharis have settled in Khaspur in this district where they have established a Kachari Kingdom Formerly, they used to call themselves Barmans and Hairambas; but in this Census, all of them have called themselves Dimasas which is a term by which the Kacharis are known in the North Cachar Hills Speakers of Dimasa have therefore increased from 1,020 in 1951 to 10,959 in 1961 showing a percentage increase of 974 41 during the decade. There are about 30 to 40 small Khasi villages in this district which are really settlements of the Khasis for the purpose of dry cultivation in the hilly portions of this district. Most of these Khasi people are really Jaintias who have gone to settle in this district for the purpose of cultivation of pan, oranges, pine apples and other fruits. They have retained their identity with great perseverity and they have given their mother tongue as Khasi which is really the only language of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills as Pnar and Jaintia are only dialects of Khasi Speakers of this language have increased from 4,830 in 1951 to 6,955 in 1961 showing a percentage decade increase of 44.00. Allowing for a natural increase of 20-25 per cent, the increase may also be due to some new settlers from the Jaintia Hills

GARO HILLS

TABLE 8.11

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Garo	190,901	78 86	237,842	77 42	24 59
Bengali	18,186	7 51	21,256	6 92	16 88
Assamese	9,651	3 99	16,073	5 23	66 54
Rabha	8,379	3 46	10,133	3 30	20 93
Haijong/Hajong	5,078	2 10	7,689	2 50	51 42
Koch	4,560	1 88	6,684	2 18	46 58
Nepali	1,767	0 73	2,819	0 92	59 54
Hindi	1,615	0·67	2,577	0 84	59·57

32. This is one of the four Autonomous Districts of Assam and here the Garo language is spoken by 237,842 persons who constitute 77.42 per cent. of the total population of the district Bengali is spoken by 21,256 persons and Assamese by only 16,073 persons. Other tribal languages found in this district are only Rabha and Hajong. On the whole, Garo is by far the most predominant language of this district and the speakers of all other languages constitute only a very minor percentage of the total population of the district.

UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS

TABLE 8.12

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Khasi	285,862	78·62	349,956	75·72	22·42
Bengali	13,145	3·62	31,730	6·87	141·38
Nepali	19,721	5·42	29,469	6·38	49·43
Garo	10,407	2·86	13,630	2·95	30·97
Assamese	15,276	4·20	10,265	2·22	— 32·80
Hindi	7,916	2·18	6,964	1·51	— 12·03
Bihari	22,363	6·15	3,880	0·84	— 82·65
Punjabi	670	0·18	2,210	0·48	229·85

33. The Khasi language is the only language in Assam which belongs to the Mon-Khmer group, Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family under the Austric Family. Just like any other principal languages, there are dialects within the language, but these dialects are really only minor variants of the parent language. For example, the Assamese dialect of Nalbari is different from the chaste Assamese of Sibsagar, but the Assamese of Nalbari is also the Assamese of the Assam Valley. Originally, the Jaintia people never called themselves Jaintias but Pnars. They were called Jaintias by the plains people or by the British people Both Pnar and Jaintia languages are dialects of Khasi War is another dialect of the Khasi language, and to Khasis, War simply means an inhabitant of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills living on the steep borders of Sylhet Similarly Bhoi is the name given to the people and the dialect of Khasi people living on the border of the Nowgong-Kamrup districts In the above table I have therefore included Jaintia, Pnar, War and Bhoi—Khasi within the Khasi language because Khasi is the only language written in all the schools, churches and colleges of this district and also because it is understood by all here. By far the most important language of the U. K-J. Hills is Khasi which despite the Shillong Town Group, is spoken by 349,956 people who constitute 75 72 per cent of the total population of this district in 1961 It must also be borne in mind that there is a big non-Khasi population living within the Shillong Town Group, and had it not been for that, the percentage of Khasi speakers would have been much more than 75.72. In the rural areas of this district, the Khasi Language is spoken by 87 00 per cent of the total population of the district

34 Next to Khasi, the Bengali language is spoken by 31,730 persons who constitute 6.9 per cent. of the total population of the district against 13,145 in 1951. The increase in the number of Bengali speakers is due to the influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan to the Shillong Town Group and some villages in the border areas. Assamese is spoken by only 10,265 persons in this district who constitute 2 22 per cent. of the total general population of the district against 15,276 in 1951. The number of Assamese speakers in the Shillong Town Group is 8,466 and so the decrease is due to the fact that some tribal people who returned their language as Assamese in 1951 in the areas adjoining the Nowgong-Kamrup districts have now switched over to their own tribal languages as mother tongues. Within the Shillong Town Group, the number of Assamese speakers has increased and these are mostly Government servants and their families Compared to the Khasis, the languages of other non-tribal languages are insignificant in this district Among the other tribal languages in this district, the Garo language has 13,630 speakers in 1961 because many Garos live in the villages near the Garo Hills border Nepali is spoken by 29,469 persons in 1961 which comes next only to Bengali in descending order of magnitude

MIZO HILLS

TABLE 8.13

Languages	1951		1961		Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Lushai/Mizo	159,297	81·19	210,776	79·22	32·32
Chakma	11,435	5 83	17,497	6·58	53·01
Reang*	51	N	9,815	3·69	19,145·10
Lakher*	6,350	3·24	9,522	3·58	49·95
Pawi*	1,847	0·94	6,865	2·58	271·68
Bihar	..		2,912	1·09	..
Nepali	3,468	1,77	2,042	0·77	—41·12

35. In the Mizo Hills, 210,776 or 79.22 per cent. of the whole population of the district speak the Mizo language which is the written language and the lingua franca of all the tribes of this district The Reang, Lakher, Pawi and Hmar languages are also tribal languages which are akin to Mizo The only non-Mizo language worthy of notice is the Nepali language, but even this language is spoken only by 2,042 persons or 0.77 per cent. of the total population of the district. The Nepali speakers have shown a big decline, but this is simply due to the fact that the Nepali speakers are members of the Assam Rifles and other army units stationed in the district and their number vary with the number of such personnel stationed in the district.

UNITED MIKIR AND NORTH CACHAR HILLS

TABLE 8·14

Languages	1951		1961		
	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of the district	Percentage increase or decrease in 1961 over 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6
Mikir	87,545	52 92	133,507	47 73	52 50
Bengali	7,222	4 37	23,473	8 39	225,02
Assamese	5,796	3 50	21,738	7 77	275 05
Dimasa	4,755	2 87	19,534	6 98	310 81
Kachari			16,001	5 72	.
Nepali	858	0 52	9,234	3 30	976 22
Hindi	2,680	1 62	9,047	3 23	237 57
Naga-Unspecified			7,128	2 55	.
Lalung	2,355	1 42	4,916	1 76	108 75
Bodo/Boro	14,864	8 98	4,333	1 55	—70 85
Khasi	677	0 41	3,888	1 39	474 30
Garo	172	0 10	3,534	1 26	1,054 65
Hmar	1,625	0 98	3,429	1 23	111·02
Kuki Unspecified	15	N	2,914	1·04	19.326 67
Oriya	187	0 11	2 166	0 77	1,058 29

36 The United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district was formed only in November 1951 by taking the North Cachar Hills subdivision from the Cachar district and adding it to the portions of Sibsagar, Nowgong and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district which are predominantly inhabited by the Mikir people. There are many tribes in this district, so even the most predominant language, that is Mikir, is spoken only by 133,507 persons who constitute 47.73 per cent. of the total population of the district. Next comes Bengali speakers who constitute 8.39 per cent. of the total population of the district, while Assamese constitute only 7.77 per cent. The other languages are numerous and all constitute below 7 per cent of the total population of the district. This shows the polyglot nature of the district itself. This is the only district in Assam where the predominant language is below 50 per cent., but all the tribal languages together constitute 72.04 per cent. of the total population of the district and consist of 201,521 speakers. As many as 91 different

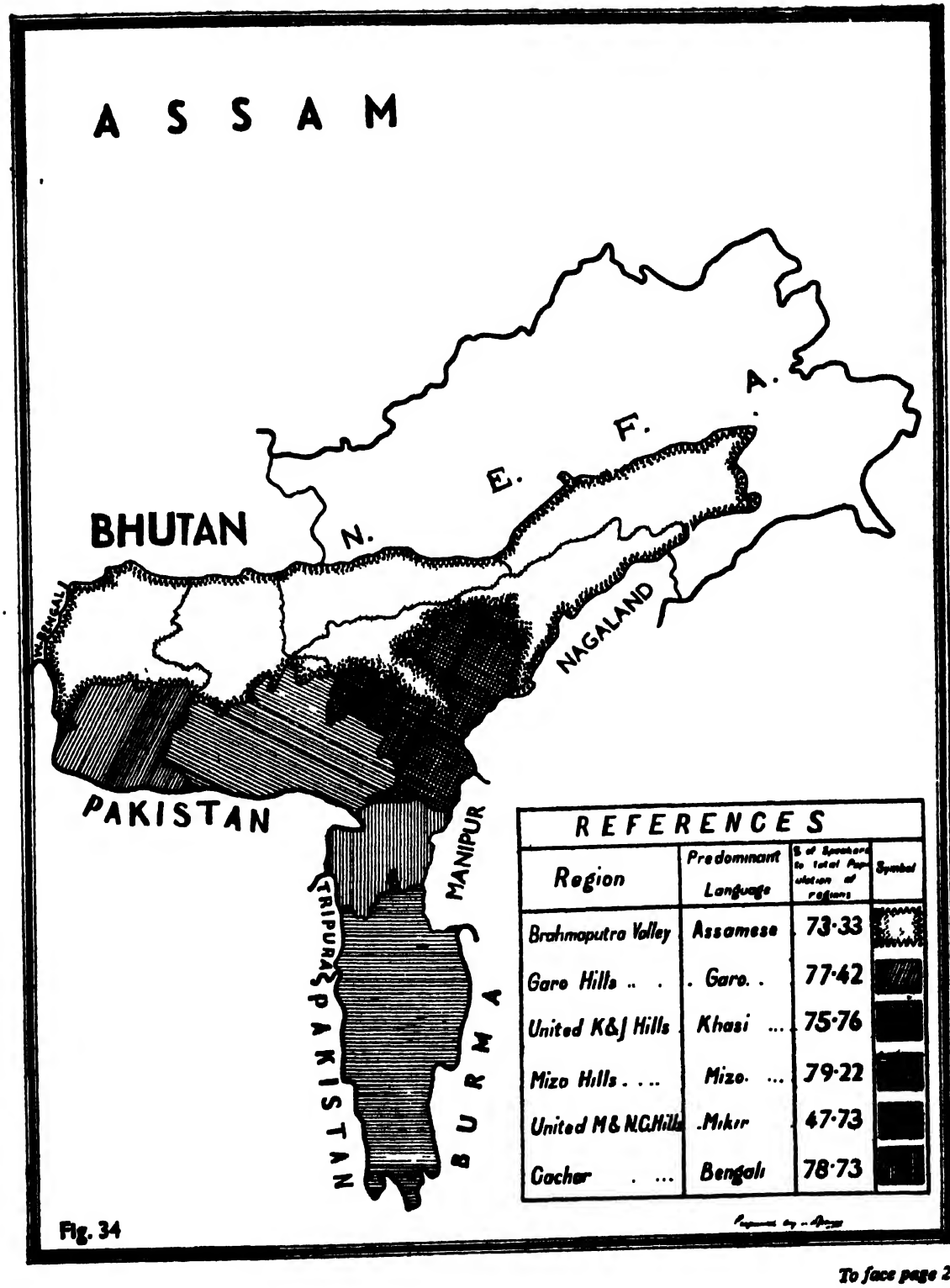

Fig. 34

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languages were returned in the 1961 Census in this district and these languages can be found in Table C.V of Part II-C of the Census publication for Assam.

37. Having given the principal languages of Assam as well as of its districts, I think the linguistic division of Assam can be more clearly understood if two new tables are again constructed to which must be added the table for the Cachar district already given in Table 8.10. The following are Tables 8.15 and 8.16 showing the principal languages of the Brahmaputra Valley and those of the hills districts of Assam

Principal languages of the Brahmaputra Valley

TABLE 8·15

Languages (In descending order of numerical strength)	1951		1961		Percentage increase in 1961 over 1951
	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of Brahmaputra Valley	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	Percentage to total population of Brahmaputra Valley	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Assamese	4,936,915	73 17	6,731,378	73·33	36·35
Bengali	817,452	12·11	898,631	9 79	9·93
Hindi	205,906	3 05	350,667	3 82	70·30
Bodo/Boro	149,595	2 22	275,763	3·00	84·34
Nepali	95,166	1·41	169,686	1 85	78·31
Oriya	103,233	1 53	132,223	1·44	28·08
Miri	57,493	0·85	102,892	1·12	78·96
Munda-Unspecified	2,415	0·04	87,316	0 95	3,515·57
Santali	89,444	1·33	64,858	0·71	— 27·49
Kachari	2,306	0·03	48,134	0·52	1,987·34
Garo	34,254	0·51	45,982	0·50	34·24
Mishing	Nil	..	33,402	0·36	..
Kurukh/Oraon	26,065	0·39	31,359	0·34	20·31
Rabha	10,393	0·15	27,945	0 30	168·88
Sadan/Sadri	24	N	20,458	0·22	85,141·66
Telugu	12,740	0·19	17,085	0·19	34·11
Mikir	18,526	0·27	15,787	0·17	— 14·78
Manipuri/Meithei	7,710	0·11	12,483	0·14	61·91
Maria	Nil	..	10,466	0·11	

N—means Negligible

Principal languages of the Hills Districts of Assam

TABLE 8·16

Languages (In descending order of numerical strength for 1961)	1951 Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	1951 Percentage to total population of Hills	1961 Number of persons speaking as mother tongue	1961 Percentage to total population of Hills Districts	Percentage increase in 1961 over 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6
Khasi	286,643	29·63	353,963	26·91	23·49
Garo	201,487	20 83	255,019	19 39	26·57
Lushai/Mizo	160,565	16·60	212,245	16·14	32·19
Mikir	109,912	11·36	137,394	10 45	25·00
Bengali	39,157	4·05	77,615	5·90	98 21
Assamese	30,852	3·19	48,351	3 68	56 72
Nepali	25,814	2 67	43,564	3 31	68 76
Dimasa	4,755	0·49	20,365	1·55	328·29
Hindi	12,248	1·27	18,749	1·43	53·08
Chakma	11,435	1 18	17,498	1·33	53 02
Kachari	Nil	..	16,287	1 24	..
Rabha	8,429	0 87	10,363	0 79	22 94
Reang	51	0·01	9,867	0·75	19,247·06
Lakher	6,350	0·66	9,524	0·72	49·98
Haijong/Hajong	5,624	0·58	8,698	0·66	54·66
Naga-Unspecified	5,229	0·54	8,071	0 61	54·35
Koch	4,560	0·47	6,927	0·53	51·91
Pawi	1,847	0·19	6,866	0·52	271·74
Hmar	1,625	0·17	6,411	0·49	294·52
Lalung	5,374	0·56	5,502	0·42	2·38

38. From Table 8.15 it may be seen that as far as the Brahmaputra Valley is concerned. Assamese is undoubtedly the most predominant language with 73.33 per cent. of the people of the whole valley speaking only Assamese. Bengali comes next with 9.79 per cent. of the people of the Valley speaking this language. The remaining languages are spoken by only less than 4 per cent. of the total population.

39. Table 8.16 shows that in the hill districts of Assam, Khasi, Garo, Mizo and Mikir predominate in the Assam Hills Division, but each one of these languages is really predominant only in its own district where each one of the above languages constitute 75.72 per cent., 77.42 per cent., 79.22 per cent. and 47.73 per cent. respectively. Assamese is spoken by only 3.68 per cent. of the population of the hill districts of Assam while from Table 8.10 it may be seen that Assamese does not feature at all in the Cachar district where it is spoken by less than 5,000 persons.

40. The Assam Valley consists of 21,728 sq. miles while the rest of the State consists of 25,365 sq. miles. It is therefore seen that

Assamese holds its sway only in less than half the area of the State of Assam, while in the remaining areas it is spoken only by a negligible number of persons. Therefore, although it may be said that Assamese is the numerically predominant language of Assam because it is spoken by 57.14 per cent. of the total population of the State, but geographically it is really predominant only in the Brahmaputra Valley. The hill people of Assam are ethnologically, linguistically and culturally different from the people of the Brahmaputra Valley and therefore Assamese cannot be applied to the hill districts. I have also discussed that among the tribal people, only some Mikirs of the old plains portions of the Nowgong-Sibsagar districts understand broken Assamese whereas the rest of the hill people do not understand this language because to them it is as foreign as Greek or Latin. The hill people have also adopted the Roman script for writing their languages and so there is nothing in common between the languages of the hills and the languages of the plains. Assamese and Bengali have practically the same script, but the gulf between the two is very wide psychologically and culturally. So Assamese is not accepted in the Cachar district also.

41. The above analyses can be made more clear by the following table.

PREDOMINANT LANGUAGES IN DIFFERENT REGIONS OF ASSAM IN 1961 CENSUS

TABLE 8.17

Region	Predominant language	Number of speakers	Percentage of speakers to total population of the region
1	2	3	4
1 Brahmaputra Valley	Assamese	6,731,378	73·33
2 Garo Hills	Garo	237,842	77·42
3 United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	Khasi	349,956	75·72
4 Mizo Hills	Mizo/Lushai	210,776	79·22
5 United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	Mikir	133,507	47·73
6 Cachar	Bengali	1,085,287	78·73

42. The above table clearly shows that Assam Proper is divided into six regions each with a predominant language of its own and each with distinctive ethnic, social and cultural traits of its own with no likelihood of anyone language gaining sway in any region other than its own. In other words, this table shows each of the predominant languages where it properly belongs. This realisation together with the sociological background of each of the above regions makes it impossible for any one language to become the predominant language for the whole of Assam.

43. Figure 34 is a map of Assam showing the predominant languages according to the above table.

44. I give below three Tables 8.18, 8.19 and 8.20 which have been prepared according to the all-India pattern :—

Number per 10,000 of total population speaking each recorded language as mother tongue in the State, 1951 and 1961

TABLE 8.18

Serial No	Languages	Number per 10,000 of total population	
		1961 10,000	1951 10,000
1	2	3	4
1.	Assamese	5,714	5,629
2	Bengali	1,736	1,945
3.	Bete	2	2
4.	Bihari	5	N
5.	Bishnupuriya	13	..
6.	Bodo/Boro	236	188
7	Chakma	15	13
8	Dafla	1	1
9.	Deori	8	8
10.	Dimasa	27	7
11.	English	2	3
12.	Garo	254	267
13.	Gowro	4	..
14.	Gurmukhi	2	3
15.	Haijong/Hajong	7	6
16	Hindi	431	379
17.	Hmar	9	4
18.	Kachari	54	3
19.	Kharia	5	N
20.	Khasi	306	332
21.	Kisan	1	..
22.	Koch	6	6
23.	Kuki-Unspecified	4	N
24.	Lakher	8	7
25.	Lalung	9	9
26.	Manjhi	1	..
27.	Malayalam	2	N
28.	Manipuri/Meithei	75	101
29.	Marari	2	..
30.	Marathi	5	4
31.	Marwari	7	..
32.	Mikir	130	146
33.	Miri	87	65
34.	Mishing	28	..

Number per 10,000 of total population speaking each recorded language as mother-tongue in the State, 1951 and 1961

TABLE 8·18

Serial No	Languages	Number per 10,000 of total population 1961 10,000	1951 10,000	Serial No	Languages	Number per 10,000 of total population 1961 10,000	1951 10,000
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
35	Lushai/Mizo	182	184	47	Rabha	32	21
36	Munda-Unspecified	76	3	48	Rajasthani	1	4
37	Maria	10		49	Reang	10	1
38	Naga-Unspecified	10	10	50	Sadan/Sadri	17	N
39	Nagari-Hindi	3		51	Santali	57	105
40	Nepali	181	139	52	Savara	4	9
41	Kurukh/Oraon	28	31	53	Surgujia	1	
42	Oriya	123	129	54	Tamil	4	1
43	Pawite	N	4	55	Telugu	17	17
44	Punjabi	8	3	56	Thado	1	2
45	Parsi-Bhumij	4	1	57	Tripuri	3	3
46	Pawi	6	2	58	Urdu	9	8

Note N means Negligible

Distribution of the major mother tongues per 10,000 of total population among the districts of State, 1951 and 1961

TABLE 8·19

State/District	Number per 10 000 of the total population speaking: Assamese 1961	Assamese 1951	Bengali 1961	Bengali 1951	Bodo/Boro 1961	Bodo/Boro 1951	Garo 1961	Garo 1951	Hindi 1961	Hindi 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Assam	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000
Goalpara	1 505	1 382	897	1 126	5 506	6 266	1 110	1 007	872	854
Kamrup	2 456	2 369	988	1 311	2 772	1 692	357	346	923	737
Darrang	1 238	1 437	616	374	1 342	529	23	62	1 277	917
Lakhimpur	1 452	1 451	620	500	169	94	10	3	2 141	1 841
Nowgong	1 370	1 233	1 015	1 207	34	382	13	12	653	713
Sibsagar	1 901	2 059	223	242	14	26	15	23	986	1 087
Cachar	7	7	5 264	5 012	N	42	3	N	2 782	3 486
Garo Hills	24	19	103	106	7	70	7,899	8 099	50	48
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	15	31	154	77	1	6	453	441	136	236
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	32	12	114	42	155	893	117	7	177	80
Mizo Hills	N	N	6	3	N	N	N	N	3	1

State/District	Number per 10 000 of the total population speaking: Khasi 1961	Khasi 1951	Lushai/Mizo 1961	Lushai/Mizo 1951	Mikir 1961	Mikir 1951	Nepali 1961	Nepali 1951	Oriya 1961	Oriya 1951
1	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Assam	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10,000	10 000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	1	1	N	N		3	580	808	120	151
Kamrup	35	25	6	1	451	239	729	851	139	108
Darrang	6	8	56	4	136	130	3,201	2,557	3 020	1,685
Lakhimpur	12	8	27	6	11	150	2 319	2,319	3,865	4,438
Nowgong	N	1	1	3	386	881	379	270	263	440
Sibsagar	3	4	8	3	39	29	677	743	1,671	2,231
Cachar	192	165	61	90	68	67	91	150	746	924
Garo Hills	1	3	1		1	N	131	144	N	..
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	9,641	9,761	56	51	252	1,730	1,369	1,606	16	7
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	104	23	11	27	8,656	6,771	429	70	149	16
Mizo Hills	5	1	9,773	9,815	N	N	95	282	1	..

Note —'N' denotes negligible.

Number per 10,000 of total population speaking the major language as mother-tongue in each district of the State 1961

TABLE 8·20

State/District	Rural Urban	Total	Mother tongue									
			Assamese	Bengali	Bodo/Boro	Garo	Hindi	Khasi	Mikir	Lushai/Mizo	Nepali	Oriya
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Assam	Rural	10,000	5,912	1,565	253	270	359	291	141	184	164	131
	Urban	10,000	3,337	3,789	33	56	1,297	479	2	155	383	25
Goalpara	Rural	10,000	6,842	982	1,057	231	173	N	.	N	82	12
	Urban	10,000	3,397	4,241	198	14	1,923	2	.	1	59	5
Kamrup	Rural	10,000	8,423	786	417	57	91	4	38	N	58	6
	Urban	10,000	5,172	2,676	41	10	1,392	27	1	5	226	39
Darrang	Rural	10,000	6,621	860	304	5	464	1	17	9	549	354
	Urban	10,000	3,809	4,054	N	9	1,571	7		9	176	39
Lakhimpur	Rural	10,000	6,653	508	33	2	563	1	1	3	298	392
	Urban	10,000	2,998	3,704	1	4	1,963	19		9	519	55
Nowgong	Rural	10,000	7,938	1,532	8	3	214	N	53	N	66	33
	Urban	10,000	4,085	4,454	N	2	1,130	1	1	1	88	9
Sibsagar	Rural	10,000	8,665	224	3	2	288	N	4	N	93	169
	Urban	10,000	6,373	1,827	1	26	1,194	9	6	14	169	16
Cachar	Rural	10,000	32	7,784		1	1,073	54	8	9	11	84
	Urban	10,000	43	9,354	1	N	498	2		16	58	4
Garo Hills	Rural	10,000	521	644	7	7,834	49	N	N	N	68	.
	Urban	10,000	592	2,285	1	4,644	1,245	50	6	18	876	1
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	Rural	10,000	48	171	N	378	39	8,695	108	5	382	5
	Urban	10,000	788	2,365	2	23	514	3,916	5	95	1,471	7
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	Rural	10,000	778	797	157	127	315	133	4,827	4	320	78
	Urban	10,000	717	4,392		31	1,020	254	150	420	1,161	3
Mizo Hills	Rural	10,000	6	28	N	N	4	6	N	7,878	42	N
	Urban	10,000	80	312	7	2	49	29		8,702	685	1

Note —'N' denotes Negligible

45. As far as Table 8.18 is concerned, I have already discussed most of the points which can be inferred from this table in the preceding paragraphs. I can only add that this table has been prepared for languages whose speakers are not less than one per 10,000 according to the 1961 Census.

46. In Tables 8.19 and 8.20, a major tongue in Assam means a language the number of whose speakers is at least one per cent of the total population of the State in 1961. These tables show that there are 10 such languages in Assam. One distinctive feature of Table 8.19 is that it shows the distribution of 10,000 people speaking a particular language in all the districts of Assam for 1961 as well as for 1951. For example, 10,000 Assamese speakers have been distributed in all the districts of Assam according to figures in columns 2 and 3 of the table for 1961 and for 1951 respectively. Other inferences which can be drawn from this table have already been discussed in my analyses in the preceding paragraphs.

47. A distinctive feature of Table 8.20 is that it shows the distribution of 10,000 population speaking major languages as mother tongues in each district of the State during 1961, both Rural and Urban separately. This table confirms that speakers of Bengali are more than the speakers of Assamese in Urban Areas of Assam as a whole. The predominance of Bengali exists in all the Urban Areas of the districts of Assam excepting in the Sibsagar and Kamrup districts.

48. *Bilingualism*—The following is Table 8.21 showing the distribution per 10,000 speakers of the major mother tongues in Assam who also speak one or more subsidiary languages in 1961 :

Distribution per 10,000 speakers of the major mother-tongues in Assam who also speak one or more subsidiary languages, 1961

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

TABLE 8·21

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable		Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength	Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength							
1		2	3		4		5			
Assam		Assamese		Bengali		English		Hindi		
	(*a*)	6,784,271	(*a* 1)	233,838	(*a* 2)	155,814	(*a* 3)	146,815		
	(*b*)	6,149	(*b* 1)	4,359	(*b* 2)	2,904	(*b* 3)	2,737		
Goalpara		Assamese		Bengali		English		Hindi		
	(*a*)	1,021,145	(*a* 1)	56,740	(*a* 2)	10,145	(*a* 3)	4,736		
	(*b*)	7,029	(*b* 1)	7,922	(*b* 2)	1,417	(*b* 3)	661		
Kamrup		Assamese		Bengali		English		Hindi		
	(*a*)	1,665,994	(*a* 1)	62,038	(*a* 2)	42,572	(*a* 3)	14,159		
	(*b*)	8,201	(*b* 1)	5,223	(*b* 2)	3,585	(*b* 3)	1,192		
Darrang		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi		English		
	(*a*)	839,788	(*a* 1)	32,221	(*a* 2)	23,996	(*a* 3)	9,436		
	(*b*)	7,075	(*b* 1)	4,908	(*b* 2)	3,655	(*b* 3)	1,437		
Lakhimpur		Assamese		Hindi		English		Bengali		
	(*a*)	985,157	(*a* 1)	45,908	(*a* 2)	23,175	(*a* 3)	13,015		
	(*b*)	7,380	(*b* 1)	5,592	(*b* 2)	2,823	(*b* 3)	1,585		
Nowgong		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi		English		
	(*a*)	929,843	(*a* 1)	57,320	(*a* 2)	15,253	(*a* 3)	13,824		
	(*b*)	7,803	(*b* 1)	6,635	(*b* 2)	1,765	(*b* 3)	1,600		
Sibsagar		Assamese		English		Hindi		Bengali		
	(*a*)	1,289,451	(*a* 1)	49,977	(*a* 2)	39,404	(*a* 3)	6,303		
	(*b*)	9,039	(*b* 1)	5,223	(*b* 2)	4,118	(*b* 3)	659		
Cachar		Assamese		Bengali		English		Hindi		
	(*a*)	4,542	(*a* 1)	2,026	(*a* 2)	192	(*a* 3)	171		
	(*b*)	36	(*b* 1)	8,480	(*b* 2)	804	(*b* 3)	716		
Garo Hills		Assamese		Bengali		English		Garo		
	(*a*)	16,073	(*a* 1)	3,730	(*a* 2)	261	(*a* 3)	65		
	(*b*)	572	(*b* 1)	9,196	(*b* 2)	644	(*b* 3)	160		
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills		Assamese		English		Hindi		Bengali		
	(*a*)	10,265	(*a* 1)	4,613	(*a* 2)	1,510	(*a* 3)	195		
	(*b*)	229	(*b* 1)	7,371	(*b* 2)	2,413	(*b* 3)	216		
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills		Assamese		English		Hindi		Bengali		
	(*a*)	21,738	(*a* 1)	1,556	(*a* 2)	1,554	(*a* 3)	290		
	(*b*)	1,030	(*b* 1)	4,976	(*b* 2)	4,571	(*b* 3)	853		
Mizo Hills		Assamese		Hindi		English		Lushai/Mizo		
	(*a*)	275	(*a* 1)	66	(*a* 2)	63	(*a* 3)	45		
	(*b*)	13	(*b* 1)	3,793	(*b* 2)	3,621	(*b* 3)	2,586		

TABLE 8·21—*contd.*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable		Mother-tongue in descending order of numerical strength	Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength						
1		2	3		4		5	
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Hindi	
Assam	(*a*)	2 061 533	(*a* 1)	554 267	(*a* 2)	86 016	(*a* 3)	49,730
	(*b*)	1 869	(*b* 1)	8 033	(*b* 2)	1,246	(*b* 3)	721
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Hindi	
Goalpara	(*a*)	184 902	(*a* 1)	69 285	(*a* 2)	4 848	(*a* 3)	2,236
	(*b*)	1 273	(*b* 1)	9 070	(*b* 2)	635	(*b* 3)	295
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Hindi	
Kamrup	(*a*)	203 642	(*a* 1)	110 895	(*a* 2)	12 492	(*a* 3)	3,877
	(*b*)	1 602	(*b* 1)	8 714	(*b* 2)	981	(*b* 3)	305
		Bengali	Assamese		Hindi		English	
Darrang	(*a*)	126 987	(*a* 1)	94 582	(*a* 2)	2 864	(*a* 3)	2,036
	(*b*)	1 070	(*b* 1)	9 507	(*b* 2)	288	(*b* 3)	205
		Bengali	Assamese		Hindi		English	
Lakhimpur	(*a*)	127 874	(*a* 1)	75 402	(*a* 2)	10,205	(*a* 3)	6,631
	(*b*)	958	(*b* 1)	8 175	(*b* 2)	1 106	(*b* 3)	716
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Hindi	
Nowgong	(*a*)	209 190	(*a* 1)	147 982	(*a* 2)	4,539	(*a* 3)	3,094
	(*b*)	1 755	(*b* 1)	9 509	(*b* 2)	292	(*b* 3)	199
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Hindi	
Sibsagar	(*a*)	46 036	(*a* 1)	35 784	(*a* 2)	2,644	(*a* 3)	1,349
	(*b*)	323	(*b* 1)	8 996	(*b* 2)	665	(*b* 3)	339
		Bengali	English		Hindi		Assamese	
Cachar	(*a*)	1 085 287	(*a* 1)	39 044	(*a* 2)	20,303	(*a* 3)	2,088
	(*b*)	8 651	(*b* 1)	6 355	(*b* 2)	3,305	(*b* 3)	340
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Garo	
Garo Hills	(*a*)	21 256	(*a* 1)	7,989	(*a* 2)	860	(*a* 3)	268
	(*b*)	757	(*b* 1)	8,763	(*b* 2)	943	(*b* 3)	294
		Bengali	English		Hindi		Assamese	
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	(*a*)	31,730	(*a* 1)	11,440	(*a* 2)	4,469	(*a* 3)	3,421
	(*b*)	709	(*b* 1)	5 937	(*b* 2)	2,288	(*b* 3)	1,775
		Bengali	Assamese		English		Hindi	
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	(*a*)	23,473	(*a* 1)	6,826	(*a* 2)	1,261	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	1,112	(*b* 1)	7,997	(*b* 2)	1,404	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
		Bengali	Hindi		English		Lushai/Mizo	
Mizo Hills	(*a*)	1,156	(*a* 1)	283	(*a* 2)	221	(*a* 3)	158
	(*b*)	54	(*b* 1)	4,275	(*b* 2)	3,288	(*b* 3)	[illegible]

TABLE 8·21—*contd.*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable		Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength	Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
1		2	3		4		5	
Assam		Hindi	Assamese		Bengali		English	
	(*a*)	511,818	(*a* 1)	225,862	(*a* 2)	58,104	(*a* 3)	9,190
	(*b*)	464	(*b* 1)	7,705	(*b* 2)	1,982	(*b* 3)	313
Goalpara		Hindi	Assamese		Bengali		English	
	(*a*)	44,646	(*a* 1)	24,174	(*a* 2)	1,565	(*a* 3)	551
	(*b*)	307	(*b* 1)	9,195	(*b* 2)	595	(*b* 3)	210
Kamrup		Hindi	Assamese		English		Bengali	
	(*a*)	47,246	(*a* 1)	26,760	(*a* 2)	1,888	(*a* 3)	1,306
	(*b*)	233	(*b* 1)	8,934	(*b* 2)	630	(*b* 3)	436
Darrang		Hindi	Assamese		Bengali		English	
	(*a*)	65,355	(*a* 1)	42,989	(*a* 2)	996	(*a* 3)	585
	(*b*)	551	(*b* 1)	9,645	(*b* 2)	224	(*b* 3)	131
Lakhimpur		Hindi	Assamese		English		Bengali	
	(*a*)	109,594	(*a* 1)	72,092	(*a* 2)	2,220	(*a* 3)	1,962
	(*b*)	821	(*b* 1)	9,452	(*b* 2)	291	(*b* 3)	257
Nowgong		Hindi	Assamese		Bengali		English	
	(*a*)	33,390	(*a* 1)	20,870	(*a* 2)	800	(*a* 3)	364
	(*b*)	280	(*b* 1)	9,472	(*b* 2)	363	(*b* 3)	165
Sibsagar		Hindi	Assamese		English		Bengali	
	(*a*)	50,436	(*a* 1)	34,742	(*a* 2)	1,508	(*a* 3)	281
	(*b*)	354	(*b* 1)	9,510	(*b* 2)	413	(*b* 3)	77
Cachar		Hindi	Bengali		Assamese		English	
	(*a*)	142,402	(*a* 1)	50,213	(*a* 2)	1,514	(*a* 3)	613
	(*b*)	1,135	(*b* 1)	9,594	(*b* 2)	289	(*b* 3)	117
Garo Hills		Hindi	Bengali		Assamese		English	
	(*a*)	2,577	(*a* 1)	351	(*a* 2)	243	(*a* 3)	118
	(*b*)	92	(*b* 1)	4,930	(*b* 2)	3,413	(*b* 3)	1,657
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills		Hindi	English		Bengali		Assamese	
	(*a*)	6,964	(*a* 1)	1,209	(*a* 2)	223	(*a* 3)	122
	(*b*)	156	(*b* 1)	7,780	(*b* 2)	1,435	(*b* 3)	785
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills		Hindi	Assamese		Bengali		English	
	(*a*)	9,047	(*a* 1)	2,352	(*a* 2)	386	(*a* 3)	111
	(*b*)	428	(*b* 1)	8,255	(*b* 2)	1,355	(*b* 3)	390
Mizo Hills		Hindi	Nepali		English		Bengali	
	(*a*)	161	(*a* 1)	34	(*a* 1)	23	(*a* 3)	21
	(*b*)	7	(*b* 1)	4,339	(*b* 2)	§2,949	(*b* 3)	§2,692

TABLE 8·21—*contd*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable	Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength		Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
1	2		3		4		5	
		Khasi		English		Hindi		Bengali
Assam	(*a*)	162 970	(*a* 1)	17 234	(*a* 2)	6 180	(*a* 3)	2,298
	(*b*)	329	(*b* 2)	6 652	(*b* 2)	2,462	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
		Khasi		Hindi		Assamese		English
Kamrup	(*a*)	1 268	(*a* 1)	298	(*a* 2)	190	(*a* 3)	96
	(*b*)	6	(*b* 1)	5 103	(*b* 2)	3 253	(*b* 3)	1,644
		Khasi		Assamese		English		Hindi
Darrang	(*a*)	207	(*a* 1)	56	(*a* 2)	13	(*a* 3)	12
	(*b*)	2	(*b* 1)	6 914	(*b* 2)	1 605	(*b* 3)	1,481
		Khasi		Assamese		Hindi		English
Lakhimpur	(*a*)	435	(*a* 1)	150	(*a* 2)	69	(*a* 3)	44
	(*b*)	3	(*b* 1)	5 703	(*b* 2)	2 624	(*b* 3)	1,673
		Khasi		Assamese		English		
Nowgong	(*a*)	18	(*a* 1)	8	(*a* 2)	3		—
	(*b*)	N	(*b* 1)	7,273	(*b* 2)	2,727		
		Khasi		Assamese		Hindi		English
Sibsagar	(*a*)	103	(*a* 1)	39	(*a* 2)	24	(*a* 3)	9
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	5 417	(*b* 2)	3,333	(*b* 3)	1,250
		Khasi		Bengali		Hindi		English
Cachar	(*a*)	6 955	(*a* 1)	1 529	(*a* 2)	96	(*a* 3)	81
	(*b*)	55	(*b* 1)	8 962	(*b* 2)	563	(*b* 3)	475
		Khasi		English		Garo		Hindi
Garo Hills	(*a*)	49	(*a* 1)	23	(*a* 2)	3	(*a* 3)	3
	(*b*)	2	(*b* 1)	7 932	(*b* 2)	1,034	(*b* 3)	1,034
		Khasi		English		Hindi		Bengali
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	(*a*)	349 956	(*a* 1)	16 873	(*a* 2)	5 527	(*a* 3)	741
	(*b*)	7 823	(*b* 1)	7,292	(*b* 2)	2 388	(*b* 3)	320
		Khasi		Hindi		Mikir		English
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	(*a*)	3 888	(*a* 1)	308	(*a* 2)	138	(*a* 3)	64
	(*b*)	184	(*b* 1)	6,382	(*b* 2)	2,287	(*b* 3)	1,331
		Khasi		Hindi		Lushai/Mizo		English
Mizo Hills	(*a*)	192	(*a* 1)	44	(*a* 2)	28	(*a* 3)	27
	(*b*)	9	(*b* 1)	4,445	(*b* 2)	2,828	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
		Garo		Assamese		English		[illegible]
Aibam	(*a*)	301,094	(*a* 1)	51,220	(*a* 2)	7,368	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	273	(*b* 1)	8,282	(*b* 2)	1,191	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
		Garo		Assamese		English		Hindi
Goalpara	(*a*)	33,405	(*a* 1)	15,818	(*a* 2)	893	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	230	(*b* 1)	9,199	(*b* 2)	519	(*b* 3)	[illegible]

TABLE 8·21—*contd.*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable		Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength	Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength						
1		2	3		4		5	
Kamrup		Garo		Assamese		English		Hindi
	(*a*)	10 759	(*a* 1)	3 743	(*a* 2)	374	(*a* 3)	59
	(*b*)	53	(*b* 1)	8 963		896	(*b* 3)	141
Darrang		Garo		Assamese		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	684	(*a* 1)	302	(*a* 2)	31	(*a* 3)	25
	(*b*)	6	(*b* 1)	8,436	(*b* 2)	866	(*b* 3)	698
Lakhimpur		Garo		Assamese		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	285	(*a* 1)	139	(*a* 2)	23	(*a* 3)	21
	(*b*)	2	(*b* 1)	7,596	(*b* 2)	1 257	(*b* 3)	1,147
Nowgong		Garo		Assamese		English		—
	(*a*)	384	(*a* 1)	159	(*a* 2)	8		—
	(*b*)	3	(*b* 1)	9 521	(*b* 2)	479		—
Sibsagar		Garo		Assamese		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	465	(*a* 1)	308	(*a* 2)	38	(*a* 3)	21
	(*b*)	3	(*b* 1)	8 392	(*b* 2)	1 036	(*b* 3)	572
Cachar		Garo		Bengali		Assamese		Hindi
	(*a*)	93	(*a* 1)	30	(*a* 2)	14	(*a* 3)	6
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	6 000	(*b* 2)	2 800	(*b* 3)	1,200
Garo Hills		Garo		Assamese		English		Bengali
	(*a*)	237 842	(*a* 1)	23 857	(*a* 2)	5 507	(*a* 3)	2 127
	(*b*)	8 469	(*b* 1)	7 576	(*b* 2)	1,749	(*b* 3)	675
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills		Garo		Assamese		Bengali		English
	(*a*)	13 630	(*a* 1)	5 447	(*a* 2)	798	(*a* 3)	505
	(*b*)	305	(*b* 1)	8,070	(*b* 2)	1,182	(*b* 3)	748
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills		Garo		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi
	(*a*)	3,534	(*a* 1)	1,433	(*a* 2)	151	(*a* 3)	58
	(*b*)	167	(*b* 1)	8 727	(*b* 2)	920	(*b* 3)	353
Mizo Hills		Garo		Hindi		Lushai/Mizo		English
	(*a*)	13	(*a* 1)	10	(*a* 2)	2	(*a* 3)	1
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	7,692	(*b* 2)	1,529	(*b* 3)	769
Assam		Bodo/Boro		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	280,343	(*a* 1)	188,760	(*a* 2)	1,979	(*a* 3)	1,173
	(*b*)	254	(*b* 1)	9,836	(*b* 2)	103	(*b* 3)	61
Goalpara		Bodo/Boro		Assamese		Bengali		English
	(*a*)	154,359	(*a* 1)	84,159	(*a* 2)	1,016	(*a* 3)	103
	(*b*)	1,063	(*b* 2)	9,869	(*b* 2)	119	(*b* 3)	12
Kamrup		Bodo/Boro		Assamese		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	77,724	(*a* 1)	63,397	(*a* 2)	1,842	(*a* 3)	56
	(*b*)	383	(*b* 1)	9,718	(*b* 2)	274	(*b* 3)	8

TABLE 8.21—*contd*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable	Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength		Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
1	2		3		4		5	
Darrang	Bodo Boro		Assamese		English		Hindi	
	(*a*)	37 618	(*a* 1)	32 890	(*a* 2)	138	(*a* 3)	24
	(*b*)	317	(*b* 1)	9,951	(*b* 2)	42	(*b* 3)	7
Lakhimpur	Bodo Boro		Assamese		Hindi		English	
	(*a*)	4 743	(*a* 1)	2 834	(*a* 2)	14	(*a* 3)	4
	(*b*)	36	(*b* 1)	9 937	(*b* 2)	49	(*b* 3)	4
Nowgong	Bodo Boro		Assamese		Bengali			
	(*a*)	941	(*a* 1)	377	(*a* 2)	109	—	
	(*b*)	8	(*b* 1)	7 757	(*b* 2)	2,243	—	
Sibsagar	Bodo Boro		Assamese		Hindi		English	
	(*a*)	378	(*a* 1)	309	(*a* 2)	33	(*a* 3)	9
	(*b*)	3	(*b* 1)	8,804	(*b* 2)	940	(*b* 3)	256
Cachar	Bodo Boro		Assamese		English			
	(*a*)	9	(*a* 1)	7	(*a* 2)	1	—	
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	8,750	(*b* 2)	1,250	—	
Garo Hills	Bodo Boro		Kachari		Assamese			
	(*a*)	200	(*a* 1)	150	(*a* 2)	14	—	
	(*b*)	7	(*b* 1)	9,146	(*b* 2)	854		
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	Bodo Boro		Assamese		English		Bengali	
	(*a*)	27	(*a* 1)	9	(*a* 2)	8	(*a* 3)	2
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	4,737	(*b* 2)	4,210	(*b* 3)	1,000
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	Bodo Boro		Assamese		Bengali		English	
	(*a*)	4,333	(*a* 1)	2,764	(*a* 2)	33	(*a* 3)	8
	(*b*)	205	(*b* 1)	9,868	(*b* 2)	118	(*b* 3)	14
Mizo Hills	Bodo/Boro		Hindi		Bengali		Lushai/Mizo	
	(*a*)	11	(*a* 1)	6	(*a* 2)	3	(*a* 3)	1
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	6,000	(*b* 2)	3,000	(*b* 3)	1,000
Assam .	Lushai/Mizo		English		Hindi		Assamese	
	(*a*)	215 667	(*a* 1)	6,406	(*a* 2)	6,393	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	195	(*b* 1)	4,657	(*b* 2)	4,648	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
Kamrup	Lushai/Mizo		Hindi		English		Assamese	
	(*a*)	123	(*a* 1)	45	(*a* 2)	23	(*a* 3)	18
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	5,233	(*b* 2)	2,674	(*b* 3)	12,[illegible]
Darrang	Lushai/Mizo		Assamese		Hindi		English	
	(*a*)	1,206	(*a* 1)	44	(*a* 2)	9	(*a* 3)	3
	(*b*)	10	(*b* 1)	7,586	(*b* 2)	1,952	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	Lushai/Mizo		Assamese		Hindi		[illegible]	
	(*a*)	977	(*a* 1)	124	(*a* 2)	113	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	4	(*b* 1)	4,662	(*b* 2)	4,248	(*b* 3)	[illegible]

TABLE 8·21—*contd.*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961
(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable	Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength		Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
1	2		3		4		5	
Nowgong		Lushai/Mizo		Assamese		English		Hindi
	(*a*)	14	(*a* 1)	4	(*a* 2)	3	(*a* 3)	3
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	4,000	(*b* 2)	3,000	(*b* 3)	3,000
Sibsagar		Lushai/Mizo		Hindi		Assamese		English
	(*a*)	173	(*a* 1)	34	(*a* 2)	26	(*a* 3)	15
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	4,533	(*b* 2)	3,467	(*b* 3)	2,000
Cachar		Lushai/Mizo		Bengali		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	1,317	(*a* 1)	121	(*a* 2)	71	(*a* 3)	35
	(*b*)	10	(*b* 1)	5,330	(*b* 2)	3,128	(*b* 3)	1,542
Garo Hills		Lushai/Mizo		Hindi		Assamese		English
	(*a*)	18	(*a* 1)	6	(*a* 1)	1	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	7,500	(*b* 2)	1,250	(*b* 3)	1,250
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills		Lushai/Mizo		English		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	1,206	(*a* 1)	497	(*a* 2)	343	(*a* 3)	9
	(*b*)	27	(*b* 1)	5,854	(*b* 2)	4,040	(*b* 3)	106
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills		Lushai/Mizo		English		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	245	(*a* 1)	82	(*a* 2)	74	(*a* 3)	4
	(*b*)	12	(*b* 1)	5,125	(*b* 2)	4,625	(*b* 3)	250
Mizo Hills		Lushai/Mizo		English		Hindi		Assamese
	(*a*)	210,776	(*a* 1)	5,721	(*a* 2)	5,695	(*a* 3)	738
	(*b*)	9,820	(*b* 1)	4,707	(*b* 2)	4,686	(*b* 3)	607
Assam		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	215,213	(*a* 1)	116,640	(*a* 2)	23,454	(*a* 3)	1,891
	(*b*)	195	(*b* 1)	8,215	(*b* 2)	1,652	(*b* 3)	133
Goalpara		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	12,487	(*a* 1)	4,625	(*a* 2)	920	(*a* 3)	170
	(*b*)	86	(*b* 1)	8,093	(*b* 2)	1,610	(*b* 3)	297
Kamrup		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		English
	(*a*)	15,680	(*a* 1)	11,468	(*a* 2)	1,154	(*a* 3)	216
	(*b*)	77	(*b* 1)	8,933	(*b* 2)	899	(*b* 3)	168
Darrang		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	68,885	(*a* 1)	54,654	(*a* 2)	2,492	(*a* 3)	102
	(*b*)	580	(*b* 1)	9,547	(*b* 2)	435	(*b* 3)	18
Lakhimpur		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	49,902	(*a* 1)	20,924	(*a* 2)	4,825	(*a* 3)	438
	(*b*)	374	(*b* 1)	8,546	(*b* 2)	1,333	(*b* 3)	121
Nowgong		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
	(*a*)	8,159	(*a* 1)	3,579	(*a* 2)	514	(*a* 3)	96
	(*b*)	68	(*b* 1)	8,544	(*b* 2)	1,227	(*b* 3)	229

TABLE 8·21—*contd.*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1951

(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable		Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength	Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
1		2	3		4		5	
		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		English
Sibsagar	(*a*)	14 573	(*a* 1)	9,175	(*a* 2)	1,351	(*a* 3)	48
	(*b*)	102	(*b* 1)	8 317	(*b* 2)	1,441	(*b* 3)	42
		Nepali		Bengali		Hindi		English
Cachar	(*a*)	1 961	(*a* 1)	508	(*a* 2)	300	(*a* 3)	23
	(*b*)	16	(*b* 2)	6 12[illegible]	(*b* 2)	1 614	(*b* 3)	265
		Nepali		Hindi		Garo		Bengali
Garo Hills	(*a*)	2 819	(*a* 1)	182	(*a* 2)	166	(*a* 3)	189
	(*b*)	100	(*b* 1)	4 166		3,991	(*b* 3)	1,843
		Nepal		Hindi		English		Khasi
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	(*a*)	29 4[illegible]	(*a* 1)	8 761	(*a* 2)	1 024	(*a* 3)	474
	(*b*)	658	(*b* 1)	8,540	(*b* 2)	998	(*b* 3)	462
		Nepali		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	(*a*)	9,234	(*a* 1)	1,874	(*a* 2)	1,627	(*a* 3)	168
	(*b*)	437	(*a* 1)	5,108	(*a* 2)	4,434	(*a* 3)	458
		Nepali		Hindi		Lushai/Mizo		English
Mizo Hills	(*a*)	2,042	(*a* 1)	924	(*a* 2)	481	(*a* 3)	41
	(*b*)	95	(*a* 1)	6,390	(*a* 2)	3,326	(*a* 3)	284
		Mikir		Assamese		Khasi		Bengali
Assam	(*a*)	154,232	(*a* 1)	80,007	(*a* 2)	1,405	(*a* 3)	702
	(*b*)	140	(*b* 1)	9,743	(*b* 2)	171	(*b* 3)	86
		Mikir		Assamese		English		Hindi
Kamrup	(*a*)	6,952	(*a* 1)	5,917	(*a* 2)	18	(*a* 3)	2
	(*b*)	34	(*b* 1)	9,966	(*b* 2)	30	(*b* 3)	4
		Mikir		Assamese		Bengali		English
Darrang	(*a*)	2,101	(*a* 1)	1,352	(*a* 2)	9	(*a* 3)	1
	(*b*)	18	(*b* 1)	9,927	(*b* 2)	66	(*b* 3)	7
		Mikir		Assamese				
Lakhimpur	(*a*)	174	(*a* 1)	25		—		—
	(*b*)	1	(*b* 1)	10,000		—		—
		Mikir		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
Nowgong	(*a*)	5,953	(*a* 1)	2,502	(*a* 2)	101	(*a* 3)	9
	(*b*)	50	(*b* 1)	9,579	(*b* 2)	387	(*b* 3)	34
		Mikir		Assamese		Hindi		[illegible]
Sibsagar	(*a*)	607	(*a* 1)	482	(*a* 2)	2	(*a* 3)	[illegible]
	(*b*)	4	(*b* 2)	9,938	(*b* 2)	41	(*b* 3)	25
		Mikir		Bengali		Khasi		[illegible]
Cachar	(*a*)	1,051	(*a* 1)	486	(*a* 2)	3	(*a* 3)	1
	(*b*)	8	(*b* 1)	9,818	(*b* 2)	162	(*b* 3)	[illegible]
		Mikir		English		—		
Garo Hills	(*a*)	6	(*a* 1)	2		—		
	(*b*)	*Nil*	(*b* 1)	10,000		—		

TABLE 8·21 —*concld.*

(*a*) Denotes absolute figures returned in 1961

(*b*) Denotes the above as proportion of 10,000

State and only those districts where bilingualism is considerable	Mother-tongues in descending order of numerical strength		Three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
1	2		3		4		5	
		Mikir		Assamese		Khasi		English
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	(*a*)	3,880	(*a* 1)	400	(*a* 2)	344	(*a* 3)	51
	(*b*)	87	(*b* 1)	5,031	(*b* 2)	4,327	(*b* 3)	642
		Mikir		Assamese		Khasi		Hindi
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	(*a*)	133,507	(*a* 1)	69,328	(*a* 2)	1,058	(*a* 3)	530
	(*b*)	6,322	(*b* 1)	9,776	(*b* 2)	149	(*b* 3)	75
		Mikir		Hindi				
Mizo Hills	(*a*)	1	(*a* 1)	1		—		—
	(*b*)	*Nil*	(*b* 1)	10,000		—		—
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
Assam	(*a*)	145,488	(*a* 1)	84,653	(*a* 2)	7,339	(*a* 3)	5,790
	(*b*)	132	(*b* 1)	8,657	(*b* 2)	751	(*b* 3)	592
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
Goalpara	(*a*)	1,749	(*a* 1)	373	(*a* 2)	147	(*a* 3)	54
	(*b*)	12	(*b* 1)	6,498	(*b* 2)	2,561	(*b* 3)	941
		Oriya		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi
Kamrup	(*a*)	2,019	(*a* 1)	471	(*a* 2)	109	(*a* 3)	78
	(*b*)	10	(*b* 1)	7,158	(*b* 2)	1,657	(*b* 3)	1,185
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
Darrang	(*a*)	44,083	(*a* 1)	28,860	(*a* 2)	1,988	(*a* 3)	281
	(*b*)	371	(*b* 1)	9,268	(*b* 2)	639	(*b* 3)	93
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
Lakhimpur	(*a*)	56,237	(*a* 1)	36,216	(*a* 2)	3,585	(*a* 3)	543
	(*b*)	421	(*b* 1)	8,977	(*b* 2)	889	(*b* 3)	134
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
Nowgong	(*a*)	3,818	(*a* 1)	2,147	(*a* 2)	116	(*a* 3)	50
	(*b*)	32	(*b* 1)	9,282	(*b* 2)	502	(*b* 3)	216
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		English
Sibsagar	(*a*)	24,317	(*a* 1)	15,327	(*a* 2)	567	(*a* 3)	11
	(*b*)	170	(*b* 1)	9,637	(*b* 2)	356	(*b* 3)	7
		Oriya		Bengali		Hindi		English
Cachar	(*a*)	10,852	(*a* 1)	4,724	(*d* 2)	692	(*a* 3)	9
	(*b*)	87	(*b* 1)	8,708	(*b* 2)	1,275	(*b* 3)	17
		Oriya		Hindi		English		Assamese
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	(*a*)	237	(*a* 1)	87	(*a* 2)	29	(*a* 3)	12
	(*b*)	5	(*b* 1)	6,797	(*b* 2)	2,266	(*b* 3)	937
		Oriya		Assamese		Hindi		Bengali
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	(*a*)	2,166	(*a* 1)	1,244	(*a* 2)	75	(*a* 3)	13
	(*b*)	103	(*b* 1)	9,339	(*b* 2)	563	(*b* 3)	98
		Oriya		Hindi		Bengali		
Mizo Hills	(*a*)	9	(*a* 1)	4	(*a* 2)	3		—
	(*b*)	*Nil*	(*b* 1)	5,714	(*b* 2)	4,286		—

49. As already stated earlier, a major tongue in Assam is a language the number of whose speakers is at least one per cent of the total population of the State in 1961. There are 10 such languages in Assam, namely, Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Khasi, Garo, Bodo/Boro, Nepali, Lushai/Mizo, Mikir and Oriya. Only the speakers of the above ten languages in decending order of numerical strength have been given in this table together with the name of three subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength. Letter (a) denotes the absolute figures of speakers as returned in the 1961 Census, while letter (b) denotes the above as proportion of 10,000. It should also be strictly borne in mind that the figures (b1), (b2) and (b3) in columns 3, 4 and 5 of the above table are simply components of 10,000. This can be made clear by one illustration from the above table. Take the case of Assamese where it will be found that there are 4,542 speakers (of Assamese) in the Cachar district in 1961 and their proportion per 10,000 of the total population of the Cachar district is only 36 or 0.36 per cent. In column 3 of the above table, it is seen that 2,026 of the Assamese speakers of the Cachar district can also speak Bengali as a subsidiary language. The figure 8,480 against (b1) in column 3 of the above table does not denote that this is their proportion per 10,000 of the population but it is simply a component of 10,000 for the three subsidiary languages because if 8,480 is added to 804 and 716 in columns 4 and 5, the total will be 10,000.

50. It may be noted that in the whole of Assam, out of a total of 6,784,271 Assamese speakers, 233,838 also speak Bengali, while another 155,814 and 146,815 also speak English and Hindi respectively. It must however be strictly borne in mind that the Assamese speakers who also know Bengali in column 3 may also be able to speak English and Hindi, but the Assamese speakers who also know English in column 4 are quite different from those who know Bengali in column 3. So also is the case with Assamese speakers who know Hindi. In the 1961 Census, the enumerators may record two subsidiary languages which a person knows in addition to his mother tongue, but at the time of tabulation only the first or principal subsidiary language has been tabulated. In the whole of Assam, 1,631,396 persons speak Assamese as a subsidiary language.

51. Out of 2,061,533 Bengali speakers in Assam, 554,267 also know Assamese as a subsidiary language. These figures seem to suggest that more Bengalis know Assamese than Assamese know Bengali. In the whole of Assam, 368,953 persons also speak Bengali as a subsidiary language.

52. 511,818 persons or 4.67 per cent. of the total population are Hindi speakers and most of these people are migrants into Assam from other parts of North India, mostly from Bihar. Among the speakers of indigenous languages in Assam, only 274,368 or 2.31 per cent. of the total population of the State also know Hindi as a subsidiary language.

53 *Scheduled Tribes and their Mother Tongues*—I give below Table 8.22 showing the names of Scheduled Tribes of Assam and their mother tongues in alphabetical order as thrown out by the 1961 Census. A similar table cannot be prepared for the Scheduled Castes of Assam because the Scheduled Castes here speak either Assamese or Bengali or any other language of their origin. Moreover, Caste-wise tabulation of mother tongue has not been undertaken in 1961.

A comparative statement of (a) Numerical, strength in the Census of 1961 of certain Tribes and (b) the

TABLE

Scheduled Tribes and mother tongues (in alphabetical order)		STATE Assam Male	STATE Assam Female	DIS Goalpara Male	Goalpara Female	Kamrup Male	Kamrup Female	Darrang Male	Darrang Female	Lakhimpur Male	Lakhimpur Female	Nowgong Male	Nowgong Female
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Scheduled Tribe Boro Borokachari													
(a) Population of Tribe	(a)	176,918	169,065	81,335	79,016	63,677	60,081	20,278	19,110	5,988	5,314	1,737	1,659
(b) Mother tongue by that name	(b)	143,909	136,434	80,147	74,212	40,698	37,026	18,455	19,163	2,157	2,586	391	550
Chakma	(a)	9,967	9,371	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	9,374	8,324	..	..	..	2	4	..	..	3	..	..
Deori	(a)	7,482	6,394	8	8	256	290	296	229	5,121	4,042	769	720
	(b)	4,433	4,659	21	25	5	4	214	194	3,108	3,002	4	..
Dimasa(Kachari)	(a)	36,575	32,143	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	16,944	15,133	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	427	320
Garo	(a)	130,636	127,486	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	152,823	148,275	17,646	15,759	5,378	5,381	357	327	112	173	202	182
Hajong	(a)	11,875	10,777	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	4,533	4,320	50	64	21	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hmar	(a)	4,492	4,249	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	5,005	5,148	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	20	..	..
Kachari including Sonwal	(a)	124,342	112,594	6,744	6,440	26,945	25,058	37,583	34,952	28,465	24,086	10,919	9,475
	(b)	33,646	30,775	4,711	5,262	3,157	4,056	10,638	7,221	4,071	4,906	1,186	976
Khasi and Jaintia	(a)	175,000	181,155	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	178,246	185,016	10	11	783	485	91	116	153	282	7	11
Any Kuki Tribes	(a)	9,830	9,207	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	12,120	11,634	3	..	2	..	..	8	..	..	4	..
Lakher	(a)	4,150	4,641	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	4,720	4,811	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lalung	(a)	31,697	29,618	..	..	967	912	9	36	1,472	1,197	28,319	26,478
	(b)	5,574	5,002	..	..	481	300	3	..	941	947	1,385	684
Man (Tai-Speaking)	(a)	136	117	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	292	455	..	..	..	..	..	..	243	334	..	..
Mech	(a)	3,585	3,402	112	35	8	..	398	321	1,412	1,656	249	301
	(b)	75	9	..	..	..	..	51	9	..	..	..	..
Mikir	(a)	62,827	58,255	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	80,733	73,606	..	..	4,117	2,835	1,057	1,044	65	109	3,339	2,632
Miri	(a)	86,795	76,658	1,768	1,312	200	86	7,805	7,487	46,608	38,478	2,512	2,320
	(b)	53,316	49,673	5[illegible]2	280	8	2	4,701	5,734	33,346	30,418	80	73
Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes	(a)	105,933	108,788	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	106,864	108,803	9	3	109	14	622	584	331	246	9	5
Any Naga Tribes	(a)	5,306	4,003	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	7,443	5,876	30	11	156	33	113	124	1,204	928	65	34
Pawi	(a)	2,156	2,431	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	3,093	3,833	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rabha	(a)	57,000	51,029	26,333	22,884	22,086	21,672	6,170	4,503	1,414	1,272	553	332
	(b)	19,638	18,670	12,533	11,033	574	515	797	1,476	425	588	2	

Note :—Mother tongues by the names of sub-tribes have been lump together with those of main tribes wherever necessary.

number of persons returned as speaking as Mother tongue the language that go by those Tribes names
8·22

TRICTS													
Sibsagar		Cachar		Garo Hills		United Mikir & North Cachar Hills		United Khasi Jaintia Hills		Mizo Hills		Scheduled Tribes & mother tongues (in alphabetical order)	
Male 14	Female 15	Male 16	Female 17	Male 18	Female 19	Male 20	Female 21	Male 22	Female 23	Male 24	Female 25	1	
												Scheduled Tribe Boro – Borokachari	
3,797	3,755	106	90									(a) Population of Tribe	(a)
143	235	5	4	86	114	1 796	2 937	20	7	11		(b) Mother tongue by that name	(b)
									1	9 967	9 370	Chakma	(a)
		111	80						1	9 259	8 238		(b)
1,032	1,105											Deori	(a)
1,014	1 414					1	1	66	19				(b)
				622	698	35,865	31 419	83	17	5	9	Dimasa (Kachari)	(a)
3		5,639	5 320	363	453	10,507	9 027		6	4	5		(b)
				121 036	118 711	1 780	1 546	7 809	7 228	11	1	Garo	(a)
314	151	75	18	119 780	118 062	1 799	1 735	7 149	6 485	11	2		(b)
				11 274	10 323			601	454			Hajong	(a)
				3,906	3,783			556	453				(b)
						2 173	1 958	952	939	1 367	1 752	Hmar	(a)
		1,861	1,843			1,848	1,581	48	22	1,230	1,682		(b)
13,603	12,512	83	71									Kachari including Sonwal	(a)
1,183	767			87	88	8 533	7,468	77	27	3	4		(b)
				29	21	2,074	1,857	172,794	179,187	103	90	Khasi and Jaintia	(a)
36	67	3 617	3,338	25	24	1 951	1 937	171 470	178,656	103	89		(b)
				1	1	3,551	3 599	160	48	6,118	5,559	Any Kuki Tribes	(a)
4	5	2,003	1,938	17		3,492	3,454	1,128	1,015	5 467	5,214		(b)
									1	4,150	4,640	Lakher	(a)
		3					1		1	4,714	4 808		(b)
930	995											Lalung	(a)
161	172	..				2,312	2,604	291	295				(b)
				136	117							Man (Ta -Speaking)	(a)
45	118					4	3						(b)
1,406	1,089											Mech	(a)
								24					(b)
				5	1	60,525	56,362	2,296	1 892	1		Mikir	(a)
353	254	580	471	5	1	69,179	64 417	2,037	1,843	1			(b)
27,902	26,975											Miri	(a)
14,623	13,160	..	1			11	1	15	4				(b)
..	..	..	..	9	9	175	109	810	348	104,939	108,322	Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes	(a)
149	24	652	665	9	9	160	85	800	406	104,014	106,762		(b)
..	..	..	..	9	1	4,556	3,782	728	210	13	10	Any Naga Tribes	(a)
361	329	724	649	10	1	3,947	3,369	706	211	127	187		(b)
..	..	..								2,156	2,431	Pawi	(a)
..	..	..							1	3,093	3,832		(b)
127	71	317	295			..	..	..	..	..	..	Rabha	(a)
2	..	..	..	5,184	4,949	..	..	121	109	..	..		(b)

54. In the above table, twenty Scheduled Tribes of Assam have been shown and against the name of each tribe there are two lines (a) and (b). The figures for all the tribes have been given for the State as a whole as well as for each district of Assam by males and females The total population can be had by adding males and females. The figures in columns 2 and 3 against the line (a) indicate the total population of each tribe, for males and females separately, according to the areas in which they are scheduled. The figures against line (b) indicate the Scheduled Tribes who speak a mother tongue known by the name of that very particular tribe, because in the case of Scheduled Tribes of Assam, most of their languages and religions are also known by the name of that particular tribe. It may also be noted that the figures against line (a) may be different from those against line (b), the one or the other being more or less than the other. For example, in the case of Boro, the figures against line (a) are more than those against line (b). This is due to the fact that all Boros have not returned their mother tongue as Boro because some of them might have returned their mother tongue as Assamese. In the case of Khasi and Jaintia, the figures against line (a) are smaller than those against line (b). This is due to the fact that there are many Khasis who live outside the Autonomous Districts of Assam and therefore have not been recorded as Scheduled Tribes in the plains of Assam. When it comes to mother tongue, the Khasis and Jaintias still give the name of their own mother tongue which is Khasi It may be noted that there is a sizeable Khasi population in the Cachar district who are not counted as Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of the Census because they live outside their own scheduled areas, but they have returned their mother tongue as Khasi. So the figures against line (b) will also give the total number of Khasis in Assam. This table is therefore helpful not only in assessing the tribal mother tongues against the numerical strength of that tribe but it also helps us to find out the actual strength of each tribe in such circumstances as is indicated by the Khasi and Jaintia people. In the case of Scheduled Tribes of the plains, it may not be completely possible to find out the actual strength of the tribe from languages because some of them live in the hill areas and give their mother tongue other than the name of that tribe Therefore the figures for the plains tribes are lost.

55 This table shows that as far as the Scheduled Tribes of the Hills are concerned, they have strictly preserved their own identity even in the plains of Assam, so much so, that neither the ignorance of the enumerators nor the 'tyranny' of a superior local dominant language can minimise the existence of their own mother tongue Formerly, there was a tendency among the plains tribals to identify their language with that of a predominant local language, but in 1961 there is a healthy sign that even the plains tribals are reasserting their identity. This confirms my earlier observation that, among the Boros and Miris in particular, their percentage increase in terms of mother tongue has been spectacular in 1961.

56 *Bilingualism among Scheduled Tribes* —I give below Table 8.23 showing members of Scheduled Tribes who speak a mother tongue other than their own or by a name other than the name of the particular tribe together with subsidiary languages spoken by them in descending order of numerical strength. This table also explains why in some cases the number of speakers of a particular tribal language is less than the actual numerical strength of the tribe itself.

Distribution of scheduled tribe speakers of mother tongues other than their own in the state who also speak one or more subsidiary languages, 1961

TABLE 8·23

Name of Scheduled Tribes	Mother-tongue		Subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
			Subsidiary Language I		Subsidiary Language II		Subsidiary Language III	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Boro-Borokachari	Assamese		Bodo Boro		Bengali		Hindi	
	50,916	49,537	12,273	13,038	1,212	1,180	392	497
	Deori		English		Assamese			
	13	17	10	7	1	5	..	..
	Rabha		Assamese					
	2	3	2	3		.	..	..
Barmans in Cachar	Bengali		English		Assamese			
	955	1 026	4	2	7	.	..	..
	Dimasa		Bengali		Assamese		English	
	5,639	5,320	3,845	3,043	202	104	38	1
	Kachari-Bengali		Assamese		Bengali		English	
	149	25	107	..	10	2	6	1
Chakma	Pawi		Lushai/Mizo		English		Bengali	
	687	1,124	232	372	2	..	2	..
Deori	Assamese		Deori		Bodo/Boro		English	
	3,167	2,170	596	406	15	42	29	2
	Bodo/Boro		Assamese					
	21	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
	Kachari		Assamese					
	26	..	24	..	..	..	..	..
Dimasa (Kachar)	Assamese		Bengali		Hindi		English	
	2,323	1,920	220	92	36	14	32	14
	Bengali		Assamese		English		Hindi	
	6,641	5,460	408	312	120	54	48	32
	Bodo/Boro		Kachari		Assamese			
	31	61	12	50	8	1	..	..
	Garo		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi	
	..	45	..	12	..	4	..	1
	Mikir		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi	
	8,087	7,683	804	359	107	10	20	10
	Rabha		Assamese		Bengali			
	8	..	2	..	2	..	..	..
Garo	Bodo/Boro		Kachari		Assamese			
	55	53	38	50	5	..	..	..
	Hajong/Hajong		Bengali		Hindi		English	
	311	282	60	30	4	..	2	..
	Mikir		Khasi		Assamese		English	
	933	204	103	56	64	30	20	..
	Rabha		Assamese		Bengali		Garo	
	1,326	701	823	994	20	12	20	30

TABLE 8·23—*contd*

Name of Scheduled Tribes	Mother-tongue		Subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
			Subsidiary Language I		Subsidiary Language II		Subsidiary Language III	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Hajong	Assamese		Bengali		English		Hindi	
	7 730	6 822	1,894	906	80	22	10	10
Hojai	Assamese		Hindi		Bodo Boro		Bengali	
	1,279	1,108	81	88	[illegible]		1	
	Bodo/Boro		Assamese		Beng l			
	415	178	112	98	[illegible]			
	Mikir		Assamese					
	292	345	190	102				
Hmar	Khasi		Hindi		Assamese		English	
	10	59	4	2	2	2	2	1
	Kuki		Hindi		English			
	27	21	21	2	2			
	Lushai/Mizo		Hindi		Khasi			
	4	10	[illegible]	2		2		
	Mikir		Khasi		English		Hindi	
	587	212	50	18	15	8	12	6
	Pawi		Lushai Mizo		Hindi		English	
	137	70	68	36	3		2	
Kachari including Sonwal	Assamese		Bodo/Boro		Hindi		Kachari	
	86 016	75 746	2,949	1,973	1,490	1,459	1 377	1,241
	Bodo Boro		Assamese		English		Hindi	
	17 715	16,404	15 712	14 181	97	15	9	16
	Deori		Assamese					
	20	170	20	63				
	Miri		Assamese		Hindi		English	
	213	1,569	102	260	6		4	
Khasi and Jaintia	Garo		English		Assamese		Hindi	
	813	295	62	32	22	12	20	10
	Lushai/Mizo		English		Hindi		Bengali	
	2	50		5		4		2
	Bete		English		Bhoi-Khasi		Hajong/Hajong	
	708	232	18	18	4	2		2
	Mikir		English		Bengali		Hindi	
	89	80	30	4	4	9	2	.
Lalung	Assamese		Lalung		Mikir		English	
	28,747	27,929	3,781	3,857	111	86	119	30

TABLE 8.23—*contd.*

Name of Scheduled Tribes	Mother-tongue		Subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength					
			Subsidiary Language I		Subsidiary Language II		Subsidiary Language III	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Man (Tai-Speaking)	Assamese		Bengali		Hindi		Hajong/Hajong	
	136	117	8	6	6	2	4	4
Mech	Assamese		Mech		Hindi		Bengali	
	3,585	3 402	962	1 061	319	411	81	20
Mikir	Arleng		Assamese					
	84	5	79	5			..	
	Assamese		English		Hindi		Khasi	
	1 807	501	48	18	14	6	2	2
	Kachari		Assamese		Bengali		English	
	7	16	2	2		4	2	1
Miri	Assamese		Miri		Hindi		English	
	15 511	12 847	2 055	1 926	679	204	95	44
	Bodo Boro		Assamese					
	175	80	11	12		.		.
	Deori		Assamese					
	86	242	50	90				..
	Mishing		Assamese		Hindi		English	
	18,004	15,398	6,231	5 523	147	89	145	79
Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes	Khasi		English					
	3		2			.	..	..
	Lakher		English		Hindi			
	27		6		5	.		..
	Pawi		Chakma		English		Burmese	
	113	207	10	8	4		1	..
Any Naga Tribes	Garo		Assamese		Bengali		English	
	19	145	8	12	4	10	2	
	Lakher		Lushai Mizo		Hindi		Bengali	
	537	168	12	8	4	..	4	..
	Mikir		Khasi		Hindi		Bengali	
	513	344	6	6	8	4	8	2
	Tikhak		Lushai/Mizo		Bengali			
	114	177	19	1	1	1		

TABLE 8·23—*concld.*

Name of Scheduled Tribes	Mother tongue		Subsidiary languages in descending order of numerical strength: Subsidiary Language I		Subsidiary Language II		Subsidiary Language II	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Any Naga Tribes . . .	Assamese		Bengali		English		Mikir	
	352	161	102	30	88	42	40	2
Rabha . .	Assamese		Bengali		Rabha		Hindi	
	40,087	35,092	2,312	2,100	778	655	307	160
	Bengali		English		Assamese		Manipuri/Meithei	
	171	228	10	4	6	2		4
	Bodo/Boro		Assamese		English		Bengali	
	1,062	1,747	334	618	6	2	5	
	Kachari		Assamese		Bengali		Hindi	
	1,233	342	435	263	6	5	10	
	Kachari-Bengali		Assamese		Bengali		English	
	116	11	48		5		2	

57. The above table shows that more than a lakh of the Borokacharis have returned their mother tongue as Assamese in 1961. Similarly, 161,762 Kacharis including Sonwals, 56,276 Lalungs, 75,179 Rabhas, 28,358 Miris and 14,552 Hajongs have returned their mother tongue as Assamese. Other plains tribals have also returned their mother tongue as Assamese in appreciable numbers. The total number of tribals who have returned their mother tongue as Assamese is 458,608. In other words, many of the plains tribals have adopted Assamese as their mother tongue. Many Barmans in Cachar and Dimasas have also Bengali as their mother tongue. The total number of tribals who have adopted Bengali as their mother tongue is 14,481. None of the Khasis, Garos and Mizos have adopted either Assamese or Bengali as their mother tongue, while other tribes of the hills also have practically not adopted any language of the plains as their mother tongue. None of the Mikirs of the Mikir Hills have also adopted either Assamese or Bengali as their mother tongue. Kacharis in the plains are known by many names, while those who live in the North Cachar Hills are known as Dimasas. Probably because of their relationship with the plains, some Dimasas have adopted both Bengali and Assamese as their mother tongues.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGION

In the Individual Slip for the 1961 Census, the query about religion is given in question 5(b), and the only question to be asked by enumerators is 'What religion do you profess? '. Enumerators have been instructed to write for

Hindus	H
Muslims	M
Christians	C
Jains	J
Buddhists	B
Sikhs	S

For others, the answers actually returned.

2. Equivalents for the above abbreviations were given to enumerators who recorded the questionnaires in Assamese and Bengali. No difficulty was encountered during enumeration as regards the replies to this question. No complaint was also received that anybody's religion was not properly recorded by the enumerators. This is a very important demographic question and it has helped us to analyse some of the points not otherwise available from other questions. Separate statistics have been given only for the six numerically important religions of India, namely, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism and Sikhism. Other religions have been collectively presented under 'Others'

3 The following are tables 9 1 and 9.2 showing the distribution of the strength of each major religious community per 10,000 of the total population from 1901 to 1961, and the distribution of each major religious community among the districts of the State, 1901-1961.

TABLE 9.1

State/District		Hindu						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assam	10,000	6,641	6,665	4,353	6 434	6,141	6,146	6,148
Goalpara	10,000	5,095	5,154	3,019	4,369	4,841	5,568	4,404
Kamrup	10,000	6,919	6,974	5,510	7,269	7,133	6,868	6,904
Darrang	10,000	7,572	7,865	4,713	7,793	7,095	6,519	7,115
Lakhimpur	10,000	8,998	9,054	5,441	8,836	7,644	7,855	8,990
Nowgong	10,000	5,794	5,840	3,492	5,790	5,578	5,894	6,440
Sibsagar	10,000	9,170	9,203	5,852	9,011	8,443	8,610	8,850
Cachar	10,000	5,960	6,064	4,014	5,887	6,124	6,087	5,643
Garo Hills	10,000	1,688	1,660	640	1,464	1,049	1,311	960
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills .	10,000	1,916	1,580	1,109	913	540	402	265
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills .	10,000	8,122	6,954	7,597	7,757	6,628	5,521	5,850
Mizo Hills	10,000	518	330	160	321	397	385	400

TABLE 9.1—*contd.*

State/District		Muslim						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Assam	10,000	2,329	2,260	2,292	2,075	1,707	1,463	1,357
Goalpara	10,000	4,332	4,294	4 623	4,389	4,148	3,519	2,776
Kamrup	10,000	2,936	2,929	2,907	2,461	1,461	966	910
Darrang	10,000	1,935	1,703	1 629	1,146	761	539	516
Lakhimpur	10,000	564	466	476	344	256	286	322
Nowgong	10,000	4,124	4,054	3,853	3,160	1,773	520	483
Sibsagar	10,000	583	582	498	471	425	430	416
Cachar	10,000	3,914	3,849	4,218	4,006	3,761	3,760	3,806
Garo Hills	10,000	559	445	465	526	524	517	564
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	10,000	127	87	110	90	58	65	55
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,000	125	17	32	137	141	162	1,422
Mizo Hills	10,000	8	7	7	12	37	34	25

State/District		Christian						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Assam	10,000	644	552	52	347	229	143	93
Goalpara	10,000	334	280	3	210	135	87	75
Kamrup	10,000	89	74	9	57	48	38	25
Darrang	10,000	464	403	90	272	112	51	40
Lakhimpur	10,000	347	317	55	197	127	102	84
Nowgong	10,000	59	54	64	90	74	46	23
Sibsagar	10,000	193	175	151	142	102	78	42
Cachar	10,000	110	75	46	42	29	21	16
Garo Hills	10,000	2,842	1,623	11	836	425	342	264
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	10,000	3,973	3,028	32	2,055	1,690	1,330	856
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,000	985	666	4	600	271	23	21
Mizo Hills	10,000	8,664	9,050	3	4,753	2,817	270	5

State/District		Sikh						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Assam	10,000	8	4	5	4	2	2	1
Goalpara	10,000	2	N	1	N	N	N	N
Kamrup	10,000	5	1	N	1	1	N	1
Darrang	10,000	7	2	1	2	1	N	N
Lakhimpur	10,000	17	10	17	14	3	3	N
Nowgong	10,000	11	12	14	11	11	13	8
Sibsagar	10,000	11	3	4	3	1	1	N
Cachar	10,000	N	N	N	1	N	N	N
Garo Hills	10,000	3	N	N	N	—	—	—
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	10,000	27	26	16	8	3	2	1
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,000	9	1	2	7	—	—	40
Mizo Hills	10,000	N	N	N	1	1	3	3

Note.—'N' means 'negligible'.

TABLE 9.1—*concld.*

State/District		Buddhist						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Assam	10,000	31	26	11	24	25	26	28
Goalpara	10,000	7	N	4	7	12	16	9
Kamrup	10,000	2	1	1	8	9	9	14
Darrang	10,000	12	9	7	23	17	16	15
Lakhimpur	10,000	53	47	36	104	119	121	125
Nowgong	10,000	3	1	N	N	1	1	2
Sibsagar	10,000	27	27	26	28	30	28	28
Cachar	10,000	2	1	N	1	1	1	N
Garo Hills	10,000	9	17	16	13	14	18	20
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	10,000	16	10	8	3	2	3	1
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,000	32	6	1	-	—	—	2
Mizo Hills	10,000	703	613	1	78	73	34	16

State/District		Jain						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		37	38	39	40	41	42	43
Assam	10,000	8	5	9	4	6	5	5
Goalpara	10,000	13	7	4	7	8	12	10
Kamrup	10,000	11	6	5	4	5	4	3
Darrang	10,000	9	5	1	4	8	10	8
Lakhimpur	10,000	10	8	46	7	8	6	7
Nowgong	10,000	8	6	11	5	8	8	9
Sibsagar	10,000	6	4	1	2	8	4	3
Cachar	10 000	3	1	1	N	1	N	1
Garo Hills	10,000	N	N	N	—	N	1	N
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	10,000	2	1	—	N	N	N	N
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,000	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mizo Hills	10,000	1	—	1	—	—	—	—

State/District		Others						
		1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		44	45	46	47	48	49	50
Assam	10,000	339	488	3,278	1,112	1,890	2,217	[illegible]
Goalpara	10,000	217	265	2,346	1,018	856	798	2,726
Kamrup	10 000	38	15	1 566	200	1,347	2,115	[illegible]
Darrang	10,000	1	13	3,559	760	2,006	2,865	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	10,000	11	98	3,929	497	1,843	1,627	[illegible]
Nowgong	10,000	1	33	2,566	944	2,555	3,518	[illegible]
Sibsagar	10,000	10	6	3,468	343	991	849	[illegible]
Cachar	10,000	11	10	1,721	63	84	131	[illegible]
Garo Hills	10,000	4,899	6,255	8,878	7,161	7,988	7,811	[illegible]
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	10,000	3,930	5,268	8,725	6,931	7,707	8,898	[illegible]
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	10,000	726	2,356	2,364	1,499	2,960	4,294	[illegible]
Mizo Hills	10,000	106	N	9,828	4,895	6,673	9,276	[illegible]

Note.— 'N' means 'negligible'.

TABLE 9.2

State/District	1961						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	998	2,418	675	220	311	2,194	831
Kamrup	1,810	2,190	241	1,168	89	2,403	196
Darrang	1,239	902	783	945	417	1,169	3
Lakhimpur	1,784	319	710	2,756	2,249	1,700	44
Nowgong	890	1,805	93	1,392	86	922	6
Sibsagar	1,754	318	380	1,740	1,116	953	39
Cachar	1,042	1,951	199	40	85	461	36
Garo Hills	66	62	1,142	80	76	16	3,743
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	112	21	2,402	1,296	201	120	4,527
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	288	13	360	255	243	31	505
Mizo Hills	17	1	3,015	8	5,127	31	70

State/District	1951						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	970	2,384	636	83	20	1,732	683
Kamrup	1,766	2,187	226	527	59	2,034	52
Darrang	1,234	788	764	542	358	1,223	27
Lakhimpur	1,733	263	733	2,707	2,363	2,195	256
Nowgong	880	1,801	98	2,715	48	1,305	69
Sibsagar	1,895	353	435	912	1,430	1,070	18
Cachar	1,150	2,152	173	35	31	326	26
Garo Hills	68	54	806	5	178	5	3,516
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	98	16	2,259	2,436	154	110	4,448
United Mikir& North Cachar Hills	195	1	226	33	46	—	905
Mizo Hills	11	1	3,644	5	5,313	—	N

State/District	1941						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	950	2,763	74	113	499	642	981
Kamrup	2,162	2,166	303	102	474	953	815
Darrang	1,087	713	1,732	172	661	89	1,090
Lakhimpur	1,612	268	1,366	4,459	4,151	6,982	1,546
Nowgong	703	1,474	1,076	2,499	38	1,094	686
Sibsagar	1,890	305	4,077	1,109	3,336	144	1,486
Cachar	1,115	2,225	1,063	32	35	85	635
Garo Hills	44	61	8	3	435	2	818
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	114	22	274	1,431	338	—	1,194
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	315	2	14	72	11	—	130
Mizo Hills	8	1	13	8	22	9	619

Note.—'N' means 'negligible'.

TABLE 9.2—*contd.*

State/District	1931						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	973	3,030	868	138	390	2,543	1,311
Kamrup	1,790	1,879	261	340	529	1,595	284
Darrang	1,158	528	749	562	898	1,011	634
Lakhimpur	1,734	209	716	4,048	5,493	2,522	564
Nowgong	821	1,390	236	2,416	22	1,293	774
Sibsagar	2,120	343	619	1,162	1,751	780	467
Cachar	1,193	2,517	157	283	38	241	74
Garo Hills	70	79	747	30	167	—	1,993
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	67	20	2,788	902	58	13	2,930
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	64	4	92	92	—	—	72
Mizo Hills	10	1	2,767	27	653	—	877

State/District	19[illegible]						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	1,166	3,595	873	302	703	2,085	670
Kamrup	1,720	1,267	310	593	304	1,351	1,055
Darrang	1,076	415	458	354	624	1,299	989
Lakhimpur	1,516	182	680	2,029	5,693	1,753	1,188
Nowgong	701	802	248	4,683	23	1,032	1,043
Sibsagar	2,194	397	709	926	1,865	2,177	837
Cachar	1,453	3,210	184	208	28	276	65
Garo Hills	59	107	644	—	182	20	1,468
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	42	16	3,481	843	31	7	1,938
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	61	5	66	—	—	—	88
Mizo Hills	12	4	2,347	62	547	—	674

State/District	1911						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	37	38	39	40	41	42	43
Assam	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	1,257	3,336	847	434	911	3,236	409
Kamrup	1,724	1,019	409	163	548	1,168	1,472
Darrang	921	320	309	217	581	1,692	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	1,382	212	773	1,585	5,388	1,278	[illegible]
Nowgong	668	247	222	5,407	39	1,044	[illegible]
Sibsagar	2,235	469	873	739	1,773	1,864	[illegible]
Cachar	1,631	4,231	239	284	31	86	[illegible]
Garo Hills	78	130	878	—	272	94	[illegible]
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	35	24	5,043	799	99	18	[illegible]
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	56	7	10	—	—	—	122
Mizo Hills	13	5	397	352	298	—	[illegible]

TABLE 9.2—*concld.*

State/District	1901						
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
Assam	10 000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10·000	10,000	10,000
Goalpara	892	2,549	1,009	40	411	2 783	1,432
Kamrup	1 785	1 066	427	916	963	993	1,435
Darrang	1 048	345	392	179	586	1,638	880
Lakhimpur	1 461	237	898	299	5,428	1,651	199
Nowgong	735	250	171	4,263	58	1,480	897
Sibsagar	2 320	494	718	339	1 980	1,200	448
Cachar	1 558	4 763	297	60	18	189	382
Garo Hills	58	155	1 052	—	323	18	1,286
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	23	22	4,999	179	65	18	2 025
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	105	115	24	3 227	11	30	123
Mizo Hills	15	4	13	498	157	—	893

4 In the first place, it must be noted that in 1941, the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in Assam have been shown as such irrespective of their religions, and so the religion figures of 1941 are not true indices of the strength of each religion. For example, the figures for Hindus appear to be low in table 9.1 in 1941 simply because Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have not been shown as Hindus although they may profess the Hindu religion. Similarly the strength of Christian is also apparently low in table 9.1 because Scheduled Tribes who are Christians are not shown as Christians. The figures of the other four main religions are not practically affected because the number of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes professing other religions are either nil or negligible. Consequently the religion figures of 1941 as tabulated in Assam are not comparable with the religion figures of the other decades 1901-1961. However, the religion figures for 1941 have also been shown in the above tables simply for the sake of completeness but not for the sake of comparability because of the above reason.

5. From table 9.1, it may be seen that the proportion of the Hindu population per 10,000 of the total population is more or less stationary from 1901 to 1921. In 1931 the proportion of Hindus rose appreciably, and according to Mr. C. S. Mullan, the Census Superintendent of 1931, this big increase of Hindus is due to the Hindu propaganda among the tribal communities At the 1931 Census, it is said that the Hindu Sabha of Assam endeavoured by an intensive propaganda campaign to do away with the border line (between Hinduism and Animism) altogether and to persuade all Animists that they were genuine Hindus. This propaganda campaign is said to have achieved a substantial amount of success, especially in the plains districts of the Assam Valley During 1951 and 1961, the proportion of Hindus further increased in Assam, but this time it is probably mainly due to the influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan into Assam

6. The proportion of Muslims per 10,000 of the general population in Assam in 1901 was only 1,357; but from 1911 onwards this proportion steadily rose from 1,463 to 2,329 with a slight set-back in 1951. The proportion of Christians per 10,000 of the general population in Assam rose very rapidly from 93 in 1901 to 644 in 1961. Detailed analyses of how the Hindu, Muslim and Christian population have varied from decade to decade in Assam is given later in this Chapter.

7. The Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains are relatively very small in number in Assam as the figures in the above table show. Under the heading 'Others', the most numerous belong to the tribal religions. All tribal religions will also be dealt with later in more detail. The above remarks apply only to the whole of Assam, but the district-wise figures

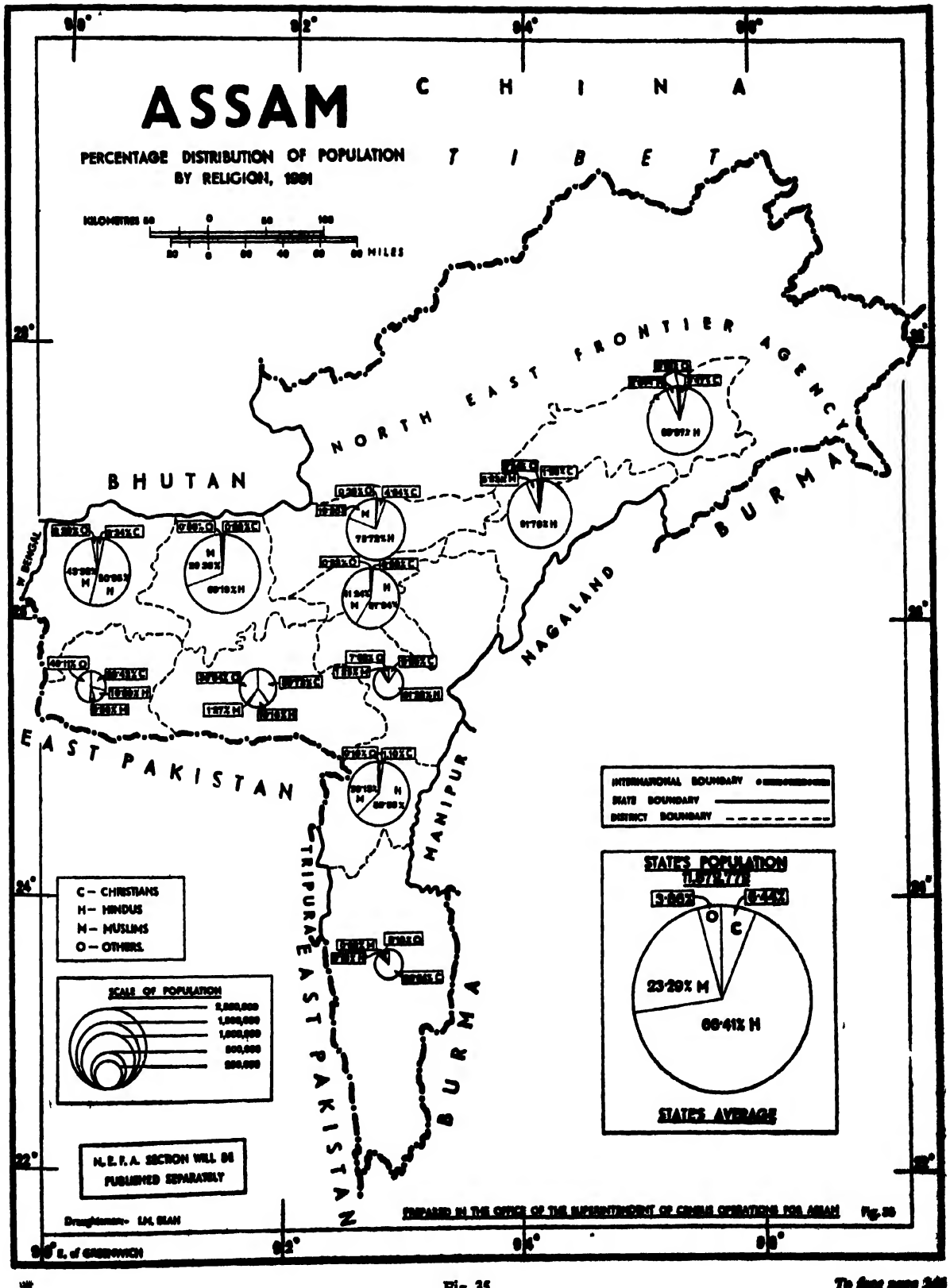

Fig. 35

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given in both the tables also speak for themselves.

8. Table 9.2 shows how the people belonging to different religions have been distributed in the various districts of Assam per 10,000 of each religion for the various decades 1901-1961. For example, 10,000 people professing the Hindu religion in 1961 have been distributed in the various districts of Assam according to the figures shown against each district in column 2. The total of all the columns for the districts for a particular religion gives the distribution of 10,000 people of that particular religion. The figures for 1961 can then be compared backward from 1951 to 1901 and these figures will enable us to study the growth or decline of each religion in a paricular district for the seven decades.

9. As stated earlier, I shall now give a detailed analyses about the Hindu, Muslim and Christian religions which are most predominant in Assam.

10. Table 9.3 below gives the population, decade variation and percentage decade variation of the Hindu population in Assam from 1901-1961.

HINDUS

TABLE 9.3

Year	Population	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation
1901 . .	2,282,646		
1911	2,663,558	+ 380,912	16 69
1921 .	3,167,406	+ 503,848	18·92
1931	3,966,860	+ 799,454	+ 25 24
1941	3,222,377	— 744,483	—18 77
1951 . .	5,886,063	+ 2,663,686	+ 82 66
1961 . .	7,884,921	+ 1,998,858	+ 33·96

11. Numerically, the Hindus constitute by far the major religious community in Assam, their percentage in 1961 being 66.41 of the total population of the State. From 1901 to 1921, the percentage increase of Hindus in Assam is below 20 per cent., but in 1931, their percentage increase is 25.24 or 799,454 in terms of absolute numbers. This increase in 1931, as stated earlier, is mainly due to the fact that many tribals in the plains of Assam, and even in some Hill areas of Assam, returned themselves as Hindus due to the activities of the Hindu Sabha. In 1941, the number of Hindus appears to have dwindled down by —18.77 per cent. but that is simply due to the fact that Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have not been enumerated as Hindus even if they belong to that religion. In 1951, the number of Hindus appear to have increased by 82.66 per cent.; but here again the figures are more apparent than real because of the fact that all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are Hindus have returned their religion as Hinduism and have been classified as Hindus by religion in the Census Report. The high percentage is also due to the heavy influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan after the Partition reaching a climax in 1950-51. In 1961 also, the Hindus of Assam have increased by 33.96 per cent. as against the all India figure of 20.29 per cent. for Hindus. According to the Census Actuary, (the Deputy Registrar General—Vital Statistics) the birth rate in Assam is 49.3 per cent. and the death rate is 26.9 per cent. for 1951-61. So the normal natural increase in Assam for the decade 1951-61 should be 22 4 per cent. This high increase of the Hindu population of Assam may therefore be due to the continued influx of Hindus from East Pakistan and other States of India plus tribals who have also returned their religion as Hinduism.

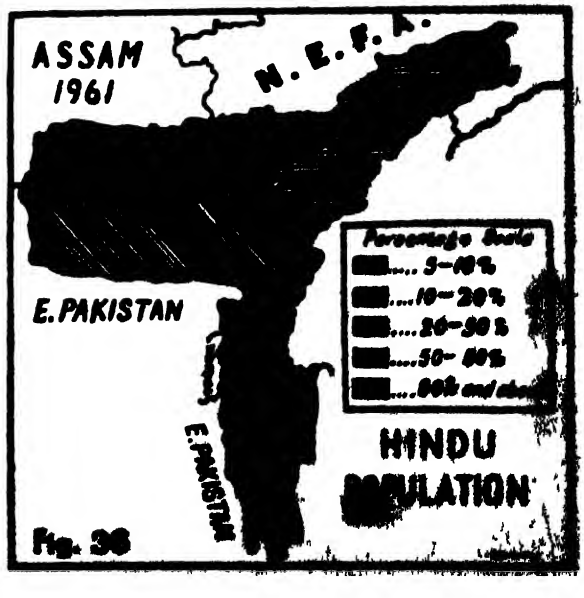


Fig. 36

12. I give below another table 9.4 showing the Hindu population in the various districts of Assam in 1961 and 1951 together with the variations and the sex ratio.

TABLE 9.4

State/District	Population 1961	Population 1951	Variation (Col 2—Col. 3)	Percentage Variation	Percentage Variation of General Population	Sex Ratio (Number of females per 1,000 males) 1961	Sex Ratio 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	7,884 921	5 886 063	+1,998,858	+ 33 96	+34 45	859	864
1. Goalpara	786,597	571,080	+215,517	+ 37 74	+39 32	887	869
2. Kamrup .	1,427,008	1,039,462	+387,546	+ 37 28	+38 39	843	859
3 Darrang	976,563	726,369	+250,194	+ 34·44	+39 64	847	836
4 Lakhimpur	1,407,035	1,019,765	+387,270	+ 37 98	+38 85	834	851
5. Nowgong	701,506	517,953	+183,553	+ 35 44	+36·51	900	874
6 Sibsagar	1,383,187	1,115,662	+267,525	+ 23·98	+24 43	870	868
7 Cachar .	821,600	676,640	+144,960	+ 21 42	+23 53	895	886
8. Garo Hills	51,876	40,189	+ 11,687	+ 29 08	+26·91	868	1,019
9 United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	88,569	57,430	+ 31,139	+ 54 22	+27 10	636	604
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	227,202	115,043	+112,159	+ 97·49	+69 08	857	953
11 Mizo Hills . .	13,778	6,470	+ 7,308	+112 95	+35 61	707	691

13. During 1961, the Hindus in India as a whole have slightly declined in term of percentage, although in term of absolute numbers, they still consist of 366.5 millions or 83.51 per cent. of the total population of India. In Assam, however, the Hindus have increased everywhere, but in some districts, the percentage increase appears to be phenomenal. Column 5 of the above table shows that in the Mizo Hills they have increased by 112.95 per cent. although that really does not mean much, because in absolute numbers, they have increased only by 7,308 persons from 6,470 in 1951 to 13,778 in 1961. Almost all the Mizos are Christians and so the Hindus in the Mizo Hills consist of Government servants and a few traders and settlers in the district. The increase of the Hindus in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills is mainly due to the number of Hindus coming to the Shillong Town Group, but in the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills, the big number is also partly due to the fact that many Mikirs and Kacharis have returned themselves as Hindus although a substantial number of Hindu refugees have also been found in some parts of the district. In the Garo Hills many non-Garos such as Kacharis, Rabhas, Hajongs and Bengalis are also Hindus. The sex ratio of Hindus has shown slight improvement in many districts of Assam during 1961 as compared to 1951 although in the case of Assam as a whole, the sex ratio has slightly decreased. The percentage of Hindus in Assam is higher only than that of Punjab (66 41), Kerala (60.83) and Jammu and Kashmir (28.45) among the major States of India. In the other major States of India, however, the pecentage of the Hindu population ranges from 78 80 in West Bengal to 97 57 in the case of Orissa.

MUSLIMS

14. After the Hindus who constitute 66.41 per cent. of the total population of Assam, the Muslims come next with a population of 2,765,509 constituting 23.29 per cent. of the total population of Assam. The percentage of Muslims in Assam is higher than any other State in India excepting Jammu and Kashmir where the Muslims constitute 68 30 per cent. of the population of the whole State. Next to Assam comes West Bengal 20 per cent. of whose population are Muslims. I give below table 9.5 showing the total Muslim population of Assam, the decade variation and the percentage decade variation from 1901 to 1961.

TABLE 9.5

Year	Population	Decade variation	Percentage Decade variation
1901	503,670	..	..
1911 . . .	634,101	+130,431	+25·90
1921 . .	880,426	+246,325	+38·85
1931 . . .	1,279,388	+398,962	+45·31
1941 . . .	1,696,978	+417,590	+32·64
1951 . .	1,985,936	+288,958	+17·02
1961 . . .	2,765,509	+779,573	+39·26

15. From the above table, it may be seen that the Muslim population of Assam within the present boundaries has risen from 503,670 in 1901 to 2,765,509 in 1961. In terms of percentage, the Muslim population of Assam has increased by more than 25 per cent. in every decade excepting in 1951 when the increase was only 17.62 per cent.

16. The point to be determined is how such a big increase of the Muslim population has occurred in Assam from 1901 to 1961 Had vital statistics been properly maintained, it would have been possible to know the rate of natural increase from decade to decade, but the vital statistics of Assam have always been very deficient and it is very difficult to give any authoritative rate of natural increase for the previous decades. No study was ever made about the correct level of birth and death rates in the State excepting at the time of the 1951 Census when the rate of natural increase was worked out by the Census Actuary to be 14.9 per cent.

17. In order to get the extent of Muslim immigration into Assam from East Bengal as accurately as possible, I contacted the Census Actuary (now the Deputy Registrar General, Vital Statistics), who made a sustained study of natural increase and mean decennial growth rate with reference to the various authorities in India and abroad, particularly Mr. Kingsley Davis, and he gave me the following table.

TABLE 9.6

Decade 1	Registered rate of natural increase 2	Estimated rate of natural increase 3	Mean decennial growth rate 4
1901-10 . .	6 1	13·6	16 1
1911-20 . .	1 0	2 2	17 0
1921-30 . .	6 2	13 8	17 6
1931-40 . .	8 4	18 7	17·9
1941-50 . .	5 4	12 2	17 4

18. The above table shows that the registered rate of natural increase is very low but the Census Actuary has given an estimated rate of natural increase from other available data in col. 3 for the five decades from 1901 to 1951. This estimated rate of natural increase in col. 3 shows that left to themselves, the people of Assam would have increased only at this rate for the various decades. The increase for the decade 1911-20 was very low because of the influenza epidemic soon after World War I. Col. 4 of the above table shows the mean decennial growth rate which means the increase of population according to Census figures and includes both natural increase and immigration. If the figures in col. 3 are taken into consideration and compared with the increase of the Muslim population as shown in Table 9 5, it will be seen that the Muslims have increased in Assam far beyond the other communities for the decades 1901-1961. The percentage decade variation of Muslims as given in Table 9 5 far exceeds the estimated rate of natural increase as given in Table 9.6, and even the mean decennial growth rate which includes all other immigrants into Assam. The excess Muslim population must have therefore come into Assam by immigration, mostly from East Bengal How these Muslims came into Assam has been very vividly described by my predecessors from 1911 up to 1951. I will therefore simply quote what they have said in the following paragraphs in order to study this problem In some places, I have slightly changed the quotations to avoid certain incongruities without in any case altering any of their meanings. My own analysis for the decade 1951-61 is given after the quotations.

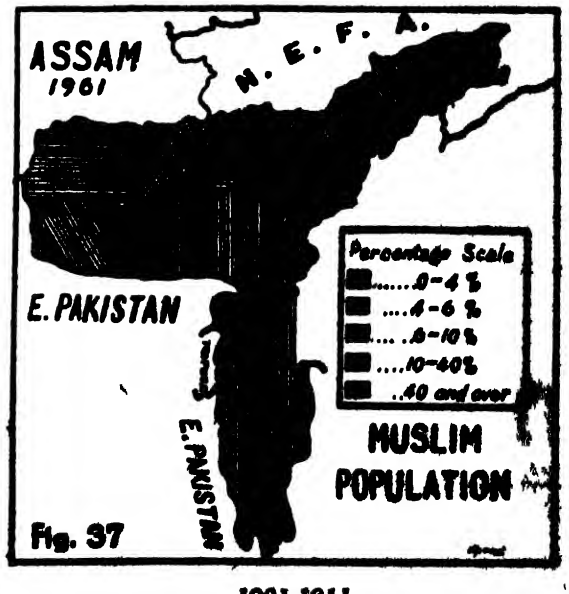


Fig. 37

1901-1911

'From 1901 onwards, the men of Mymensingh began to advance to Assam, drawn

apparently by pressure on the soil at home. They were joined by the people of other East Bengal districts in less numbers. The Census Report of 1911 is the first to comment on the extraordinary in-course of settlers to the char lands of Goalpara from the Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur. The population of Goalpara which increased only by 1.4 per cent. in 1881-91 and 2 per cent. in 1891-1901 now shot up by 30 per cent. in 1901-11. The thanas most affected were in the west of the district: the percentage rate of increase was 70.1 in South Salmara, 61.8 in Lakhipur and 88.6 in Bilashipara.' The extent of immigration can readily be estimated from the fact that the growth in natural population was only 15.6 per cent The number of immigrants in Goalpara rose from 49,059 to 118,233, an increase of 240 per cent., forming 19.7 per cent. of the actual population of Goalpara. Thus began the peaceful invasion of Assam by the advancing hordes of Mymensinghia army, which has continued right up to the present day, ushering in probably the most important single event in the history of this State during the last 50 years—an event aptly described by Mullan as 'likely to alter permanently the whole future of Assam and to destroy more surely than did the Burmese invaders of 1820 the whole structure of Assamese culture and civilization.' In this decade, however, few cultivators went beyond Goalpara, those censused in other districts of the Brahmaputra valley being mostly clerks, traders and professional men numbering only a few thousands.

1911-1921

19. As we now know, the Bengal emigrants censused for the first time on the char lands of Goalpara in 1911 were merely the advance guards—or rather the scouts of a huge army following closely at their heels. By 1921, the first army corps had passed into Assam and had practically conquered the district of Goalpara. The course of events is thus described in the 1921 Census Report—

'In the last decade (1911-21), movement has extended far up the Assam Valley and the colonies now form an appreciable element of the population in all the four lower and central districts. The sex and age figures given in the 1921 Provincial Table IV show that the colonists are settling by families and not singly. It is reported, however, that the men generally come first to secure the land and building houses, and the families follow. About 85 per cent. are Muslims and 15 per cent. Hindus.'

'The Eastern Bengal settlers have increased more than four fold in the decade to their present total of 258,000 in the Brahmaputra Valley. There are also some 6,000 people of Mymensingh and Rangpur in the Garo Hills. Sibsagar and Lakhimpur are scarcely touched as yet. In Goalpara nearly 20 per cent. of the population is made up of the settlers. The next favourite district is Nowgong where they form about 14 per cent. of the whole population. In Kamrup waste lands are being taken up rapidly, especially in the Barpeta subdivision. In Darrang, exploration and settlement by the colonists is in an earlier stage; they have not yet penetrated far from the Brahmaputra banks. Almost every train and steamer brings parties of the settlers and it seems likely that their march will extend further up the Valley and away from the river before long.'

1911-1931

TABLE 9.7

Persons born in Bengal and enumerated in each District of the Assam Valley in 1911, 1921 and 1931

(000s omitted)

Year	Goalpara	Kamrup	Darrang	Nowgong	Sibsagar	Lakhimpu
1911 .	77(34)	4(1)	7(1)	4(1)	14(Nil)	14(Nil)
1921 .	151(78)	44(30)	20(12)	58(52)	14(Nil)	14(Nil)
1931	170(80)	134(91)	41(30)	120(108)	12(Nil)	19(3)

20. The above table gives the figures in thousands, of persons born in Bengal and enumerated in each district of the Assam Valley in 1911, 1921 and 1931: those for Mymensingh district being given in brackets as that district is the one which is chiefly responsible for the flood of immigrant settlers. It must in the first place be remembered that the children of the settlers born to them after their arrival in Assam have been recorded as Assam born and hence do not appear in the above figures. The table shows that the total number of people born in Bengal, not merely the number of settlers; still it gives us a very good idea of what has been taking place during the last 10 years These figures enabled Mullan to arrive at the following conclusion :—

'The second army corps which followed in the years 1921-31 has consolidated their position in that district and has also completed the conquest of Nowgong. The Barpeta sub-division of Kamrup has also fallen to their attack and Darrang is being invaded. Sibsagar has so far escaped completely but the few thousand Mymensinghias in North Lakhimpur are an outpost which may, during the next decade, prove to be a valuable basis of major operations'

'Wheresoever the carcass, there will the vultures be gathered together. Where there is waste land thither flock the Mymensinghias In fact the way in which they have seized upon the vacant areas in the Assam Valley seems almost uncanny. Without fuss, without turmult, without undue trouble to the district revenue staffs, a population which must amount to over half a million has transplanted itself from Bengal to the Assam Valley during the last twenty-five years. It looks like a marvel of administrative organisation on the part of Government but it is nothing of the sort; the only thing I can compare it to is the mass movement of a large body of ants.'*

21. Lloyd in 1921 estimated that including children born after their arrival in Assam the total number of settlers was at least 3 lakhs in that year. Mullan placed their number in 1931 to be over half a million. The number of new immigrants from Mymensingh alone was 140,000 and the old settlers were undoubtedly increasing and multiplying. Out of the total 338,000 persons born in Mymensingh and censused in Assam in 1931, over 152,000 were women, confirming the fact already pointed out in 1921 Census Report that the colonists were settling by families and not singly.

*1921 Census Report, p. 21.

1931-1951

22 From data available to him, Mullan tried to peer into the future and attempted to forecast the future course of this invasion as follows .—

'What of the future? As far as can be foreseen, the invasion is by no means complete there are still large areas of waste land in Assam –particularly in the North Lakhimpur sub-division— and Kamrup, in spite of the large number of immigrants which it has absorbed during the last 10 years, is capable of holding many more. The Mangaldai sub-division is also capable of further development. Now that most of the waste lands of Goalpara and Nowgong have been taken up the trend of immigration should, therefore, be more and more, towards Kamrup, Mangaldai and North Lakhimpur. The latter subdivision should prove a veritable "El Dorado" if news of its empty spaces awaiting the hoe and plough of the colonists reaches the ears of the main body of trekkers.'

23 This is what Mr. R. B. Vaghaiwalla wrote in his Census Report of 1951.

"There was no tabulation at all of birth place returns in the 1941 Census. Again in 1951 Census, birth place was sorted only for Assam districts separately, while those who were born outside the State were merely lumped together under their respective States. Hence I am not in a position to give figures of persons born in Mymensingh and found in various districts of Assam. The following table 9.8 gives the numbers in thousands of persons born in Pakistan and enumerated in the various districts of Assam, Manipur and Tripura with their break-up by sex. As the number of refugees and their sex break-up are separately available they too are given therein, enabling us to arrive at numbers of persons born in Pakistan who are not refugees.

Persons born in Pakistan, both refugees and non-refugees with their sex break up and enumerated in the districts of Assam, Manipur and Tripura in 1951

TABLE 9.8

(000's omitted)

State Natural Division and District	Pakistan			Non-Refugees			Refugees		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ASSAM STATE	833	465	368	559	315	244	274	150	124
Assam Plains	796	445	351	536	304	232	260	142	118
Cachar	130	70	60	37	20	17	93	50	43
Goalpara	136	78	58	91	53	38	45	25	20
Kamrup	186	106	80	143	82	61	43	24	19
Darrang	84	44	40	65	34	31	19	10	9
Nowgong	173	98	75	135	77	58	38	21	17
Sibsagar	26	15	11	19	11	8	7	4	3
Lakhimpur	61	34	27	47	26	21	14	8	6
Assam Hills	37	20	17	23	12	11	14	8	6
United K & J Hills	16	9	7	10	6	4	6	3	3
Naga Hills	1	1		1	1				
Lushai Hills	7	3	4	6	2	4	1	1	
Garo Hills	8	4	4	3	1	2	5	3	2
United M and N C Hills	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1
Mishmi Hills	1	1		1	1				
Manipur State	1	1					1	1	
Tripura State	210	108	102	109	54	55	101	54	47

24 Persons born in Pakistan and enumerated in Assam reached the enormous total of 833 thousand persons, out of whom excepting a bare 37 thousand enumerated in the Assam Hills Division (20 thousand males and 17 thousand females), the vast majority of 796 thousand (445 thousand males and 351 thousand females) were enumerated in the Assam Plains alone A close approximation of their sex ratio which give only a slight preponderance of men over the opposite sex is a clear indication of the permanent nature of this immigration. Of course this huge number includes the large number of refugees born in Pakistan who have recently migrated to Assam during the partition. Their number in Assam is 274 thousand (150 thousand males and 124 thousand females), out of whom all excepting 14 thousand (8 thousand males and 6 thousand females) are in the Assam Plains. Subtracting the number of refugees from the total number of Pakistan born persons, we get the huge total of 559 thousand persons in Assam (315 thousand males and 244 thousand females) out of whom only 23 thousand (12 thousand males and 11 thousand females) are in the Assam Hills Division, all the rest, *viz.*, 536 thousand (304 thousand males and 232 thousand females) are in the Assam Plains

25 The above Table also gives the break-up of Pakistan born population censused in Assam by districts From what has been discussed above, it is very natural to find Sibsagar returning the smallest number of Pakistan born people, *viz.*, 26 thousand while Lakhimpur returns 61 thousand. Contrast them with the huge numbers found in Kamrup (186 thousand) and Nowgong (173 thousand). Goalpara and Cachar with 136 thousand and 130 thousand persons respectively also return substantial numbers of Pakistan born people. In the Hills division, nearly half the Pakistan born population was censused in the United K. & J. Hills district (16 thousand) with Garo Hills (8 thousand) and Lushai Hills (7 thousand) following. The five districts of N.E.F.A. together account for less than 1,500 persons, 800 in Mishmi Hills alone.

These figures are a striking testimony to the vast numbers of East Bengal settlers in Assam. This stream has been continuous in the last two decades, gathering momentum in the first half of the present decade during the regime of the Muslim League Ministry in Assam upto January, 1946. It however, continued thereafter and even the setting up of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan did not prove deterrent to these settlers who continued to pour in even after partition. I have personally seen hundreds of persons coming by trains during the few months I held the charge of Goalpara district I had the same experience as Deputy Commissioner, Cachar during 1948-49 when hundreds of Muslim immigrants regularly travelled by the hill section railway from Badarpur to Lumding, in order to go to the Assam Valley for settlement There have been many grossly exaggerated reports of the recent heavy stream of immigration into Assam, not merely in the Press and on the Platform, but also in the authoritative circles It has been stated by some that in recent times, about 5 lakhs of the Muslim immigrants came to Assam, 1½ lakhs to Cachar alone A study of the census figures reveals how grossly exaggerated these reports were The number of persons born in Bengal and enumerated in Assam in 1951 was itself as high as 573 thousand. 14 thousand were born in Jalpaiguri, which is now retained in India As the number of persons in districts which are now included in West Bengal but which were enumerated in Assam at the earlier censuses was always very low, it would not be fair to assume that only 500 thousand born in districts now in Pakistan were censused in Assam. Thus at the present census we have only 59 thousand more Assuming deaths among them in the last two decades, we cannot have more than 322 thousand as the approximate number of deaths among the 1931 immigrants. Hence the total number of immigrants (presuming it to be equal to the number of all Pakistan born persons) could not possibly exceed 430,000 for the entire two decades."

Muslim Immigration according to the Land Revenue Reports :

26. "Useful information regarding immigration into and emigration from Assam is available in the Annual Land Revenue Administration Reports of Assam, from which the following is extracted to give a picture of the migration position year by year."

27 *1940-41.*—There was no emigration but inter-district migration of cultivators occurred as usual. Assamese cultivators from the neighbouring districts continued to enter North Lakhimpur Subdivision in large numbers

28 As regards immigration, the influx of the East Bengal immigrants continued mainly to the districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong and Lakhimpur in the hope that as "landless" people reserves and khas lands would be opened to them for cultivation. These people have apparently misunderstood the object of the Development Schemes or have been misinformed about them and it is not unlikely that many of them will ultimately find their hopes unfulfilled as there are already old landless immigrants who will have to be given preference over the new comers. If the influx of immigrants continues unabated from year to year the Deputy Commissioners will find it extremely hard to control settlement In Darrang and Kamrup many of these immigrants still remain as encroachers upon reserves and closed areas. When the Development Scheme operates these immigrants will have to be provided with lands within the scheme so that the reserves may be freed from all encroachments.

29 *1941-42.*—The influx of Eastern Bengal immigrants was less marked than in previous years.

The reasons are:—

(1) unsettled conditions owing to the War.

(2) the withdrawal of the Development Schemes.

30 *1942-43.*—Owing to the acute scarcity of food in Bengal the influx of Eastern Bengal immigrants, including a very large number of beggars and destitute persons, was considerable during the year. A large number of labourers from elsewhere also entered the Province for work under the Military authorities.

31. *1943-44.*—There was no emigration. The influx of Eastern Bengal immigrants including a very large number of beggars and the

destitute persons continued as in the previous year. Large numbers of labourers from elsewhere entered the province for work on Military projects.

32 *1944-45.*—Owing to increasing pressure on their village lands in Goalpara many Santhal and Bodo (Kachari) families of the Goalpara district emigrated to Darrang The influx of East Bengal immigrants also continued during the year.

33 *1945-46* —As was the case last year, many Santhal and Boro Kachari families of Goalpara emigrated to upper Assam owing to the increasing pressure on their village lands in Goalpara The influx of East Bengal immigrants also continued to some extent during the year About 9,000 labourers from other provinces immigrated into the district of Sibsagar to work on tea garden

34. *1947-48.*—The influx of East Bengal immigrants continued with great rapidity The number was heavy in Goalpara, Darrang, Sibsagar and Nowgong districts In Sibsagar, about 8,111 labourers migrated from other provinces to work in various capacities

35. *1948-49.*—The influx of East Bengal immigrants continued as before In Sibsagar about 8,379 labourers migrated from other provinces to work in various capacities. There was no emigration except repatriation of Emigrant Labour.

36. *1949-50.*—The influx of East Bengal immigrants continued as before from the beginning of the year. After the disturbances of January 1950, it was heavier till the Delhi Pact was signed. In Sibsagar 8,151 labourers migrated from other States to work in various capacities In the Garo Hills, the influx amounted to about 50,000, but most of them went to other districts of Assam Valley. The remaining immigrants remained in the Hills portion of the district. They are tribal people, *viz.*, Hajongs, Koches, Dalus, Banais and Garos mostly from Mymensingh and Rangpur districts of East Pakistan.

37. These Land Revenue Administration Reports also give useful statistics of land in acres settled with immigrants other than ex-tea garden labourers, which are reproduced in the following Table:

TABLE 9.9

Land (in acres) settled with imigrants other than ex-tea garden labourers

(000's omitted)

Year	Assam Valley	Sadiya and Balipara	Cachar
1930-31	481	6	14
1931-32	509	4	14
1932-33	547	9	14
1933-34	575	7	13
1934-35	595	6	13
1935-36	609	6	14
1936-37	629	2	14
1937-38	652	6	14
1938-39	674	6	13
1939-40	691	6	14
1930-40	5 967	58	137-6 162
1940-41	696	6	13
1941-42	720	6	13
1942-43	746	3	14
1943-44	768	2	14
1944-45	775	6	14
1945-46	798	6	14
1946-47	818	6	14
1947-48	892	6	18
1948-49	1 1 9	8	23
1949-50	1 350	10	28
1940-50	8 702	59	165-8,926
1930-50	14 669	117	302-15,088

38. The table shows that in the year 1930-40, the vast amount of land, *viz*, 6,162 thousand acres were settled with East Bengal immigrants. Naturally the overwhelming majority of such settlement was in the Assam Valley itself which alone accounts for as much as 5,967 thousand acres. In the next decade 1940-50 land settled was even larger in area, *viz.*, 8,926 thousand acres out of which 8,702 thousand acres were settled in the Assam Valley alone and 165 thousand acres in Cachar. 59 thousand acres were settled with them in Sadiya and Balipara. Thus during the last 20 years 15,088 thousand acres were settled with immigrants, a figure almost unbelievable in its immensity for any other important State of India.

Results of Muslim Immigration:

39. Muslim immigration began merely as a result of the interplay of economic forces in

East Bengal *vis-a-vis* Assam, though later it took on some political colour. The pressure on the soil of the East Bengal, some times the actual loss of their lands and even the homesteads by diluvium in their home districts, cheap and plentiful supply of virgin land in Assam, with the freedom of ryotwari settlement in place of expensive, small and uncomfortable holdings as tenants or undertenants in East Bengal were the main factors. The advent of such immense numbers of immigrants could not fail to have far-reaching consequences on the economic, political and social structure of Assam. They were hard working and good cultivators, whose arrival could not fail to benefit their new home in various ways. Mr. Higgins, a former Deputy Commissioner, Nowgong, wrote*:

'They do better cultivation than the local people and as such they are certainly beneficial to the country; since their advent the local people seem to be shaking off their old lethargy and they have created a novel sphere of competition.'

40. Mr. Bentinck, a former Deputy Commissioner, Kamrup, paid them the following well-deserved tribute*:

'In industry and skill they are an object lesson to the local cultivators; they have reclaimed and brought under permanent cultivation thousands of acres which the local cultivators had for generations past merely scratched with haphazard intermittent crops or recognised as exigent of efforts beyond their inclination. The large undulating expenses of *char* lands to be seen in late March or early April finely harrowed, weeded and newly sown are something to which the spectacle of ordinary Assamese cultivation is quite unaccustomed. They have besides their industry shown example of new crops and improved methods'. Another Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong, Shri P. G. Mukherji, wrote in the same vein ten years later :

'They have opened up vast tracts of dense jungle along the south bank of the Brahmaputra and have occupied nearly all the lands which are open for settlement in this tract. These people have brought in their wake wealth, industry and general prosperity of the whole district. They have improved the health of the countryside by clearing the jungles and converting the wilderness into prosperous villages. Their industry as agriculturists has become almost proverbial and they extract from their fields the utmost that they can yield Their care and love of cattle is also an object lesson to others. Government revenue has increased. Trade and commerce have prospered The lakhs of rupees which annually pour into the district to buy their jute pass out from their pockets into those of the traders who sell them their foodstuffs and imported goods as well as into those of the lawyers and mahajans who look after their litigation and finance'

41 From the demographic point of view, they led to an immense growth of population in Assam, at a rate greater than that of any other State except Travancore-Cochin and filled up the immense unoccupied areas of the Assam Valley

42 These benefits naturally were derived at a price. Their hunger for land was so great that, in their eagerness to grasp as much land as they could cultivate, they not infrequently encroached on Government reserves and on lands belonging to the local people from which they could be evicted only with great difficulty. In the beginning they had their own way and there was some friction with the indigenous population, who did not like their dealings as neighbours. Afterwards when the land was not so abundant, their land hunger brought them into many conflicts and struggles in the economic sphere with the tribals and other indigenous people of Assam.

The Line System:

43. The Assam administration attempted various devices to reduce the occasion of such conflicts. One such expedient was the famous Line System which was first mooted in 1916 and adopted in 1920. A Committee was subsequenly appointed to review the working of the Line System, and it submitted a report in 1938. There were two notes of dissent in this Committee, differing from the majority view. One submitted by the Assamese members said, 'These immigrants, with their grab for land and propensity for crime, soon proved a menace to the Assamese people who by this time would have been mostly driven off their lands in the adjacent districts but for the Line System.' A second

*[illegible] Census Report, p. 41.

note of dissent submitted by the non-Assamese Muslim members of the Committe, on the contrary submitted, 'The discriminate provisions create bitterness and resentment and perpetuate racial antagonism and put forward impediment to the growth of friendly relations between the two races.'

44. The majority view considered it undesirable to relax restrictions on the Muslim immigrants in the matter where they should or should not take up lands. It was stated in the majority report that the habits and customs of Muslim immigrants acquired under a completely different system of land tenure and economic life in Bengal greatly differed from those of the people among whom they had come to settle and for the purpose of better administration and avoidance of collision as well as to protect the interests of the more simple minded and peace loving local people, especially the tribal races of Assam, it was desirable to retain the restrictions imposed by the Line System, with some modifications.

Amendment of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation, 1948:

45. In the meantime many petty conflicts arose between the tribals and Muslims immigrants over land, cattle, grazing rights and practices, as also over social matters. The Assam Government made another attempt to resolve the growing tension by forming in 1948 Tribal Belts in different regions to protect the tribal people of Assam. The tribals (both Hills and Plains Tribals), in Assam are a very large and important element in the local population of Assam, their total population in 1951, being 1,735,245, (1,038,720 in the Plains and 696,525 in the Hills). Among the many tribes are the Kacharis, the Bodos, the Rabhas, the Dafflas, the Akas, the Garos, the Khasis, the Khamtis, the Abors, the Mishmis, the Nagas and many others. As S. K. Bhuyan, a great Assamese historical scholar points out*: 'The existence of these tribes on the borders imparts a unique distinction to the province of Assam, in their representing different grades of civilisations, different origins, customs and languages, but they add considerably to the worries of the administrators'. The reason is simple, it being an accepted principle of Social Anthropology that these tribes, if brought into indiscriminate contact with the plains people of the locality, run the great risk of gradual extinction. Hence the imperative necessity. of creating the Tribal Belts by adding a new chapter X to the Land Revenue Regulation, Assam.

Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam), Act, 1950:

46. Very recently, an attempt to grapple with the problems of this huge Muslim immigration was made by passing the Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950 (Act X of 1950) in the Indian Parliament on 13th February 1950, following an earlier January Ordinance on similar lines The Act provided for the removal of any immigrant persons in Assam excepting the displaced persons, whose stay was detrimental to the interest of the general public of India, or of any scheduled tribe in Assam. It was applied with wise restraint and great discrimination; cases under it did not exceed a low three-figure category, all naturally against the Muslim immigrants. Many occurred in Lakhimpur because the stay of some Pakistani Muslims employed in the Digboi oil area was considered to be a danger to the safety and security of the country.

Communal incidents in Assam, February - April 1950:

47. The measures described above failed to avoid and control the growing antipathy and bitterness between the immigrants and the indigenous population including the tribals. The gulf between their divergent view points and interests, to which the Report of the Committee, appointed to review the work of the Line System in 1938 drew pointed attention and which references have already been made before, became wider as time passed. During the early years of the past decade, widespread encroachments by these immigrants on Government land, grazing and forest reserves were allowed to happen during the regime of the Muslim League Ministry, when the Congress was in the wilderness due to its policy of non-cooperation with the war efforts. When the later returned to power in 1946 and began enforcing the revenue laws, especially the eviction of the unauthorized trespassers, this was stoutly and bitterly criticised by a section of the Muslim in the country as 'intolerable oppression of the

*Anglo-Assamese Relations (1771, 1826), Dr. S. K. Bhuyan.

Muslim minority'. The repercussions of the huge Muslim immigration on the social, political and economic life of Assam may well be left to future historians, suffice it to say here that it was an important cause of the communal incidents in Assam in early 1950.

48. The present political, constitutional and psychological climate of Assam is very adverse to any further Pakistani immigration into the State. Being foreigners now and faced with the impending passport system, the difficulties in the way of their coming will be even greater in future. That many hardy Muslim immigrants will yet run the gauntlet of these legal and administrative barriers and attempt to settle down in Assam, no one who has studied the course of their immigration can have any doubt."

Movement of Muslim Population into Assam during 1951-61:

49. The above quotations give a vivid picture of the movement of the muslim population into Assam for the decade 1901-1951 It must also be borne in mind that from 1901 to 15th August 1947, the movement was of Indian citizens from one part of India into another part of India. After Independence, the movement may have been a continuity of the past, but legally, it becomes the movement of foreign nationals into Indian territory, be they Hindus, Muslims or any other religious community. The passport system between India and Pakistan came into existence only in May 1952 and so there was no control on the movement of population till that time. But even with the introduction of the passport system, the movement cannot be properly controlled because of the extensive boundary between India and Pakistan, because there are no guards at all points to check the movement and because the peoples of the two neighbouring countries are more or less of the same type of population. In 1951, Mr. R. B. Vaghaiwalla wrote that despite the present political, constitutional and psychological climate of Assam and despite the passport system and other difficulies, 'many hardy muslim immigrants will yet run the gauntlet of these legal and administrative barriers and attempt to settle down in Assam'. That prophecy appears to have largely come true as is borne out by the figures of the 1961 Census.

50. The Muslim population of reconstituted Assam in 1951 was 1,995,936 and that of 1961 is 2,765,509 showing a net increase of 769,573 and a percentage increase of 38.56 which is far above the increase of any other major community in India. As already stated earlier, the Census Actuary has worked out that the birth rate in Assam is 49.3 per cent and the death rate is 26.9 per cent, thereby giving the rate of natural increase of 22.4 per cent for Assam for the decade 1951-61 against the all-India natural increase of 18.9 per cent The Muslim immigrants generally live in riverine and marshy areas which are generally unhealthy and where medical facilities are rather poor. Although the rate of their fecundity may be fairly high, their death rate is also big, so the natural increase cannot be more than that of the natural increase for Assam as a whole. Moreover, the sex ratio among the muslims of Assam is 885 females per 1000 males, and so polygamy also cannot account for a bigger rise of population among them. It may also be seen that the mean decennial growth rate in Assam for the decade 1941-51 is 17.4 per cent., but the rate of increase of muslims in Assam even for this period is 17.62 per cent. which is slightly higher than the mean decennial growth rate for the State, *i.e.*, the rate of growh of the population in Assam both by natural increase as well as by immigration. These figures do not therefore fail to show that most of the muslims who left Assam during the disturbances of 1950 have largely come back to Assam before the Census of 1951. However, the increase of muslims in Assam during the period 1941-51 may also be due to some immigration through Silchar where there was no disturbance and so there may be some muslims of Goalpara and Kamrup districts who might not have been able to come back to their homes in Assam during the 1951 Census. Some muslims have also come into Assam from other parts of India although their number is very small. It is also generally admitted that in Eastern India, the muslims have a rather higher limit of demographic performance, although they are embedded in the same social and economic matrix as the rest of the people of Eastern India. Some muslims living in the chars or sand banks of the river Brahmaputra might also have been left out of the count of the

1951 Census. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is assumed that the rate of increase of muslims in Assam during 1951 - 61 is 27.5 per cent. as against the rate of natural increase of 22.4 per cent. At 27.5 per cent., the number of muslims in Assam on March 1, 1961, should have been only 2,544,818 and so the number of muslims who have come from East Pakistan into Assam is 220,691. Within the last figures, the number of muslim passport holders in Assam on March 1, 1961, is 6,952; so the number of illegal immigrants into the State on March 1, 1961, is 213,739. This number of illegal immigrants into Assam together with the number of such immigrants into the adjoining States of West Bengal and Tripura closely approximates the number of muslims who are short of natural growth in East Pakistan according to the figures available from the Census Bulletins of Pakistan, 1961. While East Pakistan has a total area of 55,126 sq. miles, it has a total population of 50,840,235 showing a density of 922 persons per sq. mile. But it must also be borne in mind that East Pakistan has plenty of rivers and lakes and so the total area of Pakistan excluding the river areas is only 51,921 sq. miles showing a density of 979 persons per sq. mile according to the population census of Pakistan, 1961. On the other hand, Assam has a total area of 47,091 sq. miles with a density of only 252 persons per sq. mile. There is therefore no doubt that East Pakistan is grossly over-populated and therefore its people have a tendency to get out of their country simply because they are good cultivators with no land to plough, if not for anything else. There have been complaints of illegal immigration of East Pakistani muslims into Burma also apart from the neighbouring States of India.

DISTRICT-WISE MUSLIM POPULATION

51. In table 9.10 below I give the muslim population data of Assam district-wise for 1961 and 1951 together with the decade variation, the percentage decade variation, the percentage variation of the general population and the sex ratio.

TABLE 9.10

MUSLIMS

State/District	Population 1961	Population 1951	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation	Percentage variation of General Population	Sex Ratio 1961	Sex Ratio 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	6	7
Assam	2,765,509	1,995,936	+769,573	+38·56	+34 45	885	872
Goalpara	668,748	475,825	+192,923	+40·54	+39 32	915	877
Kamrup	605,524	436,495	+169,029	+38·72	+38·39	898	876
Darrang	249,585	157,262	+92,323	+58·71	+39·64	873	967
Lakhimpur	88,242	52,482	+35,760	+68·14	+38·85	766	621
Nowgong	499,320	359,519	+139,801	+38 89	+36 51	842	845
Sibsagar	87,911	70,543	+ 17,368	+24·62	+24·43	805	918
Cachar	539,457	429,457	+110,000	+25·61	+23·53	928	913
Garo Hills	17,163	10,778	+ 6,385	+59·24	+26·91	904	902
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	5,856	3,168	+ 2,688	+84·85	+27·10	298	590
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	3,500	276	+3,224	+1,168·12	+69·08	320	408
Mizo Hills	203	131	+ 72	+ 54·96	+35·61	245	248

52. This table shows that excepting in the districts of Sibsagar and Cachar where the percentage decade variation of the muslims is almost the same as that of the general population, in all the remaining nine districts of Assam, the muslims have shown a big percentage decade variation ranging from 38.72 in the Kamrup district to 1168.12 in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district. The percentage in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district appears to be unduly high, but in terms of absolute numbers, it means an increase of the muslim population from 276 in 1951 to 3,500 in 1961. Mikir

of the muslims in this district can be found in the Howraghat police station where there are some suitable lands for wet paddy cultivation in the Barbil area. Strictly speaking, no non-tribal can settle in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district without permission from the District Councils, but in some low lying areas of this district, both Hindus and Muslims have squatted. In the Mizo Hills, there are only 203 muslims in 1961 as against 131 in 1951 ; while in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, there are 5,856 muslims in 1961 against 3,168 in 1951. Most of the muslims in these two districts are Government servants or petty traders, and in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, they can be found almost entirely in the Shillong Town Group Moreover, most of the muslims in these two hill districts are indigenous muslims of Assam In the Garo Hills, the number of muslims has risen from 10,778 in 1951 to 17,163 in 1961 and most of these muslims can be found in the plains mauzas adjoining the Goalpara district and East Pakistan. The plains mauzas adjoining the plain areas of the Goalpara district and the river Brahmaputra constitute the main highway through which muslims have come into Assam since 1901

53. In the Cachar district, the percentage increase of the muslims is only 25 61, but in terms of absolute number there are 539,457 muslims against the total population of 1,378,476 or that the muslims contitute 39 13 per cent. of the total population of the district of Cachar which has an area of only 2,688 sq. miles. There is therefore no more room for muslims to cultivate in Cachar, and this district is another highway through which the muslims go up into the Assam Valley. The Hailakandi, Karimganj and Badarpur police stations of the Cachar district, have 53.7 per cent., 52.3 per cent. and 50 8 per cent. respectively of their total population as muslims. The remaining six districts of Assam constitute the Brahmaputra Valley, where in 1901, there were only 248,842 muslims whereas in 1961, there were 2,199,330. In other words, the Brahmaputra Valley is the goal of muslim immigration. In Chapter II, I have dealt with the general growth of population in Assam from 1901 to 1961 and I have shown how muslim immigration has affected the growth of the population in the Lower Assam Valley in the first two decades of this century and how from the third decade onwards, the population of the Upper Brahmaputra Valley began to be gradually affected. The above table also vividly shows how the different districts of the Brahmaputra Valley have been affected by the growth of the muslim population in 1951 and 1961

54 In the Goalpara district, the number of muslims is 668,748 constituting 43.32 per cent of the total population of the district. In the South Salmara, Mankachar, Lakhipur and Dhubri police stations of the Goalpara district, the muslims constitute 91.2 per cent., 80 8 per cent, 72.5 per cent. and 59.1 per cent of the total population of these police stations respectively ; while in the Dhubri subdivision itself, the muslims constitute 62.5 per cent of the total population The following police stations of the Goalpara district have shown high increase of the muslim population as follows :—

Police Station	*Percentage increase of Muslims 1951-1961*
1 Gossaingaon & Golokganj	56.42
2 Kokrajhar, Sidli and Bijni	87.30
3 North Salmara	86.47
4 Lakhipur, Goalpara and Dudhnai	48.90

55 In the Kamrup district, further upstream of the river Brahmaputra, there are 605,524 muslims in 1961 constituting 29.36 per cent of the total population of the district The Baghbor, Tarabari and Barpeta police stations of this district have 88.9 per cent, 74 1 per cent. and 50.2 per cent. of the total population as muslims. These police stations are mostly riverine and marshy areas where muslim immigrants have settled down to constitute the majority of the population. The following police stations of this district have shown high increases of the muslim population in descending order of percentage increase during 1951-61 :—

Police Station	*Percentage increase of Muslims 1951-1961*
1. Gauhati & Jhalukbari	86.[illegible] %
2. Rangia	77.[illegible]
3 Chhaygaon, Boko and Palasbari	60.[illegible]
4. Barpeta and Tarabari (Baghbor)	41.[illegible]
5 Hajo and Kamalpur	37.[illegible]

56. In the Darrang district the muslim population has increased from 157,262 in 1951 to 249,585 in 1961 thereby making the muslims constitute 19 35 per cent. of the total population of the district. It may also be noted that percentage decade variation of muslims in this district is 58.71 against 38.39 for the general population In the Dalgaon police station of this district, the muslims constitute 72 7 per cent of the total population. The following police stations of this district have shown abnormally high increases of their muslim population :—

Police Station	*Percentage increase of Muslims 1951 1961*
1 Chutia	151.47
2. Dhekiajuli	128 70
3. Paneri, Udalguri, Dalgaon and Majbat	76 94
4. Behali and Gohpur	36.52
5. Mangaldai and Kalaigaon	34.61

57. In the next upstream district, Nowgong has a total muslim population of 499,320 in 1961 which constitutes 41.24 per cent. of the total population of the district. This district used to be low lying and had plenty of waste lands in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Muslims have been pouring into this district since 1921 until they now constitute this big percentage of the population. Rupahihat, Dhing, Lanka and Laharighat police stations of this district have 78.8 per cent., 71.0 per cent., 57.10 per cent. and 55.3 per cent. respectively of their total population as muslims. The following police stations of this district have shown high increases during 1951-61 :—

Police Station	*Percentage increase of Muslims 1951-1961*
1. Jamunamukh and Lumding (Lanka)	66.76
2. Raha and Marigaon	66.49
3. Samaguri and Sadar (Nowgong)	59.50

58. In the Lakhimpur district, all the police stations have recorded high rates of increase as detailed below in descending order :—

Police Station	*Percentage increase of Muslims 1951-1961*
1. Sadiya	285.13
2. Jaipur and Moran	108.38
3. North Lakhimpur, Bihpuria and Dhakuakhana	70.44
4. Tinsukia and Bardubi	67.20
5. Doom Dooma, Digboi and Margherita	51.94
6 Dibrugarh and Dhemaji	43.24

59 Sibsagar is the only district where the number of muslims is the lowest in the Brahmaputra Valley whereas the number of indigenous muslims is the highest in this district. Way back in 1931, Mr. C. S. Mullan remarked that 'Sibsagar will be the only part of Assam in which an Assamese will find himself at home'. That prophecy still holds good in 1961 also The only police station where there has been high increase of muslims in this district is the Sonari police station which has an increase of 78 99 per cent. in its muslim population during the decade.

60 The sex ratio of muslims in Assam has shown more improvement during 1961 and this fact suggests that the muslims have come to Assam to stay because they have brought their families also with them. It appears that the borders of Assam with East Pakistan have to be much more carefully guarded to check further illegal immigration into this State. Strict and constant vigilance is also called for to stop the continuous flow of these hardy muslims upstream of the river Brahmaputra. While the rivers of Assam flow into East Pakistan, the explosive population of East Pakistan has a tendency to flow upstream into Assam.

CHRISTIANS

61. The total number of Christians in India is 10,726,350 in 1961 against 8,392,038 in 1951, the percentage increase during the decade 1951-61 being 27.38. The net increase is 2,334,312, but the percentage of Christians to the total population of India is still only 2.44 in 1961 against 2.35 in 1951. So although Christianity has made more headway in India during the decade 1951-61 and has secured third place in numerical strength among the main religions of India its percentage of 2.44 is practically insignificant compared to 83.51 per cent. of Hindu and 10.69 per cent. of Muslims.

62. I give below table 9.11 showing the progress of Christianity in Assam from 1901-61:—

TABLE 9.11

Year	Population	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation
1901	34,650	—	—
1911	61,977	+ 27 327	+ 78 87
1921	118,134	+ 56 157	+ 90 61
1931	213,678	+ 95 544	+ 80 88
1941	38,702	—174 976	—81 89
1951	487,331	+ 448 629	+ 1,159.19
1961	764,553	+ 277 222	+ 56 89

63. The above table shows the progressive increase of Christianity in Assam from 1901 till 1961. As stated earlier, in 1941 all tribal Christians have not been shown as Christians but simply as Scheduled Tribes and that is why the figure appears to be very low. The fact is that even during 1941, Christianity has been maintaining its progress in Assam, particularly among the tribal communities. The percentage variation in the decades 1901-11, 1911-21 and 1921-31 are much higher than that during the decade 1951-61. Between 1931 and 1951, the percentage variation is 128.07 for two decades which may be taken as 64.04 per decade. But although the percentage variation during 1951-61 is smaller, in term of absolute numbers it is higher than the previous decades. Christians now constitute 6.44 per cent. of the total population of Assam against 5.52 per cent. in 1951.

64. The total number of Christians in North East India, that is to say in the region covered by Assam Proper, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, NEFA, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts of West Bengal is 1,192,013, the details of which are as follows:—

TABLE 9.12

Units	Christian population
1 Assam	764,553
2 Nagaland	195,588
3 Manipur	152,042
4 Tripura	10,030
5 Cooch Behar	745
6 Jalpaiguri	48,970
7 Darjeeling	20,475
8 NEFA	Figures not yet available.
Total	1,192,013

65. In table 9.13 below I give the Christian population of Assam district-wise along with variations and sex ratio for the decade 1951-61:

TABLE 9.13

State/District	Population 1961	Population 1951	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation	Percentage decade variation of General population	Sex Ratio 1961	Sex Ratio 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	764,553	487,331	+277,222	+56 89	+34·45	983	904
Goalpara	51,594	31,009	+20,585	+66·38	+39 32	889	978
Kamrup	18,419	11,015	+7,404	+67 22	+38 39	909	[illegible]
Darrang	59,861	37,216	+22,645	+60 85	+39·64	955	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	54,309	35,690	+18,619	+52 17	+38 85	940	819
Nowgong	7,143	4,789	+2,354	+49·15	+36·51	884	794
Sibsagar	29,080	21,213	+7,867	+37·09	+24·43	851	[illegible]
Cachar	15,178	8,422	+6,756	+80·22	+23·53	927	[illegible]
Garo Hills	87,311	39,292	+48,019	+122·21	+26·91	982	[illegible]
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	183,601	110,086	+73,515	+66·78	+27·10	1,048	[illegible]
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	27,548	11,024	+16,524	+149·89	+49·08	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mikir Hills	200,869	177,375	+23,494	+13·01	+35·81	[illegible]	[illegible]

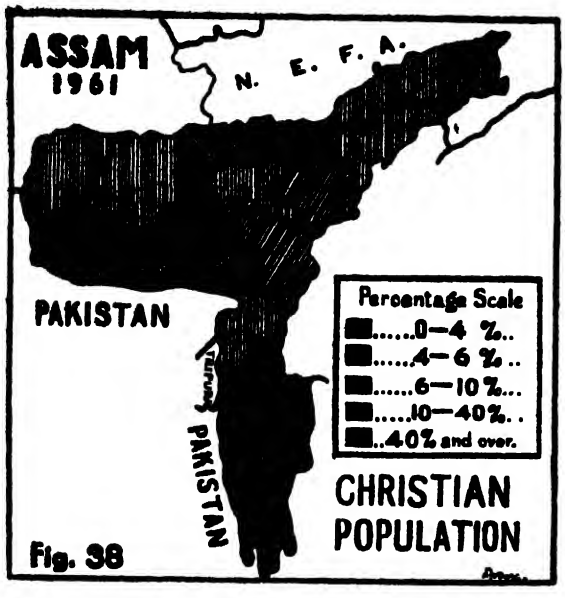


Fig. 38

66. The above table shows that the percentage decade variation of Christians is higher than that of the general population in all the districts of Assam excepting in the case of Mizo Hills. The apparent low increase of Christians in the Mizo Hills is simply due to the fact that most of the Mizos are already Christians and even the variation may be mostly due to natural increase. From table 9.1 it may be seen that 86.64 per cent. of the people in the Mizo Hills are Christians in 1961 against 90.50 per cent. in 1951. This apparent decline in percentage is simply due to the fact that more people, mostly Hindus, have gone into Mizo Hills as Government employees during the decade 1951-61 and also because Buddhists who were not apparently enumerated in 1951 have now been covered by the Census. Among the Mizo tribes themselves, 96.95 per cent. are Christians.

BUDDHISTS, JAINS AND SIKHS

67. In Assam the number of Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs is practically negligible and so no detailed analysis need be made of any of them. Suffice it to say that Buddhists constitute only 0.31 per cent., Jains constitute only 0.08 per cent. and Sikhs also constitute only 0.08 per cent. of the total population of Assam. Among the Buddhists, as many as 18,720 are found only in the Mizo Hills. This is not due to any new conversion but these Buddhists are tribals of the Mizo Hills district adjoining Burma or the Chittagong Hill tracts who have already been Buddhists for centuries but do not appear to have been covered by the Census before as they live in the most inaccessible areas of this district. Another 8,212 Budhists are found in the Lakhimpur district and 4,076 are found in the Sibsagar district, and these are the Tai-speaking Buddhists who have come from Burma after the Ahom invasion of Assam. Among the tribal Buddhists of Mizo Hills, the most numerous are the Chakmas (15,361) and the Moghs. The Sikhs and Jains have come into Assam from other parts of India and they are scattered everywhere in the State.

TRIBAL RELIGIONS

68. According to the 1961 Census, Scheduled Tribes may belong to any religion. It is therefore interesting to see how the tribal people of Assam who have been recorded as Scheduled Tribes have returned their religion in 1961. It may be seen that most have returned their religion as Hinduism followed by Christianity. Various tribal religions have been lumped together under the heading 'Tribal Religions'. Scheduled Tribes belonging to all other religions are comparatively few in numbers and so they have been lumped together under the heading "Others". Table 9.14 below gives a picture of the various tribes of Assam and the religions which they profess:—

69 The above table shows that a big number of tribals, especially the plains tribals, have returned their religion as Hinduism during 1961. After Hinduism, Christianity comes next as the religion of the Scheduled Tribes, especially the Scheduled Tribes of the Hills. Tribal religions have largely disappeared because most of the tribals have been either absorbed into Hinduism or Christianity. So Hinduism and Christianity have prospered at the cost of tribal-religions. Christianity came first to the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, but although the number of Christians in this district is next only to Mizo Hills, the number of people who still profess the Khasi tribal religion is the biggest among all the tribes. It appears that the Khasis and Jaintias are much more conservative in preserving their tribal religion even in the modern age.

TABLE 9.14

Name of Tribes	Total Population	Religions			
		Hindu	Christian	Tribal Religions	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Khasi and Jaintia	356 155	12 587	169 311	173 899	[illegible]
2 Boro—Borokachari	345 983	322 029	22 445	1,091	418
3 Garo	258 122	10 452	97 924	148 123	1,623
4 Kachari including Sonwal	236 936	221 855	14 586	—	495
5 Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes	214 721	2 938	208 165	167	3,451
6 Miri	163 453	161 161	1 234	953	105
7 Mikir	121 082	90 949	12 443	17 313	377
8 Rabha	108 029	106 017	1,876	—	136
9 Dimasa (Kachari)	68 718	58 034	10,640	44	—
10 Lalung	61 315	60 [illegible]	81		782
11 Hajong	22 652	22 376	65	208	1
12 Chakma	19 338	467	3 4 1	10	15 440
13 Any Kuki Tribes	19 037	13 436	5 596		5
14 Deori	13 876	13 780	77		19
15 Barmans in Cachar	13 114	13 114		-	—
16 Any Naga Tribes	9 309	5 179	4 023	105	3
17 Lakher	8 791	2 056	6 634	10	91
18 Hmar	8 741	4 988	3 750	—	3
19 Mech	6 987	5 974	85	-	928
20 Pawi	4 587	9	4 578	—	—
21 Hojai	3 617	3 481	116	-	20
22 Man (Tai Speaking)	[illegible]	9			244
	2 064 816	1 131 345	567 049	341,923	24,499

It may also be noted that the number of Khasis and Jaintias professing their own tribal religion is more than the number of Christians Next to the Khasis, the Garos have also largely preserved their own Garo tribal religion. Only 17,313 Mikirs still profess the Mikir tribal religion, while 90,949 Mikirs have called themselves Hindus Only 12,443 Mikirs have become Christians till 1961. Among the Mizos, almost all have become Christians and only 167 still profess the Mizo tribal religion Almost all the plains tribals have called themselves Hindus. The difference between tribals who are Hindus and Christians is that while a Christian must have been convinced of the truth of Christianity and baptised after a period of probation, a Hindu tribal can become a Hindu only by saying that he is a Hindu This method of conversion into Hinduism of the tribals is described by Sir Edward Gait as 'conversion by fiction', but it is also true that Hinduism is more a system than a religion and Animism has also been taken by some to be some sort of Hinduism. Elaborate discussion about this theory can be found in the Census Report of 1921.

70 A tribal religion is some sort of Animism, the attribution of a soul to natural objects and phenomena. Living in the freedom of their natural habitats, breathing the fresh air of the hills or drinking the crystal clear water emanating as natural springs, they see God the Creator in these natural objects When looking at the abysmal depth of the ravines in the mountains, they see in it the abode of the devils. So they believe in some gods and goddesses who do good for them, and they also believe in some devils or evil spirits who are supposed to cause illness and bring bad luck to the family. They therefore make some simple offering to the gods and goddesses and they also make some

sacrifices to propitiate the evil spirits. Respect of their forbears also made them indulge in some form of ancestor worship.

71. Tribal religions have no definite names but they are called by the name of the tribe to which they belong. For example, the tribal religion of the Khasis is known as 'Ka Niam Khasi' or Khasi religion. Similarly the religion of the Garos is the Garo religion.

72. Tribal religions have remained as such till about the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, the Tribal Communities are no longer left in isolation anywhere, and so changes in their social, cultural, economic and political set-up have taken place rather rapidly. After Independence, the pace of social changes has greatly accelerated. On contact with the people of higher culture, the tribals have a tendency to lose some of their identity and be absorbed by the latter. That is why the plains tribals have by and large been absorbed into Hinduism. The Hill Areas of Assam have been least influenced by Hinduism and so Christianity has taken roots in these regions. Moreover, Christianity is more or less synonymous with progress because of the fact that Christians have of necessity to be literate, and after being literate, they acquire ambition for a better standard of living. Moreover, there is something in Christianity which makes the hill people of Assam adopt this religion with effortless ease because it appeals to their sense of freedom and ideals of democracy.

CHAPTER X

THE WORKING POPULATION

The following questions were asked in the 1961 Census regarding the Working and Non-Working Population —

"8 Are you working as a cultivator ?

9. Are you working as an agricultural labourer ?

10 Are you working in a Household Industry ?

If, so, (a) what is the nature of your work ?

(b) what is the nature of the Household Industry ?

(c) are you working as a paid employee in another person's Household Industry ?

11 Do you do any work other than that of a cultivator, an agricultural labourer or a worker in a Household Industry ?

If so, (a) what is the nature of your work ?

(b) what is the nature of the industry, profession, trade or service where you work ?

(c) are you an employer, employee, single worker or family worker ?

(d) what is the name of the establishment where you work ?

12. If you do not work what do you do ?"

2. *Prima facie*, the above questions appear to be simple, but it requires a lot of instructions and training to enable the enumerators how to correctly record the answers against the captions in the Individual Slip A copy of the instructions is given in the Appendix.

3. Later, further instructions were issued for ringing the principal work and ticking the secondary work. These instructions are reproduced below:—

"After you have filled up the answers to questions 8 to 11, if you find that in the case of any person more than one productive activity has been recorded *i.e.*, more than one of the questions 8, 9 or 11 has been filled up by some work, you should ask him which one of the activities that has been recorded from him is his principal work The principal work is the one on which the person devotes most of his time. Put a ring round the number of the questions 8, 9, 10 or 11, according to the work on which the person says he spends most time You should invariably ask for the principal work where more than one work is recorded and put a ring round the question relating to the principal work

It may be that in a few cases you find that you have recorded more than two productive activities in questions 8 to 11 *i.e.*, more than two of the questions, 8 to 11, would have been filled up by some work. In such cases you should first ascertain the principal work *i.e.*, the one on which the person spends most time and put a ring round the number of the question. You should then ascertain the work which is the next in importance to his principal work *i.e.*, the work after his principal work which occupies most time. You should put a tick against the question number of that work on the right hand side of the question number. The ring and the tick should be put clearly so that any difficulty will not be felt to recognise them clearly."

4 The 'ringing' of the principal work and the ticking of the secondary work has greatly helped us at the time of tabulation to ascertain the principal economic activities of the people of the State. This is all the more so because many people are engaged in more than one occupation. For example, many cultivators of Assam are also engaged in handloom weaving, trade and [illegible]

subsidiary occupations during the slack seasons. In some areas, like the Sualkuchi area, the principal work of the people is Household Industry although they may also have cultivation as a subsidiary occupation. Without these further clarifications to enumerators and without the ringing marks and the ticking marks, it would not have been possible for us to find out what is the chief occupation of the people. The later instructions therefore constitute a distinct improvement on the former instructions.

5. In the 1951 Census, the population is presented by 8 Livelihood Classes which are again broadly divided into Agricultural Classes and Non-Agricultural Classes. These classes are:—

Agricultural Classes:

I. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned, and their dependants.

II. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned, and their dependants.

III. Cultivating labourers, and their dependants.

IV. Non-cultivating owners of land; agricultural rent receivers, and their dependants.

Non-Agricultural Classes:

Persons (including dependants), who derive their principal Means of Livelihood from:—

V. Production other than Cultivation.

VI. Commerce.

VII. Transport.

VIII. Other Services and Miscellaneous Sources.

6. The population has again been clubbed together to include self-supporting persons, earning dependants and dependants, or workers and dependants, under the 8 Livelihood Classes, thus presenting a neat and readily comprehensible picture of the population.

7. In the 1961 Census, the population has been presented under Workers and Non-Workers, and Workers have again been distributed into 9 categories while the Non-Workers have been lumped together under one pool, thus causing some loss of clarity of outline in the presentation of the basic statistics. The 9 categories of Workers are:—

I. Working as Cultivators.

II. Working as Agricultural Labourers.

III. Working in Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and Allied activities.

IV. Working at Household Industry.

V. Working in Manufacturing other than Household Industry.

VI. Working in Construction.

VII. Working in Trade and Commerce.

VIII Working in Transport, Storage and Communications.

IX Working in Other Services

Non-Workers are a class by themselves, but they have been categorised under 8 activities as spelt out in the subsequent paragraphs.

8. The basic difference between 1951 and 1961 in so far as this question is concerned is that in 1951, *income* is the criterion for economically active persons, while *productive work* is the yardstick for such persons in 1961. Due to the adoption of the income concept for the 1951 Census, it is quite likely that some of the unpaid family workers may have been returned as non-earning dependents resulting in the reduction, to some extent, of the actual working force. On the other hand, the concept of work as given in the 1961 Census in relation to the time spent, may have over-estimated the number of workers. The definition of work in the 1961 census is that the basis of work is satisfied in the case of seasonal work like cultivation, livestock, dairying, household industry etc.; if the person has had some regular work of at least one hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season. There is therefore no doubt that this criterion has inflated the figures of workers engaged in agriculture and household industry. Conversely, many workers of 1951 were classified as dependants simply because they are unpaid family workers. It may therefore be concluded that while the working population had been under-enumerated in 1951, they may have been over-enumerated in 1961 because this Census was rather liberal in giving workers' status to persons whose role in

the field of economic activity could hardly be considered as significant. Both 1951 and 1961 have not been fair to certain category of workers of which the housewife is the most significant. In 1951, the housewife is not regarded as a self-supporting person because she does not earn any income, but in 1961 also she is not considered as a worker. If, however, a housewife did one hour of work daily as a maid servant, she would be classified as a worker irrespective of the income that she got. Some housewives are occupied from sunrise to late at night in the daily chores of useful domestic work, but they are not classified as workers, although had a maid servant been engaged to do the same work she would have been paid very handsomely.

9. Judged by the standard of work as given in the 1961 Census definitions, there are comparatively few Non-Workers in the working age groups in Assam, and this will give us a rather incorrect picture that unemployment in Assam is very small. Actually there are many unemployed persons in Assam who have been classified as workers simply because they do some part-time jobs in cultivation etc. or simply because they do some part-time private jobs like tuition, etc.

10. The economic concept of Workers and Non-Workers slightly varies from Census to Census resulting in possible loss of comparability. This difference of concepts has been worked out by Shri B. R. Kalra, Research Officer, Office of the Registrar General, India, and the result of that research has been published in Census Paper I of 1962. I reproduce below an extract from the Note prepared by Shri B. R. Kalra:—

1951 Census:

Workers in 1951 comprised of:

(i) All self-supporting persons with productive principal means of livelihood, *i.e.*, all self-supporting persons other than (a) agricultural rent-receivers belonging to livelihood Class IV and (b) self-supporting persons deriving their means of livelihood from non-agricultural, non-productive occupations, like beggars, pensioners etc., belonging to livelihood Class VIII.

(ii) Self-supporting persons belonging to livelihood Class IV (agricultural rent-receivers) but deriving secondary means of livelihood from productive occupations, *i.e.*, other than Class IV

(iii) All earning dependants in respect of their own (secondary) means of livelihood other than those who derived their secondary means of livelihood from

(a) receipt of agricultural rent under Class IV, and

(b) non-agricultural non-productive occupations. (For calculating working force, no account has been made of the self-supporting persons whose principal means of livelihood was non-agricultural non-productive but who had a productive secondary means of livelihood, as unlike rent-receivers in Class IV, these persons were lumped in Class VIII and did not have a separate class of principal or secondary means of livelihood).

Non-workers of 1951 were equal to:

(i) All non-earning dependants;

(ii) Self-supporting persons whose principal means of livelihood was agricultural rent (Class IV) and who had no productive secondary means of livelihood;

(iii) The following groups of self-supporting persons included in non-agricultural Class VIII;

(a) persons living principally on income from non-agricultural Class VIII;

(b) pensioners and remittance holders;

(c) inmates of jails, asylums, alms houses and recipients of doles, beggars and vagrants, and

(d) other persons living principally on income derived from non-productive activity.

(iv) Earning dependants whose own means of livelihood (Secondary

means of livelihood) was agricultural rent-receiving under Class IV, and

(v) Earning dependants whose secondary means of livelihood was non-agricultural non-productive. The number of this group have been estimated at 455,792 (106,771 males and 349,021 females). This estimate has been worked out on the basis of proportion of non-productive self-supporting persons to all self-supporting persons in the non-agricultural classes. These earning dependants were deducted from Class VIII and placed among non-workers.

1931 Census:

I. Workers:

(i) All earners following productive occupations; and

(ii) All working dependants following productive occupations.

II. Non-workers:

(i) All non-working dependants;

(ii) Earners and working dependants following non-productive occupations.

(a) non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind;

(b) proprietors (other than agricultural land), fund, scholarship holders and pensioners;

(c) inmates of jails, asylums and alms houses;

(d) beggars and vagrants;

(e) procurers and prostitutes;

(f) other unclassified non-productive industries.

68 lakhs females in Madras and Travancore-Cochin who were returned as working dependants in domestic services have been subtracted from the working force and put under non-workers.

1921 and 1911 Census:

I. Workers:

All "Actual workers" having productive occupations;

II. Non-workers:

(i) All "dependants"; and

(ii) All "Actual workers" in non-productive occupations as stated in case of 1931 Census.

1901 Census:

I. Workers:

(i) All "actual workers" having productive occupations:

II. Non-workers:

(i) All "dependants"; and

(ii) "Actual workers" in non-productive occupations;

(a) rent-receivers;

(b) prostitutes, procurers, pimps, etc.;

(c) receivers of stolen goods;

(d) witches, wizards, cow-poisoners etc.;

(e) house-rent, share and other property not being land;

(f) allowances for patrons or relatives;

(g) educational or other endowments, scholarships etc.;

(h) mendicancy (not in connection with a religious order);

(i) pensioners, inmates of asylums, prisoners etc.

In the States of Assam, Punjab, Cochin Rajputana, Central-India, Kashmir, Berar, Madras, Mysore and Coorg, owner cultivators, tenant cultivators and lesseess numbering 13,979,244 were shown under "rent-receivers" These have now been grouped under industrial category I of 1961 (Cultivators).

The comparibility can, however, be restored to some extent by the regrouping of certain categories. How this regrouping can be done has also been worked out by Shri B. R. Kalra and so I reproduce his note on the subject:—

Grouping of workers and non-workers of 1901—51 Censuses in form of the Ten Industrial categories of 1961

1961	1951	1931	1921	1911	1901
I Working as Cultivators	Livelihood Class I (Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned) plus Class II (Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned)	Groups 2 3 5 6 and 8	Groups 2 and 3	Groups [illegible] and 3	Groups [illegible] 37 40, 52 and 56
II Working as Agricultural Labourers	Livelihood Class III (Cultivating Labourers)	Group 7	Groups 4 and 5	Group 4	Groups 18 and 19
III Working in Mining & Quarrying	Division 0 plus Div 1 of Livelihood Class V	Groups 9 to 41 53 and 76	Groups 6 to 24 42 and 74	Groups 5 to 20 35 and 65	Groups 5 to 12 34, 35 39(a), 41 to 51, 53, 54 59, 78 79, 81 131 146, 147, 151 154 259 300 to 311(a), 319 346, 354 356 358, 360, 492 493 and 503
IV Working in Household Industry					
V Working in Manufacturing other than Household Industry	Div 2 plus Div 3 plus Div 4 of livelihood Class V plus Sub-division 5 5 of Livelihood Class VIII.	Groups 42 to 52 54 to 75 77 to 84 87 to 89 91 to 99 and 188*	Groups 25 to 41 43 to 71 75 to 79 83 to 85 87 90 to 100 and 184*	Groups 21 to 34 36 to 64 and 66 to 70 74 to 76 80 to 84 86 to 91 and 164*	Groups 76 77 82 84 to 96 98 to 100, 102 103 106 to 116, 119 120, 125, 127 129, 133, 135, to 141, 143, 145, 151, 152, 155, 157 160, 161, 166 to 171, 173 to 176, 178 to 186, 190, 193, to 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216 to 220, 222, to 227, 229 to 232, 234 to 244, 246, 248 to 253, 255 to 258, 260, 262 to 270, 271 to 273, 275 277 to 279, 281 and 283 to 288 290, 292 294 to 299 301 to 303, 305 to 308, 312, to 314, 316, 317, 320 to 322, 323(a), 324, 326 to 328, 330 to 332, 334, 347 to 353, 361 to 365 367 368 370, 373 to 376, 378 to 388, 391 and 505(a)
VI Working in Construction	Sub-div 5·0 to Sub-div 5·4 of Livelihood Class VIII	Groups 90, 105, 106 and 113	Groups 86 88 89, 108, 109, 111, 112 and 119	Groups 77 to 79, 96, 98 and 104	Groups 162 to 165 and 500 to 502.
VII Working in Trade and Commerce	Livelihood Class VI (Division 6)	Groups 115 to 126, 128 to 152	Groups 121 to 129 and 131 to 154	Groups 106 to 114 116 to 136 and 138	Groups 80 81, 97, 101, 104, 105, 123, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 142, 144, 148 to 150, 156, 158, 159, 172, 177, 187, 189, 191, 192, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 221, 228, 233, 245 247, 254, 261, 270(a), 274, 276, 280, 282, 289, 291, 293, 300 304, 315, 318 321, 325, 329, 333 337, 339, 345, 355 357, 359, 366, 369, 371, 372, 377, 389, 390 and 392 to 408.
VIII Working in Transport, Storage and Communications	Sub-division 7·0 to 7·4 of Livelihood Class VII plus Sub-div 7·5 to Sub-Div 7·9 of Livelihood Class VIII	Groups 101 to 104 107 to 112 and 114.	Groups 104 to 107 110 113 to 118 and 120	Groups 94 95 97 99 to 103 and 105	Groups 117, 118 and 409 to 443

*Distributed proportionately among categories V and VII.

1961	1951	1931	1921	1911	1901
IX. Working in Other Services	Livelihood Class VIII minus Sub-Divn 5.0 to Sub-div 5.5 minus Sub-div 7.5 to Sub-div 7.9 minus persons in non-agricultural non-productive occupations (*i.e.*, Sub-divisions 5,6,5,7 and Division 8 and Division 9)	Groups 4 85,86,100 127, 153 to 184, 186, 187, 189†, 190† and 191 *	Groups 80 to 82 101 to 103 130, 155 to 179, 181 to 183, 185†, 186†, and 187.*	Groups 71 to 73 85, 92, 93, 115, 137, 139 to 160 and 162 163, 165†, 166†, and 176 *	Groups 1 to 24, 33, 54, 55, 57, 60 to 75 121, 122, 188, 300 (*a*) 444 to 491, 494 to 499, 504*, 505*, 505(*b*)†, and 520(*a*).
X. Non-Workers	(i) All non-earning dependants, (ii) S S. persons whose principal occupation was Class IV with no productive secondary occupation; (iii) S. S persons with no-productive, non-agricultural occupations included in Class VIII; (iv) E D whose own occupation (Secondary mean of livelihood) was agricultural rent under Class IV, and (v) F D. estimated at 4,55,792 whose secondary occupation was non-agricultural non-productive	All Non-working dependants plus groups 192 to 915	All dependants plus groups 1, 180 and 188 to 191	All dependants plus groups 1, 161, 168 and 169	All dependants plus groups 36 and 506 to 520

11. In the Brahmaputra Valley, and especially among the Assamese, there are handlooms in every household where weaving of cloths is generally done by the women of the household. Formerly, the Assamese women used to weave all the cloths that they require in the household, but now-a-days, mill-made cloths and nylons have invaded every home and so even the weaving industry is gradually decaying. But despite the competition from the mills, the household industry of weaving still exists in almost all Assamese households. Assamese women are therefore part-time workers in this type of household industry. Therefore many of these women would have been classified as Non-Workers being housewives, if they would not do some part-time work in weaving. Even some students take part in this kind of household industry. Most of the products of this household industry are consumed only by the family itself and nothing is sold. In some training classes in the Sibsagar, Darrang and Lakhimpur districts, one Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations told the trainees that if the products are for self-consumption, that should not be recorded as household industry thereby resulting in the reduction of workers due to this misrecording. Subsequently, I issued a circular to all Deputy Commissioners and Sub-divisional Officers to correct this wrong interpretation and I also deputed my Tabulation Officers to correct the mistakes. Some mistakes have been corrected, but it must be admitted that there has been many misrecording on account of that. This is the reason why the household industry in Sibsagar district which is the real home of Assamese culture has rather been largely deflated. For example, in the house of J. C. Bhuyan, one of the Tabulation Officers there were two handlooms in 1961, which were used by three members of his family, but they were not recorded as workers because no product was sold.

12. Of the economic questions asked in the Individual Slips of the 1961 Census, the most difficult are those relating to questions 10 and 11. In question 10 the enumerator had to ask the citizen whether he was working in any household industry, and if so, to give a description of the nature of work, the nature of the household industry, and whether he was an employee. In question 11 the enumerator had to ask whether a citizen was doing some work other than cultivation, agricultural labour or household industry and if so, the citizen was also asked to give a description of the nature of work and of the nature of industry, profession, trade or service. The induction of the words 'nature of industry' in question 11(b) has made it difficult for both the enumerator and the citizen to understand the subtle difference between question 10 and 11 as a result of which some incomplete or ambiguous returns were given to these two questions. For example, most

*Distributed proportionately among all the categories I to IX.
†Distributed proportionately among all Non-agricultural categories V to IX.

of the enumerators recorded 'weaving' against question 10, but some of them again recorded the same industry against question 11. During sorting it was also found that many enumerators did not completely record the answers to questions 10(a) and (b) or to questions 11(a), (b) and (d). In some cases, it was found that against questions 10(a) and (b), only one answer, say weaving, was given. Similar was the case with respect to questions 11(a) and (b). In some cases it was found that a pleader has been recorded as employee although he was a practitioner and so he actually was a single worker and not an employee. Many of these misrecordings were rectified during sorting and tabulation, wherever possible.

13. In some cases, adequate description was available from the Census slips but there were some difficulties for proper classification in spite of that. For example, entries for questions 11(b) and (d) were given as 'Railway Police' or 'Railway Protection Force', and so classification can be given either as category VIII relating to 'Transport' or as category IX relating to 'Other Services'. The difficulty here does not lie with the fault of the enumerators or the enumerated, but with recording. Commonsense, however, say that in both cases the proper classification would be to include the Railway Police or the Railway Protection Force under category IX. The recordings on separate lines for occupation and industry were seldom full because enumerators generally filled up on either questions 10(a) or 11(a) and 10(b) or 11(b). In other words, where the enumerators had given the nature of work or occupation, they did not care to give the nature of the industrial services due to carelessness or lack of proper appreciation of the concept of these two economic questions.

14. Although the instructions for 'ringing' of the principal work and 'ticking' of secondary work had been given to enumerators before the enumeration, some of them did not properly follow the later instructions. In some cases, ringing only was done although more than two works were recorded. Smoothing of such incomplete recording had to be done in the Tabulation Office in accordance with the instructions issued by the Registrar General.

15. In so far as employment Category against questions 10(c) and 11(c) is concerned, the entries by enumerators were found to be fairly complete excepting in very few cases. The geometrical designs against these two questions have been found to be of great help at the time of sorting and tabulation. The geometrical designs helped the sorters to fix their eyes on them and to sort them accurately at a good speed according to the norms laid down for each sorter.

16. No difficulty was experienced by enumerators regarding the filling of questions 8 or 9 of the Census Schedule, but it was noted that many agriculturists preferred to be called cultivators rather than as agricultural labourers.

17. No difficulty was experienced in recording question 12 relating to the activities of Non-Workers.

18. The following is table 10.1 showing the distribution of 1,000 persons in India and each State among the 9 Industrial Categories and Non-Workers, 1961.

TABLE 10.1

Distribution of 1000 persons in India and each State among the nine industrial categories and non-workers, 1961

State	Total	Workers									Non-workers
		I Cultivator	II Agricultural Labourer	III Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Etc.	IV Household Industry	V Manufacturing other than Household Industry.	VI Construction	VII Trade and Commerce	VIII Transport Storage and Communications	IX Other Services	X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
India	1,000	227	72	12	27	18	5	17	7	45	570
Andhra Pradesh . .	1,000	208	148	16	51	13	6	22	7	48	481
Assam	1,000	280	16	44	24	9	3	15	6	36	567

TABLE 10.1—*concld.*

State	Total	Workers									
		I Cultivator	II Agricultural Labourer	III Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Etc.	IV Household Industry	V Manufacturing other than Household Industry	VI Construction	VII Trade and Commerce	VIII Transport Storage and Communications	IX Other Services	X Non-Workers
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bihar	1,000	223	95	14	23	9	2	11	5	32	586
Gujarat	1,000	219	61	5	27	26	4	20	8	41	589
Jammu & Kashmir	1,000	324	5	7	27	9	3	9	4	40	572
Kerala	1,000	70	58	29	29	31	4	19	9	84	667
Madhya Pradesh	1,000	328	87	15	26	10	5	13	5	34	477
Madras	1,000	192	84	13	36	25	6	22	8	70	544
Maharashtra	1,000	221	114	10	21	33	6	22	11	41	521
Mysore	1,000	246	75	14	30	18	8	17	4	43	545
Orissa	1,000	249	74	8	30	5	2	8	3	58	563
Punjab	1,000	197	27	3	27	17	7	19	7	46	650
Rajasthan	1,000	350	20	8	30	9	5	14	6	34	524
Uttar Pradesh	1,000	250	44	2	25	11	3	14	5	37	609
West Bengal	1,000	128	51	17	14	38	4	25	11	44	668
Union Territories & other areas :—											
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,000	102	5	115	73	19	86	17	6	68	509
Delhi	1,000	21	3	3	6	64	13	55	19	137	679
Himachal Pradesh	1,000	496	9	7	33	5	10	5	2	29	404
Laccadiv, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	1,000	6	..	24	427	15	10	5	6	23	484
Manipur	1,000	300	3	1	102	1	3	15	4	30	541
Tripura	1,000	246	29	11	22	9	4	16	4	42	617
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,000	445	85	34	11	2	5	4	2	12	400
Goa, Daman & Diu	1,000	177	63	50	..	30	6	22	26	38	588
Pondicherry	1,000	60	105	21	20	47	10	36	9	67	625
N.E.F.A.	1,000	4	N	9	12	N	44	11	23	573	324
Nagaland	1,000	524	7	1	N	2	1	3	2	54	406
Sikkim	1,000	573	14	1	2	N	11	10	1	29	359

19. From the above table it may be seen that in the whole of India, 22.7 per cent. of the total population are workers in cultivation, 7.2 per cent. are agricultural labourers, 1.2 per cent. are working in plantations and allied activities, 2.7 per cent. are working in household industries, 1.8 per cent. are engaged in manufacturing other than household industry, 0.5 per cent. are engaged in construction works, 1.7 per cent. work in trade and commerce, 0.7 per cent. are engaged in transport, storage and communications and 4.5 per cent. are engaged in various other services. 57 per cent. of the total population of India are non-workers and so only 43 per cent. are workers. Non-workers, of course, include infants, school-going children, housewives, retired persons etc. Among the major States of India, Rajasthan has the highest percentage of cultivators with 35 per cent. followed by Madhya Pradesh with 32.8 per cent. and Jammu and Kashmir with 32.4 per cent. In Assam, only 28 per cent. of its total population are engaged in cultivation. Cultivation according to the Census means that a person is engaged in agriculture and has some title or even a semblance of title to the land in which he cultivates. If a person

is entirely engaged in agriculture for wages only, he is classified as an agricultural labourer. The percentage of agricultural labourers is highest in Andhra Pradesh (14.8 per cent.) followed by Maharashtra (11.4 per cent.) and Bihar (9.5 per cent.) among the major States of India. In category III which relates to plantation and allied activities, Assam has the highest percentage with 4.4 per cent. followed by Kerala with 2.9 per cent. This is due to the fact that tea plantations are plenty in Assam, and in Kerala, coffee plantation is abundant. In household industry, Andhra Pradesh tops the list with 5.1 per cent. followed by Madras with 3.6 per cent. and Orissa with 3.0 per cent. Assam has a percentage of only 2.4 which is less than the all-India percentage of 2.7. These figures do not fail to show that household industries are gradually dying out in Assam. In category V relating to manufacturing other than household industry, West Bengal stands first with 3.8 per cent. followed by Maharashtra with 3.3 per cent. and Kerala with 3.1 per cent. This category is the true index of industrialisation, and judged by that standard, Assam, is very backward with only 0.9 per cent. It is also strange that Bihar which has plenty of mineral wealth is also industrially backward being in the same category as Assam. Orissa is the least industrialised with only 0.5 per cent., but Bihar and Orissa are now forging ahead and they may become more industrialised by the time the next Census is taken. Moreover, heavy engineering projects are being set up in Bihar, Orissa and Kerala, but there are practically no heavy engineering works in Assam now or in the near future. As far as category VI—Construction—is concerned, the proportion of workers varies from 0.2 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa to 0.8 per cent. in Mysore. Assam has only 0.3 per cent. in this category, and as already stated, most of the construction workers are non-indigenous persons. In terms of category VII—Trade and Commerce—the percentage varies from 0.8 per cent. in Orissa to 2.5 per cent. in West Bengal and Assam stands at 1.5 per cent. In terms of percentage, Assam does not appear to be very bad, but in terms of volume and value of trade, Assam is very backward and most of the trade is also in the hands of people coming from other parts of India. In terms of workers in transport, storage and communication, the percentage in India varies from 0.3 per cent. in Orissa to 1.1 per cent. in West Bengal and Maharashtra. Here also, Assam is just above the bottom in terms of percentage although in terms of absolute figure it probably stands at the bottom. In terms of other services, the percentage varies from 3.2 per cent. in Bihar to 8.4 per cent. in Kerala with Assam standing at 3.6 per cent. just above the bottom.

20. The following is another table 10.2 showing the distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex in India and each State among the 9 Industrial Categories and Non-workers, 1961. This table shows the differential ration

TABLE 10.2

Distribution of 1000 persons of each sex in India and each State among the nine industrial categories and non-workers, 1961

State	Males Females	Workers									Non-workers
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
India . . .	M = 1,000	294	77	18	33	32	8	30	13	67	428
	F = 1,000	156	67	6	22	4	1	4	N	20	720
Andhra Pradesh .	M = 1,000	256	135	26	63	21	10	33	13	65	378
	F = 1,000	159	162	5	37	5	3	12	N	30	587
Assam . . .	M = 1,000	346	25	46	4	14	6	28	12	50	459
	F = 1,000	204	5	41	46	2	N	2	N	9	691
Bihar . . .	M = 1,000	297	111	23	26	17	4	19	10	49	444
	F = 1,000	148	80	5	20	2	N	3	N	13	729

TABLE 10·2—*contd.*

State	Males Females	Workers I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Non-workers X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Gujarat	M = 1,000	265	64	7	32	47	7	36	15	62	465
	F = 1,000	170	57	3	21	4	2	3	..	19	721
Jammu & Kashmir	M = 1,000	421	9	10	23	16	4	17	7	71	422
	F = 1,000	213	1	4	32	1	..	..	1	4	744
Kerala	M = 1,000	108	62	48	22	47	8	36	17	124	528
	F = 1,000	32	54	10	35	16	N	3	1	46	803
Madhya Pradesh	M = 1,000	358	84	23	32	18	9	21	9	48	398
	F = 1,000	296	90	7	20	2	2	3	N	20	560
Madras	M = 1,000	250	85	20	40	44	10	39	15	94	403
	F = 1,000	133	83	6	31	6	2	6	N	46	687
Maharashtra	M = 1,000	232	104	17	27	58	10	38	21	64	429
	F = 1,000	209	125	3	14	6	2	5	1	16	619
Mysore	M = 1,000	312	74	20	37	30	13	27	9	62	416
	F = 1,000	178	76	8	22	5	3	6	..	22	680
Orissa	M = 1,000	363	92	11	33	8	3	13	6	79	392
	F = 1,000	133	57	4	28	2	N	4	N	38	734
Punjab	M = 1,000	274	44	6	39	31	12	35	13	75	471
	F = 1,000	107	6	1	13	2	1	N	N	12	858
Rajasthan	M = 1,000	398	22	11	38	14	9	26	11	52	419
	F = 1,000	297	17	5	21	2	1	2	N	14	641
Uttar Pradesh	M = 1,000	370	53	4	34	20	5	26	10	60	418
	F = 1 000	117	35	1	14	1	N	2	N	12	818
West Bengal	M = 1,000	209	78	24	16	67	8	45	21	72	460
	F = 1,000	35	20	9	11	5	N	2	N	12	906
Union Territories and other areas	M = 1,000										
	F = 1,000										
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	M = 1,000	133	9	178	52	29	138	27	10	102	322
	F = 1,000	51	N	13	108	2	1	1	..	12	812
Delhi	M = 1,000	23	3	5	9	110	22	97	33	221	477
	F = 1,000	18	2	1	3	6	2	2	1	30	935
Himachal Pradesh	M = 1,000	476	11	12	39	8	19	10	4	52	369
	F = 1,000	519	6	1	26	1	1	N	N	4	442
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	M = 1,000	11	..	49	345	29	19	9	12	42	484
	F = 1,000	1	..	N	508	3	1	N	N	4	483
Manipur	M = 1,000	365	3	1	19	2	5	14	8	56	527
	F = 1,000	237	2	..	183	1	1	17	..	4	555
Tripura	M = 1,000	337	50	13	12	15	7	30	8	73	445
	F = 1,000	148	7	8	33	3	N	1	N	9	791
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	M = 1,000	432	82	50	15	3	8	7	4	20	379
	F = 1,000	458	89	18	6	N	3	1	..	4	421
Goa, Daman and Diu	M = 1,000	191	42	77	..	56	13	29	50	55	487
	F = 1,000	165	82	25	..	6	..	14	3	23	682
N.E.F.A.	M = 1,000	3	N	11	1	..	56	13	29	697	190
	F = 1,000	7	..	..	57	2	N	..	..	106	828
Nagaland	M = 1,000	480	6	3	N	3	2	6	4	101	395
	F = 1,000	571	7	N	N	N	N	1	N	3	418
Pondicherry	M = 1,000	98	117	40	23	83	19	5	18	98	449
	F = 1,000	22	94	2	18	11	1	7	N	36	799
Sikkim	M = 1,000	563	16	2	2	1	20	17	2	46	331
	F = 1,000	583	12	N	2	N	2	2	N	10	389

of women at work in India and the various States. From the following table it may be seen that as far as India is concerned, the proportion of females engaged in various industrial categories vary from 15.6 per cent. in cultivation to a negligible percentage in transport and communications. In the case of Assam, the percentage of women engaged in cultivation is 20.4 per cent. which is higher than the all-India figure of 15.6 per cent.; but the number of women engaged in household industry is 4.6 per cent. against the all-India figure of 2.2 per cent. The percentage in household industry is highest in Assam among the major States of India, but the percentage of males engaged in household industry is the least in India. Women engaged in household industry are those engaged in weaving by handlooms mostly for their own consumption and that is why the percentage of females is high in Assam whereas that of males is very low. The low percentage of male workers in household industry in Assam also points out to the fact that in Assam there are practically no household industry worth the name other than weaving.

21. The following is table 10.3 showing the distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex in each district among the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sectors of industry and Non-workers, 1961.

Distribution of 1000 persons of each sex in each district among the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sectors of industry and non-workers, 1961

TABLE 10.3

State/District	Total Male Female	Workers: I + II	Workers: Primary Sector III (Excluding Mining & quarrying	Workers: Secondary Sector III (Mining & quarrying) + IV + V + VI + IX (Gas & Electricity)	Workers: Tertiary Sector VII, VIII and IX (excluding Gas and) Electricity).	Non-workers X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assam	T 1,000	296	43	36	58	567
	M 1,000	371	45	26	99	439
	F 1,000	210	41	48	10	691
Goalpara	T 1,000	305	4	34	54	603
	M 1,000	431	6	20	95	448
	F 1,000	166	2	49	8	775
Kamrup	T 1,000	263	5	69	68	595
	M 1,000	373	6	24	119	478
	F 1,000	135	3	121	9	732
Darrang	T 1,000	337	60	25	48	530
	M 1,000	394	62	26	83	435
	F 1,000	270	58	24	8	640
Lakhimpur	T 1,000	275	114	32	61	518
	M 1,000	278	115	45	106	456
	F 1,000	271	114	15	7	593
Nowgong	T 1,000	288	14	29	40	629
	M 1,000	424	15	19	71	471
	F 1,000	132	13	41	4	810
Sibsagar	T 1,000	301	96	30	48	525
	M 1,000	314	95	28	84	479
	F 1,000	284	96	33	7	580
Cachar	T 1,000	201	46	30	70	653
	M 1,000	346	51	21	119	463
	F 1,000	42	40	40	16	862
Garo Hills	T 1,000	530	4	7	24	435
	M 1,000	540	6	7	43	404
	F 1,000	519	2	8	4	467
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	T 1,000	323	26	29	117	505
	M 1,000	328	29	44	174	425
	F 1,000	318	24	12	55	591
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	T 1,000	464	2	39	57	438
	M 1,000	495	3	10	93	399
	F 1,000	428	1	72	16	483
Mizo Hills	T 1,000	412	2	27	32	527
	M 1,000	417	2	11	56	5147
	F 1,000	407	2	42	8	541

22. In the above table, the working population has been grouped in the primary sector, the secondary sector and the tertiary sector and some re-allocation of trade has been done to fit in with the grouping. The primary sector has again been so divided into

two sub-sectors to differentiate between agriculture on the one hand and plantation and allied activities on the other hand. The grouping of industrial categories I and II is an advantage because the line of distinction between cultivation and agricultural labour is very thin, while plantation, forestry, orchards and allied activities have been given a separate column to differentiate it from primary agriculture. 29.6 per cent. of the total population of Assam are engaged in agriculture. It is thus seen that the percentage of women in agriculture is very high. It may also be noted that in plantation and allied activities, the proportion of women workers is almost the same as that of men, the percentages being 4.5 and 4.1 respectively. This is due to the fact that in the tea gardens of Assam both men and women work in some capacity. In the secondary sector, it is also seen that the percentage of women workers is more than that of men, but this is due almost entirely to the fact that women are engaged in handloom weaving in almost every household in the Brahmaputra Valley. There is practically no other industry on the basis of the households in Assam. In the tertiary sector, the percentage of women workers is almost one-tenth of that of men workers.

23. District-wise, the percentage of agriculturists in both sexes is highest in the Hill districts of Assam excepting in the case of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills where the percentage is more or less like that of the plains. The lowest percentage of agriculturists is in the Cachar District, the total being 20.1 per cent. while that of female workers being only 4.2 per cent. In plantation, Lakhimpur district has the highest percentage of workers in the whole of Assam while the proportion of male workers to female workers is almost the same being 11.5 and 11.4 respectively. Similar is the case with Sibsagar district. This is quite natural because in these two districts most of the tea gardens of Assam are situated. In the tertiary sector, the highest percentage is found in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, but the most outstanding feature is the high percentage of women being as much as 5.5 per cent. against 1.0 per cent. for the whole of Assam and less than 1.0 per cent. in the case of all other districts of Assam excepting Cachar and United Mikir & North Cachar Hills where the percentage is 1.6 per cent. In terms of absolute numbers, the figures of female workers in the tertiary sector in the Khasi Hills far exceed that of any other district in Assam. This is due to the fact that Khasi women are employed in Government offices in large number and many of them are also traders and other categories of workers

24. The following is table 10.4 showing the districts arranged according as they are within 100; 250 or more points either way of the State figure in the primary sector (I+II) only, 1961.

Districts arranged according as they are within 100 ; 250 or more points either way of the State figures in the Primary sector (I+II) only, 1961

TABLE 10·4

			Primary Sector		Secondary Sector	Tertiary Sector	Non-workers
			I + II	III			
More than 250 above State average	100—250 above State average		100 ± of the State average	(Excluding mining and quarrying)	III (mining & quarrying) + IV + V + IX (electricity & gas)	VII, VIII and IX (excluding electricity & gas)	X
1	2		3	4	5	6	7
..	..	Goalpara		4	34	54	603
..	..	Kamrup		5	69	68	595
..	..	Darrang		60	25	48	530
..	..	Lakhimpur		114	32	61	518
..	..	Nowgong		14	29	40	629
..	..	Sibsagar		96	30	48	525
..	..	Cachar		46	30	70	653
..	..	Garo Hills		4	7	24	438
..	..	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills		26	29	117	505
..	..	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills		2	39	57	438
..	..	Mizo Hills		2	27	32	527

25. The above table shows that in Assam, all the districts are within 100± of the State average as far as the primary sector consisting of (i) Cultivation and (ii) Agricultural labour is concerned. In other words, the percentage of workers in agriculture is more or less even throughout the State and there is practically no variation even between the hills and the plains of Assam. This also shows that the economy of Assam is still overwhelmingly agricultural.

26. Sufficient comments have already been made regarding category III which relates to plantation and allied activities in the preceding paragraphs. Suffice it to say that the figures in column 4 once again re-emphasise that tea plantations abound only in the Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Darrang and Cachar districts while orchards and betelnut plantations abound in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills. In the secondary sector including mining and quarrying, under column 5 of the above table, it is seen that the distribution of workers is more or less uniform throughout the State excepting that the proportion is very high in the Kamrup district and very low in the Garo Hills. In the tertiary sector, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills shows a very high proportion of workers, but the distribution in the rest of the districts of the State is more or less uniform excepting for a little higher proportion in the Cachar, Kamrup and Lakhimpur districts and the lowest figures in the Garo Hills.

27. The following is table 10.5 showing the districts of Assam in descending order of participation of workers per 1,000 of population in Category III and the Secondary and Tertiary Sectors and of Non-workers, 1961 :--

Districts arranged in descending order of participation of workers per 1000 of population in category III and the Secondary and Tertiary Sectors and of non-workers, 1961

TABLE 10.5

Category III (excluding mining & quarrying)		Secondary Sector III (mining & quarrying) IV, V, VI & IX (electricity & gas)		Tertiary Sector VII, VIII & IX (excluding electricity & gas)		Non-workers	
District	No. per 1,000	District	No. per 1,000	District	No. per 1,000	District	No. per 1,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Lakhimpur	350	Kamrup	328	Kamrup	205	Kamrup	182
Sibsagar	282	Goalpara	121	Cachar	141	Goalpara	138
Darrang	152	Lakhimpur	115	Lakhimpur	140	Cachar	134
Cachar	124	Sibsagar	106	Goalpara	121	Lakhimpur	120
Nowgong	33	Cachar	96	Sibsagar	106	Sibsagar	118
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	24	Nowgong	82	Darrang	91	Nowgong	113
Kamrup	19	Darrang	75	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	79	Darrang	101
Goalpara	11	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	30	Nowgong	71	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	35
Garo Hills	3	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills.	25	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills.	23	Mizo Hills	21
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills.	1	Mizo Hills	17	Mizo Hills	12	Garo Hills	20
Mizo Hills	1	Garo Hills	5	Garo Hills	11	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills.	18

28. From the above table it may be seen that as far as Category III relating to plantation and allied activities is concerned, there is a geographical continuity for tea plantation in the Upper Assam districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Darrang, because it is in these three districts that most of the tea estates of Assam are situated. The other district of Assam where there are many tea plantations is the Cachar district which is sandwiched between the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills, the Mizo Hills, Manipur and East Pakistan. The Cachar district is a distinct geographical continuity by itself. Its

peculiar feature is also that in the valley itself, the tea gardens are scattered over many hillocks or 'tilla' which dot the whole district. In the case of Upper Assam, most of the tea estates, and the best of them, are situated on the south bank of the Brahmaputra from where the Nowgong and the Sibsagar districts meet right up to the end of the Dibrugarh subdivision. Here the land between the Brahmaputra and the ranges of hills from the Mikir Hills to the Naga Hills and the Patkoi mountains is a raised flat land which is mostly above waterlogging level and is ideally suited for cultivation of tea. That is why most of the tea estates of Assam are situated in this region. Here one can see miles and miles of tea estates broken up here and there by Assamese villages and paddy fields. In the north bank of the Brahmaputra, from Sadiya down to Dhakuakhana, the land is not very suitable for tea because of the marshiness and the liability to floods from the turbulent hill streams. From North Lakhimpur town downwards to the end of the Darrang district, tea gardens can be found here and there although they are not so good as in the south bank. The scenic beauty of these tea gardens, flanked by the Brahmaputra on one side and NEFA on the other side, is exceptionally remarkable between Gohpur and the river Bhorali (near Tezpur).

29. In the remaining districts of Assam, only Nowgong has some tea plantations while in the Khasi Hills most of the plantations are orchards and fruits as well as plantations of betelnuts and betel leaves. In the other Hill districts, there are practically no plantations, the percentage being as low as 0.3 per cent. in the Garo Hills and 0.1 per cent. in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and the Mizo Hills.

30. As far as the secondary sector is concerned, Kamrup district comes at the top of the list followed by Goalpara, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. As already stated before, the household industries in Assam really relate only to handloom weaving which is the main industry under the secondary sector. In the Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts which are mostly inhabited by the Assamese people, the handloom industry should have been much higher than 11.5 and 10.6, but this is entirely due to the mistake of one of my Deputy Superintendents of Census Operations who instructed the enumerators that if the products of household industries are consumed by the household themselves they should not be shown as household industries. It must therefore be admitted that the percentages for Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts are distinctly erroneous. In the Goalpara district, the handloom industry is not so high and the percentage of 12.1 per cent. is fairly accurate for that district, but the percentages for Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts should be something about 20 per cent. In the Hill districts of Assam, the percentages of workers in the secondary sector is comparatively much low than that of the plains districts, but here the industries are more varied. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, there is plenty of mining and quarrying of coal, limestone and shingles on the one hand and there is also plenty of carpentry and allied activities on the other hand. The weaving industry is perhaps the lowest in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills because the Khasis normally do not weave any of their clothing excepting in the Bhoi areas. Construction work is also perhaps the biggest in this district as far as the local people are concerned. In the other three Hill districts of Assam, namely Garo Hills, United Mikir & North Cachar Hills and the Mizo Hills, a lot of weaving by loin loom is done by the tribal people of these areas and some of their products are remarkably distinctive. But the other industries are conspicuous by their absence in the remaining three Hill districts.

31. In the tertiary sector, Kamrup district again comes at the top of the list, followed by Cachar, Lakhimpur, Goalpara and Sibsagar districts. As far as mere services are concerned, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills has enough workers in the category but in the case of trade, commerce and transport and communications, the Hill districts are generally deficient while the plains districts are comparatively much developed. Lack of transport and communications naturally impede trade and commerce and so the above figures in the tertiary sector do not fail to emphasise the comparatively very poor communications in the Hill areas and consequently their lack of trade and commerce. In the plains of Assam, Darrang and Nowgong districts are comparatively poor in this sector,

In the Darrang district the communications are comparatively less developed than the other plains areas, although they are now fast catching up due to developmental works but mostly due to the emergency. The Nowgong district is well developed in respect of rail and road communications but it is a predominantly agricultural area and that is why the secondary sector and the tertiary sector are not very great in this district.

32. The following tables 10.6 and 10.7 have been prepared for the sole purpose of showing the participation of men and women in the three sectors of industry, namely the primary sector, the secondary sector and the tertiary sector. Table 10.6 shows the participation of men in all the districts of Assam in descending order in the primary, secondary or tertiary sectors of industry, 1961; while table 10.7 shows the participation of women in all the districts of Assam in descending order in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, 1961.

33. The proportion of male workers in table 10.6 in all the districts of Assam is the same, i.e., within 100 ± of the State's average in all the sectors.

34. As far as the participation of women, table 10.7 shows that there is a variation. It may be seen that the participation of women in cultivation and agricultural labour is 100-200 points above the State average in the Garo Hills and the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills. This is due to the fact that almost all able-bodied women in these hill districts are engaged in farming and cultivation.

35. As far as the secondary sector is concerned, the participation of women in the Brahmaputra Valley is 100-150 points above the State's average because Assamese women in these districts are largely engaged in handloom weaving. In respect of the tertiary sector, it is seen that the participation of women of the Khasi & Jaintia Hills in trade and commerce and other services is very high being more than 250 points above the State average. Khasi women are noted for their enterprise in trade and commerce and many are also engaged as assistants in the various Government offices of Shillong as well as in the teaching and nursing profession.

36. As far as the rest of the districts of Assam is concerned, the participation of women is more or less the same as that of the State average.

A —PARTICIPATION OF MEN.

Districts in descending order of men's participation in the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary sectors of industry, 1961

TABLE 10·6

Primary Sector (I+II) only			Secondary Sector		
More than 250 points above State average 1	100-250 points above State average 2	100 ± of State average 3	More than 250 points above State average 4	100-250 points above State average 5	100 ± of State average 6
NIL	NIL	Garo Hills United Mikir & North Cachar Hills Goalpara Nowgong Mizo Hills Darrang Kamrup Cachar United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Sibsagar Lakhimpur	NIL	NIL	Lakhimpur United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Sibsagar Darrang Kamrup Cachar Goalpara Nowgong Mizo Hills United Mikir & North Cachar Hills Garo Hills

Tertiary Sector			Non-workers		
More than 250 points above State average 7	100-250 points above State average 8	100 ± of State average 9	More than 250 points above State average 10	100-250 points above State average 11	100 ± of State average 12
NIL	NIL	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Kamrup Cachar Lakhimpur Goalpara United Mikir & North Cachar Hills Sibsagar Darrang Nowgong Mizo Hills Garo Hills	NIL	NIL	Mizo Hills Sibsagar Kamrup Nowgong Cachar Lakhimpur Goalpara Darrang United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Garo Hills United Mikir & North Cachar Hills

B.—PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN.

Districts in descending order of women's participation in the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary sectors of industry, 1961

TABLE 10·7

Primary Sector (I + II) only			Secondary Sector		
More than 250 points above State average 1	100-250 points above State average 2	100 ± of State average 3	More than 250 points above State average 4	100-250 points above State average 5	100 ± of State average 6
	Garo Hills (519)	Mizo Hills (407)		Kamrup (121)	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills (72).
	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills (428).	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (318)			Goalpara (49)
		Sibsagar (284)			Mizo Hills (42)
		Lakhimpur (271)	NIL		Nowgong (41)
		Darrang (270)			Cachar (40)
		Goalpara (166)			Sibsagar (33)
		Kamrup (135)			Darrang (24)
		Nowgong (132)			Lakhimpur (15)
		Cachar (42)			United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (12)
					Garo Hills (8)

Tertiary Sector			Non-workers		
More than 250 points above State average 7	100-250 points above State average 8	100± of State average 9	More than 250 points above State average 10	100-250 points above State average 11	100± of State average 12
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (55)		Cachar (16)			Cachar
		United Mikir & North Cachar Hills (16)			Nowgong
					Goalpara
		Kamrup (9)			Kamrup
	NIL	Goalpara (8)	NIL	NIL	Darrang
		Darrang (8)			Lakhimpur
		Mizo Hills (8)			United Khasi-Jaintia Hills
		Lakhimpur (7)			Sibsagar
		Sibsagar (7)			Mizo Hills
		Nowgong (4)			United Mikir & North Cachar Hills
		Garo Hills (4)			Garo Hills

Note.—Number of female workers per 1,000 of female population has been mentioned within brackets against each district.

37. The following is table 10.8 showing girls and women 'Not At Work' classified by broad age-groups and type of activity, 1961 (each age-group being expressed as per 1000 of all age-groups taken together).

38. This table shows that among the female non-workers 64 per cent. belong to the age-group 0-14, i.e., the age when they are either babies or school-going girls. 21 per cent. of female non-workers belong to the age-group 15-34 and 10.4 per cent. belong to the age-group 35-59. In this broad age-group, some may be students in high schools or colleges, while the majority must surely belong to the category of housewives. In the age-group 60+ the percentage of non-working females comes to only 4.5 and this shows that there are few women alive above this age-group.

39. From col. 5 it may be seen that among full-time students, the biggest number

is in the age-group 0-14 which constitutes 86.3 per cent. of the total female students. Those in the age-group 15-34 are either college students or those reading in high schools. There are, however, a few female students even in the age-group 35-59 and this does not fail to show that now there is great effort among women for education.

Girls and women not at work classified by broad age-groups and type of activity, 1961
(each age-group being expressed as number per 1000 of all age-groups taken together)

TABLE 10·8

State	Total Rural Urban	Age-group	Total Non-working females	Full-time students	House-wives	Dependents	Retired persons etc	Beggars	Inmates	Persons seeking employment for the first time	Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work
		Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000	Total 1,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Assam	T	0—14	640	863	128	875	334	103	182	162	149
		15—34	210	133	554	42	52	236	491	619	545
		35—59	104	4	264	36	205	396	185	172	213
		60+	45		53	46	408	264	137	47	3
		A.N.S.	1	N	1	1	1	1	1	N	N
	R	0—14	652	886	139	878	350	95	237	169	154
		15—34	199	111	541	41	1	237	308	604	533
		35—59	102	3	264	34	197	402	167	178	217
		60+	46	.	55	46	401	265	286	49	96
		A.N.S.	1	N	1	1	1	1	2	N	N
	U	0—14	509	768	36	821	1	177	136	11	..
		15—34	326	225	662	47	67	228	644	947	889
		35—59	126	6	260	71	387	337	207	38	111
		60+	38	..	42	60	545	256	13	..	..
		A.N.S.	1	1	N	1	..	2	..	4	..

N.B.—N means 'Negligible'.

40. It is now necessary to compute the figures of those who are in the working force, those who should be included in the working force, those who are not in the working force but are in the working force age groups, and those who are in the working force but, according to some opinion, should not be in it. Working force means the population at work, and such population should normally be between the age of 15 and 60.

41. The following are tables 10.9 and 10.10 which have specially been devised to bring out these figures.

42. In table 10.9, the total working population of Assam has been shown against category I under columns 3 and 8 according to figures collected from Individual Slips. These total figures show workers in all age groups including children under 15.

43. The total number of people who have never been employed or who have lost their employment has been shown in category II under columns 3 and 8. The total number of people who are in the working force age groups but who do not work because they are rentiers, retired persons or working in unproductive household works etc. has been shown against category III. On the other hand, children in the age group 0-14 who are actually working but should not have been working is given in category IV under column 1.

44. The actual number of people in Assam who should be in the working force can therefore be obtained by adding I and II and subtracting category IV from this table.

Population (I) which is in the working force (II) which is not in the working force but should be included in it (III) which is not available for the working force but is in the working force age-groups and (IV) which is in the working force, but according to some opinion should not be in it, classified by sex and 4 broad age-groups, 1961

TABLE 10·9

Categories Total population of the State	Total Rural Urban	Males					Females				
		Total	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Total	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
I. Total population in the working force	T	3,421,398	211,975	1,721,561	1,271,532	216,330	1,713,357	167,500	1,014,850	483,615	47,392
	R	3,120,109	205,310	1,548,370	1,160,780	205,649	1,676,985	165,300	994,132	471,344	46,209
	U	301,289	6,665	173,191	110,752	10,681	36,372	2,200	20,718	12,271	1,183
II. Total population which is not in the working force, but should be included in it.	T	29,834	..	22,997	5,625	1,212	7,828	..	5,502	1,736	590
	R	24,964	..	18,962	4,858	1,144	7,453	..	5,150	1,713	590
	U	4,870	..	4,035	767	68	375	..	352	23	..
III. Total population which is not available for the working force but is in the working force age-groups	T	286,278	..	247,896	38,382	..	246,950	..	156,451	90,499	..
	R	232,459	..	199,733	32,726	..	210,494	..	129,825	80,669	..
	U	53,819	..	48,163	5,656	..	36,456	..	26,626	9,830	..
IV. Total population which is in the working force, but should not be in it which is 0-14	T	211,975	211,975	..	..	..	167,500	167,500	..	..	..
	R	205,310	205,310	..	..	..	165,300	165,300	..	..	..
	U	6,665	6,665	..	..	..	2,200	2,200	..	..	..
V. Sum of I+II	T	3,451,232	211,975	1,744,558	1,277,157	217,542	1,721,185	167,500	1,020,352	485,351	47,982
	R	3,145,073	205,310	1,567,332	1,165,638	206,793	1,684,438	165,300	999,282	473,057	46,799
	U	306,159	6,665	177,226	111,519	10,749	36,747	2,200	21,070	12,294	1,183
VI. Sum of I+II-IV	T	3,239,257	..	1,744,558	1,277,157	217,542	1,553,685	..	1,020,352	485,351	47,982
	R	2,939,763	..	1,567,332	1,165,638	206,793	1,519,138	..	999,282	473,057	46,799
	U	299,494	..	177,226	111,519	10,749	34,547	..	21,070	12,294	1,183

Persons (1) available for the working force, (2) not available for the working force by sex and broad age-groups expressed as proportion of 1,000 of total population in each age-group

TABLE 10·10

Description		Total	Males				Females			
			0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+
1 Total population of the State	T	1,000	1,000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	R	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	U	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000
2 Population available for the Working Force	T	436	40	456	579	427	31	267	220	94
	R	441	41	451	573	433	31	288	232	98
	U	376	19	499	649	341	6	59	72	38
3 Population not available for the Working Force	T	45		65	17			41	41	.
	R	40		58	16			37	40	.
	U	99		136	33			75	57	.
4 Working population in age group 0-14 which should be excluded from the Labour Force	T	32	40		.		31			..
	R	34	41		.		33			..
	U	10	19				6			..

45. From table 10.9 above, it may be seen that the total population in the working force in Assam is very big being as much as 5,134,755 or almost half of the total population of Assam. On the contrary, the total number of people who are apparently unemployed according to common parlance is only 37,662. The figure of unemployment in Assam appears to be very low because of the definition of work according to the 1961 Census according to which, if a person is partially employed for more than one hour a day in a working season is considered as a worker. This is the main reason why the figures of workers appear to be very high while the figures of unemployment appear to be very low. According to this definition, a private tutor is a worker although he has not been gainfully employed to eke out a living for himself and his family.

46. From table 10.10, it may be seen that 4.0 per cent. of the total male and 3.1 per cent. of the total female population in the age group 0-14 are workers and in terms of absolute number, the total number of workers in this age group in Assam is 379,475. This shows that in Assam a big number of children under 15 have had to work although they should really be in school. One of the reasons why population growth in India is very great now must be due to the fact that children also work and thus help to augment the family income. This encourages parents to have as much children as they can because they think that each such child can well earn for itself after a certain age without being a burden on the parents. It has been found in Great Britain that from the time that compulsory school-going has been made for children in the age group 0-14, parents automatically limited the number of their children because they found that non-earning children were getting to be a great burden on their income

47. From table 10.9, it may also be seen that the biggest number of workers are in the age group 15-34 followed by those in the age group 35-59. However, it may be seen that the number of workers of age 60+ is also fairly big being as much as 263,722. The above figures do not fail to show that in Assam, as well as in India, there is too much population in the working force. This has naturally led to under-employment among many people because the available work has to be spaced out to employ as much people as possible. Moreover, the number of employment opportunities is also limited. Household industries may solve the problem of unemployment but due to lack of proper techniques, the products of such industry cannot compete with mill-made products.

48. The following tables showing the distribution of the total population in the

working force per 1,000 of the total population for each sex and four age groups in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of industries, 1961, have been prepared for Assam. Table 10.11 shows the above distribution for all ages in each sex and category, the Total, Rural and Urban separately is equal to 1,000; and table 10.12 shows the total population in any particular age group for all categories by Total, Rural and Urban separately equal to 1,000. In tables 10.11 and 10.12, mining and quarrying have not been separated from the primary sector because it is not possible to do so according to the age groups required by these tables. Similarly, gas and electricity have not been separated from category IX.

Distribution of the total population in the working force per 1,000 of total population for each sex and four age-groups in the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sectors of Industries, 1961

All ages in each sex and Category—Total, Rural, Urban separately—1,000

TABLE 10.11

Sectors	Total Rural Urban	Males						Females					
		Total	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Age not stated	Total	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Age not stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Total Population	T	1,000	427	317	209	46	1	1 000	472	328	159	40	1
	R	1,000	436	308	209	47	N	1,000	473	327	160	40	N
	U	1,000	336	416	216	32	N	1 000	465	350	147	38	N
Total Population in the Working Force	T	1,000	62	503	371	63	1	1 000	95	592	282	28	N
	R	1,000	66	496	372	65	1	1,000	99	593	280	28	N
	U	1,000	22	575	368	35	N	1,000	60	569	337	33	1
A. Primary Sector (I+II+III)	T	1,000	72	485	372	70	1	1,000	100	594	279	27	N
	R	1,000	72	484	372	71	1	1,000	100	594	278	27	1
	U	1,000	38	470	399	93	N	1 000	54	507	376	62	1
Category I	T	1 000	72	480	371	76	1	1 000	108	590	274	28	N
	R	1 000	72	480	371	76	1	1,000	108	590	274	28	N
	U	1 000	41	458	394	106	1	1,000	49	487	400	64	1
Category II	T	1,000	115	551	298	36	N	1,000	129	566	270	34	1
	R	1,000	115	551	298	35	1	1,000	129	566	271	34	N
	U	1,000	71	566	317	46	N	1,000	214	512	238	36	N
Category III	T	1,000	47	485	421	46	1	1,000	54	621	304	21	N
	R	1,000	48	486	421	45	—	1,000	54	620	304	21	1
	U	1,000	24	472	432	72	—	1,000	49	534	355	62	N
B. Secondary Sector (IV+V+VI)	T	1,000	32	553	369	46	N	1,000	91	586	295	27	1
	R	1,000	31	555	364	50	N	1,000	94	587	291	27	1
	U	1,000	36	548	379	37	N	1,000	58	576	342	23	1
Category IV	T	1,000	52	486	373	88	1	1,000	92	585	296	27	N
	R	1,000	60	471	373	96	N	1,000	93	586	293	27	1
	U	1,000	24	543	373	59	1	1,000	64	567	345	24	N
Category V	T	1,000	35	553	373	39	N	1,000	85	597	289	28	1
	R	1,000	28	558	370	44	N	1,000	118	599	248	35	N
	U	1,000	42	548	377	32	1	1,000	47	594	338	21	N
Category VI	T	1,000	12	600	357	31	N	1,000	119	685	181	15	N
	R	1,000	14	611	346	29	N	1,000	124	683	178	15	N
	U	1,000	7	546	408	38	1	1,000	15	731	254	—	—
C. Tertiary Sector (VII+VIII+IX)	T	1,000	29	565	367	38	1	1,000	82	568	309	40	1
	R	1,000	35	552	370	42	1	1,000	89	566	303	41	1
	U	1,000	18	587	363	32	N	1,000	64	571	326	39	N
Category VII	T	1,000	23	507	412	57	1	1,000	36	431	448	85	N
	R	1,000	28	497	412	62	1	1,000	45	444	427	84	N
	U	1,000	15	524	412	49	N	1,000	13	395	506	86	N
Category VIII	T	1,000	7	584	393	16	N	1,000	10	693	290	6	1
	R	1,000	13	568	395	24	N	1,000	33	678	289	—	—
	U	1,000	3	594	392	11	N	1,000	3	698	291	7	1
Category IX	T	1,000	35	589	341	34	1	1,000	93	594	281	32	N
	R	1,000	40	574	348	37	1	1,000	98	592	277	32	1
	U	1 000	25	619	325	30	1	1 000	78	601	289	31	1

N means Negligible

Total population of any particular age group for all categories by Total, Rural and Urban separately—1,000

TABLE 10·12

Sectors	Total Rural Urban	Males						Females					
		Total	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Age not stated	Total	0—14	15—34	35—59	60+	Age not stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Total Population	T	1 000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1,000
	R	1,000	1 000	1,000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	U	1,000	1,000	1 000	1,000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1 000	1,000
Total Population in Working Force	T	541	78	858	960	749	404	309	64	558	548	215	183
	R	540	81	870	962	758	404	324	66	588	569	224	188
	U	554	36	766	940	615	419	99	13	161	227	85	109
Primary Sector	T	417	70	638	742	641	320	251	53	454	439	175	118
	R	454	75	716	810	677	338	26[illegible]	56	488	467	183	126
	U	25	3	29	47	74	15	[illegible]	1	10	17	11	5
Category I	T	346	58	524	614	576	288	20[illegible]	47	367	352	146	101
	R	377	62	588	671	609	303	21[illegible]	50	395	374	155	108
	U	16	2	18	30	55	15	1	1	5	10	6	5
Category II	T	25	7	43	36	19	15	6	1	9	9	4	3
	R	27	7	49	39	20	17	6	1	10	10	5	3
	U	2	N	3	3	3	Nil	N	N	1	N	N	Nil
Category III	T	46	5	71	93	46	17	41	5	7	78	22	14
	R	50	6	79	100	48	18	44	5	83	81	23	15
	U	7	1	8	14	16	N1	3	N	4	7	5	Nil
Secondary Sector	T	25	2	43	44	25	13	48	9	86	89	32	49
	R	18	1	32	31	19	8	48	10	86	87	33	47
	U	100	10	132	175	115	102	19	6	80	114	29	68
Category IV	T	5	1	7	8	9	4	46	9	81	85	30	47
	R	4	N	6	7	8	3	47	9	83	85	32	47
	U	11	1	1[illegible]	19	20	9	33	5	51	79	21	36
Category V	T	14	1	25	26	12	8	3	N	4	4	2	2
	R	9	1	15	15	8	5	1	1	2	2	1	N
	U	77	9	101	133	80	68	16	1	26	35	8	32
Category VI	T	6	N	11	10	4	1	N	N	1	N	N	Nil
	R	5	N	11	9	3	N	N	N	1	N	N	Nil
	U	12	N	16	23	15	15	N	N	N	N	Nil	Nil
Tertiary Sector	T	99	6	177	174	83	71	10	2	18	20	11	16
	R	68	5	122	121	62	58	8	2	14	15	8	15
	U	429	23	605	718	426	302	43	6	71	96	45	36
Category VII	T	28	1	44	55	34	15	3	N	2	5	4	1
	R	19	1	30	37	25	12	1	N	2	4	3	1
	U	123	5	154	233	187	72	7	N	8	25	16	Nil
Category VIII	T	12	N	22	22	4	3	N	N	N	N	N	N
	R	5	N	10	10	3	2	N	N	N	N	Nil	Nil
	U	81	1	116	147	28	15	2	N	4	4	1	4
Category IX	T	59	5	111	97	45	53	8	2	16	15	7	15
	R	44	4	82	74	34	44	7	2	12	11	5	14
	U	225	17	335	338	211	215	34	6	59	67	28	32

N means Negligible

49. From table 10 11 above, it may be seen that in categories I and II, that is cultivation and agricultural labour, the proportion of workers of both sexes in the age group 0-14 is very high, being 7.2 per cent. and 11.5 per cent. respectively for males and 10.8 per cent. and 12.9 per cent. respectively for females. In other words, females have higher proportion of workers in this sector within this age group. In the secondary sector also, it is seen that within this age group, the number of male workers is 3.2 per cent. while that of female is 9.1 per cent. Presumably, boys within this age group may be largely in schools. Even in the tertiary sector, the number of workers among boys in this age group is only 2.9 per cent. whereas that of females is 8 2 per cent.

50. In the next age group 15-34, the participation of women in the primary sector is also higher than that of males, the percentage for males being 48.5 while that for females is 59.4. In the next age groups, 35-59 and 60+, female participation in all kind of works declines rather sharply in all the sectors.

51. From table 10.12, it may be seen that out of every 1,000 of the total population, male workers in the age group 0-14

number only 78; and out of this again as much as 70 are engaged in the primary sector, the remaining 8 persons being engaged in the remaining categories. As far as females within this age group are concerned, out of every 1,000 of the total population, 64 are workers out of whom as many as 53 are engaged in the primary sector, 9 in the secondary sector and 2 are engaged in the tertiary sector. In the age group 15-34, the number of male workers per 1,000 of the total population is 858 whereas that of female is 558; and out of these, 638 males and 454 females are engaged in the primary sector. These figures show that although in terms of percentage of their own sex, female participation in the primary and secondary sectors appear to be higher than that of male, the actual number of female workers are much less than that of males. From both the tables it may also be seen that the working force in the age groups, 0-14 and 15-34 is more than enough to replenish the old workers.

52. We may now discuss some of the broad features of the working force in Assam in 1961 and explain their implications. The following tables furnish the number of earners, self-supporting persons, earning dependents and workers in each of the 1961 industrial categories of workers for 1951 and 1961 and the distribution of all these categories of workers per 1,000 total working population. Since it is not possible to estimate the number of workers in Household Industry in 1951, both categories IV and V have been grouped together.

Number of earners, self-supporting persons, earning dependents and workers in each of the 1961 industrial categories of workers for 1951 and 1961 for the State of Assam

A. Actual Numbers

TABLE 10.13

Total Workers		Number of earners, self-supporting persons, earning dependents and workers in each of the 1961 industrial categories																	
		I		II		III		IV & V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
								1961									
3,423,454	1,713,957	2,189,874	1,133,626	158,179	29,237	291,163	226,937	119,619	264,368	38,212	1,626	174,845	9,862	74,637	975	376,925	47,326
								1951									
2,521,432	1,217,303	1,604,631	648,039	78,656	45,856	334,492	240,546	106,185	203,320	9,223	401	127,946	23,203	43,187	2,584	217,112	53,354

B. Distribution of above per 1,000 of total workers

TABLE 10.14

Year	Total workers	Earners, self-supporting persons, earning dependents and workers in each of the 1961 industrial categories							
	M—1,000 F—1,000	I	II	III	IV & V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1961 . .	M—1,000	640	46	85	35	11	51	22	110
	F—1,000	661	17	132	154	1	6	1	28
1951 . .	M—1,000	636	31	133	42	4	51	17	86
	F—1,000	532	38	198	167	N	19	2	44

N means negligible

53. According to Table 10.13, there are 3,423,454 male workers and 1,713,957 female workers in the State of Assam in 1961. The female workers are about half of the male

workers. These figures show an absolute increase of 902,022 male workers and 496,654 female workers in 1961 over 1951. In other words, the increase recorded for the period in the case of male workers is 35.77 per cent. and in the case of females, the number of workers increased by 40.80 per cent. This 40.80 per cent. increase in the number of female workers has the effect of increasing the sex-ratio of female workers from 483 per thousand of male workers in 1951 to 501 in 1961.

54. The increase in the number of workers during the period is shared, in varying degrees, by all the industrial categories except category III in the case of male and by categories I, IV and V and VI in case of females. While the number of male workers has decreased only in category III by 43,329, the number of female workers declined in categories II, III, VII, VIII and IX by 16,619 ; 13,609 ; 13,341 ; 1 609 and 6,028 respectively.

55. The increase in the number of workers in agriculture as compared to non-agriculture is more marked in the case of female than male workers. Again, male workers show an upward trend of participation in both the agricultural categories I and II, but female workers increased only in category I and declined in category II. Manufacturing including Household Industry accounts for the increase of 13,434 male workers and 61,048 female workers. The increase in workers in Household Industry cannot be worked out separately since it is not possible to estimate them from the 1951 Census. It is, however, felt that substantial portion of the increase is attributable to that in the Household Industry.

56. Table 10.14 corroborates the findings of Table 10.13. This leads us to the conclusion that each increase or decline in the number of workers, male and female in any category, is rightly followed by the proportion of workers in that category to the total working population. In the case of manufacturing including Household Industry the proportion has declined although some increase is recorded in the number of workers in 1961.

PART B

Population in Agriculture and Primary Sector of Industry

57. For the purpose of studying the population in agriculture, it would be appropriate to confine the discussion to the first two categories of workers, namely cultivators and agricultural labourers. These two categories are inter-related in an organic way and hence should be studied together. Another reason is that because of the inclusion of a new industrial category of Household Industry for the first time in the Indian Census in 1961, there must have been considerable shift of workers engaged in occupations ancillary to agriculture, such as livestock, forestry etc to Household Industry.

58. The proportion of workers in these two categories to 1,000 of total population can be had from the folowing two tables.

Proportion of persons working as cultivators and as agricultural labourers to 1,000 of total population 1951 and 1961

(i) Working as Cultivators 1951—1961

TABLE 10.15

Sl No	State/District	1961	1951
1	2	3	4
	ASSAM	280	255
1	Goalpara	281	290
2	Kamrup	249	257
3	Darrang	320	288
4	Lakhimpur	268	211
5	Nowgong	269	253
6	Sibsagar	292	244
7	Cachar	178	153
8	Garo Hills	519	388
9	United Khasi Jaiantia Hills	293	291
10	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	456	415
11	Mizo Hills	412	437

Proportion of persons working as cultivators and as agricultural labourers to 1,000 of total population 1951 & 1961

(ii) Working as Agricultural labourer

TABLE 10.16

Sl. No.	State/District	1961	1951
1	2	3	4
	ASSAM	16	14
1	Goalpara	25	21
2	Kamrup	14	10
3	Darrang	16	13
4	Lakhimpur	7	14
5	Nowgong	19	21
6	Sibsagar	9	7
7	Cachar	24	11
8	Garo Hills	11	8
9	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	30	51
10	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills.	8	1
11	Mizo Hills	N	N

N means Negligible

59. Table 10.15 indicates that out of every 1,000 population of Assam, 280 are working as cultivators in 1961 against 255 in 1951. In other words, 28.0 per cent. of the total population of Assam is engaged in cultivation according to the 1961 Census against 25.5 per cent. in 1951. This means that out of every 1,000 population, there are 25 more persons engaged in cultivation in 1961 as compared to 1951. In the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup and Mizo Hills, the position is however just the reverse of this because less persons are working as cultivators than in 1951. Garo Hills has shown a highly abnormal proportion with 519 persons per 1,000 of total population engaged in cultivation against 388 in 1951. This shows that out of every 1,000 population, there are 131 more cultivators in 1961. The United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district has recorded the lowest increase with only 2 more persons as compared to 1951. The other districts also have shown some rise ranging from 57 more persons per 1,000 of total population in Lakhimpur, 48 in Sibsagar, 41 in United Mikir and North Cachar Hills, 32 in Darrang, 25 in Cachar to 16 in Nowgong.

60. In the case of agricultural labourers, it may be seen from Table 10.16 that there are 16 persons working as agricultural labourer per 1,000 population of the State and 2 more persons are engaged in this category than in 1951. Taking the figures of categories I and II together, the proportion of total agricultural population comes to 296 per 1,000 of total population as against 269 in 1951. This means that out of every 1,000 population there are 27 more persons engaged in agriculture in 1961 as compared to 1951. The proportion has declined in the districts of Lakhimpur, Nowgong and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, the later with sharp decline while an enormous increase is recorded in the district of Cachar.

61. From the above observations it is seen that the increase or decrease of the proportion of cultivators is not accompanied by any fall or rise of the proportion of agricultural labourers. In some of the districts, the proportion in both the categories has increased, while in some others, there is either decline or rise with practically no relation between them

62. The reasons for these changes are different for different districts. All the factors are not common even for any two districts even though they are contiguous, enjoying similar soil and climatic conditions.

63. In this section of the Chapter on Workers, it is rewarding to examine Union Table B-IV and to bring out total number of workers in the Primary Sector of Industry, *i.e.*, in Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities. This section excludes an examination of workers in cultivation and agricultural labour.

64. Table 10.17 below has been specially prepared for this purpose.

Number of workers and their distribution per 10,000 of all workers in the Indian Industrial classification by Division, Major Group and Minor Group, 1961

TABLE 10.17

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of Workers in the Primary Sector	Division, Major Group and Minor Group of I. S. I. C.		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all Workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Assam	Division	0	285,026	226,221	9,789	9,968
	Major Group	00	5,452	3,706	187	163
	Minor Group	005	247	102	8	4
	Minor Group	006	2,561	1,927	88	85
	Minor Group	007	222	16	8	1

TABLE 10.17 —*contd*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of Workers in the Primary Sector	Division, Major Group and Minor Group of I S I C		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all Workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
	Minor Group	009	2,422	1,661	83	73
	Major Group	01	253,484	213,670	8,706	9,415
	Minor Group	010	253,374	211,302	8,702	9,311
	Minor Group	013	11	1,204	N	53
	Minor Group	015	99	1,164	4	51
	Major Group	02	1,793	198	62	9
	Minor Group	020	547	70	19	3
	Minor Group	021	542	28	19	1
	Minor Group	022	130	3	4	N
	Minor Group	023	44	26	2	1
	Minor Group	024	7	—	N	N
	Minor Group	025	6	55	N	3
	Minor Group	026	516	16	18	1
	Major Group	03	11,582	4,294	398	189
	Minor Group	031	11,582	4,294	398	189
	Major Group	04	12,715	4,353	436	192
	Minor Group	040	11,550	3,533	397	156
	Minor Group	041	4	—	N	—
	Minor Group	042	183	369	6	16
	Minor Group	043	805	284	28	12
	Minor Group	044	123	104	4	5
	Minor Group	045	13	61	N	3
	Minor Group	046	22	—	1	—
	Minor Group	047	1	1	N	N
	Minor Group	048	14	1	N	N
	Division	1	6,137	716	211	32
	Major Group	10	6,137	716	211	32
	Minor Group	100	4,477	262	154	12
	Minor Group	104	1	—	N	—
	Minor Group	106	5	—	N	—
	Minor Group	107	1,636	440	57	19
	Minor Group	108	1	—	N	—
	Minor Group	109	17	14	N	1
Darrang	Division	0	43,127	34,630	9,944	9,977
	Major Group	00	25	—	6	—
	Minor Group	007	14	—	3	—
	Minor Group	009	11	—	3	—
	Major Group	01	37,347	34,203	8,611	9,854
	Minor Group	010	37,346	34,203	8,611	9,854
	Minor Group	015	1	—	N	—
	Major Group	02	392	2	90	N
	Minor Group	020	161	1	37	N
	Minor Group	021	150	1	35	N
	Minor Group	022	79	—	18	N
	Minor Group	023	2	—	N	—
	Major Group	03	1,688	87	389	25
	Minor Group	031	1,688	87	389	25
	Major Group	04	3,675	338	848	98
	Minor Group	040	3,093	290	713	84
	Minor Group	042	30	10	7	3
	Minor Group	043	501	37	116	11
	Minor Group	044	51	1	12	N
	Division	1	243	79	56	23
	Major Group	10	243	79	56	23
	Minor Group	100	1	—	N	—
	Minor Group	107	242	79	56	23
Lakhimpur	Division	0	97,940	80,862	9,922	10,000
	Major Group	00	140	55	14	7
	Minor Group	005	32	55	3	7
	Minor Group	007	16	—	2	—

TABLE 10·17—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of Workers in the Primary Sector	Division, Major Group and Minor Group of I.S.I.C.		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all Workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
	Minor Group	009	92	—	9	—
	Major Group	01	95,437	76,393	9,668	9,447
	Minor Group	010	95,436	74,193	9,668	9,175
	Minor Group	013	—	1,200	—	148
	Minor Group	015	1	1,000	N	124
	Major Group	02	156	69	16	9
	Minor Group	020	59	68	6	9
	Minor Group	021	77	1	8	N
	Minor Group	022	8	—	1	—
	Minor Group	023	1	—	N	—
	Minor Group	026	11	—	1	—
	Major Group	03	1,303	3,003	132	371
	Minor Group	031	1,303	3,003	132	371
	Major Group	04	904	1,342	92	166
	Minor Group	040	867	1,203	88	149
	Minor Group	042	1	139	N	17
	Minor Group	043	14	—	2	—
	Minor Group	046	22	—	2	—
	Division	1	772	1	78	N
	Major Group	10	772	1	78	N
	Minor Group	100	711	—	72	—
	Minor Group	106	1	—	N	—
	Minor Group	107	60	1	6	N
Nowgong	Division	0	9,893	7,199	9,998	9,658
	Major Group	00	82	—	83	—
	Minor Group	005	10	—	10	—
	Minor Group	007	59	—	60	—
	Minor Group	009	13	—	13	—
	Major Group	01	7,218	7,105	7,294	9,532
	Minor Group	010	7,206	7,105	7,282	9,532
	Minor Group	013	2	—	2	—
	Minor Group	015	10	—	10	—
	Major Group	02	158	5	160	7
	Minor Group	020	66	—	67	—
	Minor Group	021	12	—	12	—
	Minor Group	022	3	—	3	—
	Minor Group	023	29	3	29	4
	Minor Group	026	48	2	49	3
	Major Group	03	669	4	676	5
	Minor Group	031	669	4	676	5
	Major Group	04	1,766	85	1,785	114
	Minor Group	040	1,684	63	1,702	85
	Minor Group	042	—	4	—	5
	Minor Group	043	82	10	83	14
	Minor Group	045	—	7	—	9
	Minor Group	048	—	1	—	1
	Division	1	2	255	2	342
	Major Group	10	2	255	2	342
	Minor Group	100	1	3	1	4
	Minor Group	106	1	..	1	..
	Minor Group	107	—	252	—	338
Sibsagar	Division	0	77,040	67,126	9,916	9,991
	Major Group	00	52	2	7	N
	Minor Group	005	8	—	1	—
	Minor Group	006	12	—	2	—
	Minor Group	007	12	—	2	—
	Minor Group	009	20	2	2	N
	Major Group	01	74,768	67,088	9,623	9,985
	Minor Group	010	74,764	67,088	9,623	9,985
	Minor Group	015	4	—	N	—

TABLE 10.17—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of Workers in the Primary Sector	Division, Major Group and Minor Group of I. S. I. C.		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all Workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
	Major Group	02	356	1	46	N
	Minor Group	020	41	1	5	N
	Minor Group	021	30	—	4	—
	Minor Group	022	4	—	1	—
	Minor Group	023	4	—	1	—
	Minor Group	026	277	—	35	—
	Major Group	03	500	5	64	1
	Minor Group	031	500	5	64	1
	Major Group	04	1,364	30	176	5
	Minor Group	040	1,289	30	166	5
	Minor Group	043	75	—	10	—
	Division	1	655	62	84	9
	Major Group	10	655	62	84	9
	Minor Group	100	150	1	19	N
	Minor Group	106	1	—	N	—
	Minor Group	107	504	61	65	9
Cachar	Division	0	36,994	26,409	9,989	9,997
	Major Group	00	254	114	69	43
	Minor Group	005	7	3	2	1
	Minor Group	006	43	—	12	—
	Minor Group	009	204	111	55	42
	Major Group	01	34,363	26,255	9,278	9,939
	Minor Group	010	34,339	26,199	9,272	9,918
	Minor Group	015	24	56	6	21
	Major Group	02	47	17	13	7
	Minor Group	021	22	1	6	1
	Minor Group	022	2	—	1	—
	Minor Group	024	2	-	N	—
	Minor Group	025	—	16	—	6
	Minor Group	026	21	—	6	—
	Major Group	03	2,146	1	579	N
	Minor Group	031	2,146	1	579	N
	Major Group	04	184	22	50	8
	Minor Group	040	168	16	46	6
	Minor Group	043	16	5	4	2
	Minor Group	047	—	1	—	N
	Division	1	40	8	11	3
	Major Group	10	40	8	11	3
	Minor Group	106	2	—	1	—
	Minor Group	107	38	8	10	3
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	Division	0	6,858	5,260	6,165	9,532
	Major Group	00	4,475	3,478	4,023	6,303
	Minor Group	005	51	18	46	33
	Minor Group	006	2,497	1,927	2,245	3,492
	Minor Group	007	4	—	3	—
	Minor Group	009	1,923	1,533	1,729	2,778
	Major Group	01	24	122	22	[illegible]
	Minor Group	010	24	26	22	47
	Minor Group	013	—	4	—	7
	Minor Group	015	—	92	—	167
	Major Group	02	55	58	49	105
	Minor Group	021	52	9	46	16
	Minor Group	022	1	—	1	—
	Minor Group	023	—	11	—	20
	Minor Group	025	—	38	—	69
	Minor Group	026	2	—	2	—
	Major Group	03	48	—	43	—
	Minor Group	031	48	—	43	—
	Major Group	04	2,256	1,602	2,028	2,303
	Minor Group	040	2,109	1,257	1,896	2,278

TABLE 10.17--*concld.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of Workers in the Primary Sector	Division, Major Group and Minor Group of I. S I. C.	Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all Workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Minor Group 041 . . .	2	—	2	—
	Minor Group 042 . . .	108	173	97	314
	Minor Group 043 . . .	25	30	22	54
	Minor Group 044 . . .	1	99	1	179
	Minor Group 045 . . .	—	43	—	78
	Minor Group 048 . . .	11	—	10	—
	Division 1 . . .	4,266	258	3,835	468
	Major Group 10 . . .	4,266	258	3,835	468
	Minor Group 100 . . .	3,610	255	3,245	462
	Minor Group 107 . . .	656	3	590	6

Note.—' N ' means ' negligible '.

N.B.—Codes given in column 2 are explained below :—

Division	0	Agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting.
Major Group	00	Field Produce and Plantation Crops.
Minor Group	005	Production of other crops (including vegetables) not covered above.
Minor Group	006	Production of fruits and nuts in plantations, vines and orchards.
Minor Group	007	Production of wood, bamboo, cane reeds, thatching grass, etc.
Minor Group	009	Production of other agricultural produce (including fruits and nuts not covered by code 006 an flowers) not covered above.
Major Group	01	Plantation crops.
Minor Group	010	Production of tea, in plantation.
Minor Group	013	Production of tobacco in plantation.
Minor Group	015	Production of other plantation crops not covered above.
Major Group	02	Forestry and Logging.
Minor Group	020	Planting, replanting and conservation of forests.
Minor Group	021	Felling and cutting of trees and transportation of logs.
Minor Group	022	Preparation of timber.
Minor Group	023	Production of fuel including charcoal by exploitation of forest.
Minor Group	024	Production of fodder by exploitation of forest.
Minor Group	025	Production of gums, resins, lac, barks, herbs, wild fruits and leaves by the exploitation of forests.
Minor Group	026	Production and gathering of other forest products not covered above.
Major Group	03	Fishing.
Minor Group	031	Production of fish by fishing in inland waters including the operation of fish farms and fish hatcheries.
Major Group	04	Livestock and hunting.
Minor Group	040	Production and rearing of livestock (large heads only) mainly for milk and animal power such as cow buffalo, goat.
Minor Group	041	Rearing of sheep and production of wool.
Minor Group	042	Rearing and production of other animals (mainly for slaughter) such as pig.
Minor Group	043	Production of ducks, hens and other small birds, eggs by rearing and poultry farming.
Minor Group	044	Rearing of bees for production of honey, wax and collection of honey.
Minor Group	045	Rearing of silk-worms and production of cocoons and raw silk.
Minor Group	046	Rearing of other small animals and insects.
Minor Group	047	Trapping of animals or games propagation.
Minor Group	048	Production of other animal husbandry products such as skin, bone, ivory and teeth.
Division	1	Mining and quarrying.
Major Group	10	Mining and quarrying.
Minor Group	100	Mining of coal.
Minor Group	104	Mining of mica.
Minor Group	106	Mining of crude petroleum and natural gas.
Minor Group	107	Quarrying of stone (including slate), clay, sand, gravel, limestone.
Minor Group	108	Mining of chemical earth such as soda ash.
Minor Group	109	Mining and quarrying of non-metallic products not classified above such as precious and semi-pescious stones, asbestos, gypsum, sulphur, asphalt.

65. In the above table, Division O means Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting and Division 1 is a code for Mining and Quarrying. In this table, Category III of workers has been divided into the above two divisions sex-wise in terms of, absolute numbers as well as in terms of proportion per 10,000 of all workers. It may be seen that most of the workers in Assam in Category III belong only to Division O and that the total number of female workers (226,221) is not much less than the number of male workers (285,026).

66. In respect of Division 1 relating to mining and quarrying, it may be seen that the total number of male workers in Assam is 6,137 while that of female workers is only 716. It is thus seen that the participation of women in mining and quarrying is very limited, but this is quite natural. Each of the above Divisions has again been sub-divided into Major Group and Minor Group according to the Indian Standard Industrial Classification.

67. From the above table it may be seen that most of the category III workers of Assam belong to Major Group 01, that is plantation crops, and out of that again, almost all the workers are engaged only in production of tea in plantation—Minor Group 010. It is seen that 87.02 per cent. of male workers and 93.11 per cent. of the female workers under Category III are engaged only in tea plantation.

68. Next after tea plantation comes Minor Group 031 relating to production of fish and fishing in inland waters including the operation of fish farms and fish hatcheries which consist of 11,582 male workers and 4,294 female workers. Next after that comes Minor Group 040 relating to production and rearing of livestock (large heads only) mainly for milk and animal power such as cow, buffalo and goat. This group consists of 11,550 men and 3,533 women.

69. As far as Division 1 is concerned, the biggest number of workers is in Minor Group 100 relating to mining of coal where 4,477 males and 262 females are engaged. Minor Group 107 relating to quarrying of stone (including slate), clay, sand, gravel and limestone claims 1,636 males and 440 females as being principally engaged in this profession. The number of people working in this trade as deducted from the Census figures appears to be rather low. It is possible that workers in this group may have given cultivation as their principal work, or the recording by the enumerators may not be correct.

70. As far as districts are concerned, five plains districts where there are tea plantations, namely, Darrang, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Cachar, and the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district where there are orchards, mining and quarrying etc. have been selected for showing Division 0 and Division 1. It may be seen that in the above plains districts, Division 0 and Minor Group 010 predominate because of the existence of tea estates in these districts. It may also be seen that Lakhimpur tops the list followed by Sibsagar, Darrang, Cachar and Nowgong. Only in the hills district of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Minor Group 006 relating to production of fruits and nuts in plantations, vines and orchards, has the biggest number of workers in this division. Similarly, in respect of Minor Group 009 relating to production of other agricultural produce including fruits and nuts not covered by code 006, this district has the largest number of workers and that workers in this category in other districts are negligible. Minor Group 040 relating to rearing of animals mostly cows and buffaloes has 2,109 male workers and 1,257 female workers in this district because of the existence of grass lands and the suitability of 'khutis'. Most of the Khutiwallas are Nepalis. In respect of mining and quarrying, Minor Group 100, this district has 3,610 male workers and 255 female workers due to large-scale mining of coal in the Cherrapunji region.

71. It is now necessary to examine the number of workers and their distribution per 10,000 of all workers in the National Classification of Occupations by Division, Group and Family in category III according to the data thrown out by the 1961 Census Table 10.18 below has been specially prepared for this purpose. The data in table 10.18 are given for the State as a whole as well as for the five districts in the plains, namely Darrang, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Cachar, and one district in the Hills, namely the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district. These six districts have been selected

for special study because it is only in them that sizeable number of workers in category III are found. This table differs from the previous table 10.17 because here occupations or natures of work are given according to the National Classification of Occupations whereas in the previous table, industries are given according to the Indian Standard Industrial Classification. The National Classification of Occupations classifies occupations into

331 Occupational Families (three-digit code numbers)

75 Occupational Groups (two-digit code numbers)

11 Occupational Divisions (one-digit code numbers)

According to this code structure, all occupations have been broadly divided into 11 Divisions which have been sub-divided into 75 Groups which again have been sub-divided into 331 Families. The 11 Divisions relate to the following occupations:—

0 Professional, Technical and Related Workers

1 Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers

2 Clerical and Related Workers

3 Sales Workers

4 Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Loggers and Related Workers

5 Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers

6 Workers in Transport and Communication Occupations

7-8 Craftsmen, Production Process Workers and Labourers not Elsewhere Classified

9 Service, Sport and Recreation Workers

X Workers not Classifiable by Occupation.

Number of Workers and their distribution per 10,000 of all Workers in the National Classification of occupations by Division, Group and Family, 1961

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N.C.O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Assam	Division	0	588	193	20	9
	Group	00	56	..	2	..
	Family	001	3	..	N	..
	Family	002	2	..	N	..
	Family	007	25	..	1	..
	Family	009	26	..	1	..
	Group	01	3	..	N	..
	Family	010	1	..	N	..
	Family	019	2	..	N	..
	Group	02	14	..	1	..
	Family	021	2	..	N	..
	Family	022	1	..	N	..
	Family	023	11	..	1	..
	Group	03	156	..	5	..
	Family	030	42	..	1	..
	Family	033	29	..	1	..
	Family	039	85	..	3	..
	Group	04	214	106	7	5
	Family	040	3	68	N	3
	Family	041	53	38	2	2
	Family	042	26	..	1	..
	Family	043	63	..	2	..
	Family	049	69	..	2	..
	Group	05	117	85	4	4
	Family	052	79	65	3	3
	Family	053	..	19	..	1
	Family	059	38	1	1	N

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N C O)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Assam—*contd*	Group	07	15		1	..
	Family	071	15		1	..
	Group	08	3	2	N	N
	Family	083	3	2	N	N
	Group	09	10		N	.
	Family	091	1		N	..
	Family	099	9		N	..
	Division	1	126	2	4	N
	Group	13	126	2	4	N
	Family	130	88	1	3	N
	Family	139	38	1	1	N
	Division	2	1,191	4	41	N
	Group	20	17		1	..
	Family	200	15		1	..
	Family	201	2		N	
	Group	21	22		1	.
	Family	211	22		1	
	Group	28	1,110	4	38	N
	Family	280	29		1	
	Family	289	1 081	4	37	N
	Group	29	42		1	
	Family	290	42		1	..
	Division	4	272,656	222,679	9,365	9,812
	Group	40	3,310	812	114	35
	Family	402	83	67	3	3
	Family	403	425	94	15	4
	Family	404	2 511	487	86	21
	Family	409	291	164	10	7
	Group	41	251 629	220 324	8,642	9,709
	Family	410	123		4	..
	Family	411	13,970	5 936	480	262
	Family	412	296	65	10	3
	Family	413		1		N
	Family	415	230,917	207,950	7,931	9,163
	Family	419	6,323	6372	217	281
	Group	42	204		7	..
	Family	420	100		3	..
	Family	429	104		4	..
	Group	43	10,210	1,189	351	52
	Family	431	4,073	893	140	39
	Family	439	6,137	296	211	13
	Group	44	7,303	354	251	16
	Family	440	4,170	44	143	2
	Family	441	227		8	..
	Family	442	2,356	191	81	9
	Family	443	1		N	.
	Family	449	549	119	19	5
	Division	5	8,949	174	307	8
	Group	50	8,252	159	283	7
	Family	500	2,277		78	..
	Family	501	4,476	141	154	6
	Family	502	91	1	3	N
	Family	503	5		N	..
	Family	509	1,403	17	48	1
	Group	51	191	.	7	..
	Family	510	108	..	4	..
	Family	511	83	..	3	..
	Group	52	34	.	1	..
	Family	520	34	..	1	..
	Group	59	472	15	16	1
	Family	590	472	15	16	1

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N.C.O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5	6
Assam—*concld.*	Division	6	268	.	9	.
	Group	64	268	..	9	.
	Family	641	265	..	9	.
	Family	643	1	..	N	..
	Family	649	2	..	N	..
	Division	7-8	4,708	3,675	162	162
	Group	73	2	..	N	..
	Family	733	2	..	N	..
	Group	75	178	..	6	.
	Family	750	46	..	2	.
	Family	751	29	..	1	.
	Family	752	11	..	N	N
	Family	753	49	..	2	..
	Family	756	4	..	N	..
	Family	757	1	..	N	..
	Family	759	38	..	1	..
	Group	76	21	..	1	..
	Family	760	10	..	1	..
	Family	761	1		N	
	Family	764	1	..	N	..
	Family	769	9	..	N	..
	Group	77	260	..	9	..
	Family	770	93	..	3	..
	Family	772	2	..	N	..
	Family	779	165	..	6	.
	Group	79	26	..	1	N
	Family	790	9	..	N	..
	Family	791	17	..	1	..
	Group	82	195	1	7	N
	Family	820	7	1	N	N
	Family	822	188	..	7	N
	Group	89	4,026	3,674	138	162
	Family	890	30	..	1	.
	Family	899	3,996	3,674	137	162
	Division	9	991	101	34	4
	Group	90	578	..	20	..
	Family	903	578	..	20	..
	Group	91	160	100	5	4
	Family	910	29	43	1	2
	Family	911	26	2	1	N
	Family	912	70	2	2	N
	Family	913	..	53	..	2
	Family	919	35	..	1	..
	Group	93	253	1	9	N
	Family	930	1	..	N	..
	Family	931	252	1	9	N
	Division	X	1,686	109	58	5
	Group	X8	1,682	109	58	5
	Family	X80	1,682	109	58	5
	Group	X9	4	..	N	..
	Family	X90	4	..	N	..
Darrang District	Division	2	2	..	N	..
	Group	28	2	..	N	..
	Family	289	2	..	N	..
	Division	4	38,308	34,631	8,833	9,978
	Group	40	508	22	117	6
	Family	402	34	12	8	3
	Family	403	37	8	9	2
	Family	404	435	2	100	1

TABLE 10.18- *contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N. C O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Darrang—*concld.*	Family	409	2		N	..
	Group	41	34 507	34,559	7,957	9,957
	Family	410	6		1	..
	Family	411	3,980	157	918	45
	Family	412	8		2	.
	Family	415	27 337	32,824	6,303	9,437
	Family	419	3,176	1 578	733	455
	Group	42	6		1	..
	Family	420	1		N	
	Family	429	5		1	..
	Group	43	1,229	48	283	14
	Family	431	2		N	..
	Family	439	1,227	48	283	14
	Group	44	2,058	2	475	1
	Family	440	280		65	..
	Family	441	67		14	..
	Family	442	1,516	2	349	1
	Family	449	202		47	.
	Division	5	5,045	78	1,164	22
	Group	50	4,615	78	1,064	22
	Family	501	3,700	78	853	22
	Family	502	13		3	..
	Family	503	5		1	..
	Family	509	897		207	..
	Group	51	4		1	..
	Family	510	4		1	..
	Group	52	33		8	..
	Family	520	33		8	..
	Group	59	393	.	91	..
	Family	590	393		91	..
	Division	7-8	7	..	1	..
	Group	75	2	.	N	..
	Family	750	1	..	N	..
	Family	753	1		N	..
	Group	89	5	.	1	..
	Family	899	5	.	1	..
	Division	9	8	..	2	..
	Group	90	6	..	2	..
	Family	903	6		2	..
	Group	91	1	..	N	..
	Family	912	1	.	N	..
	Group	93	1	.	N	..
	Family	931	1		N	..
Lakhimpur District.	Division	0	264	48	27	6
	Group	00	21		2	..
	Family	001	1		N	..
	Family	002	1		N	..
	Family	007	1	..	N	..
	Family	009	18	.	2	..
	Group	01	1	.	N	..
	Family	010	1	.	N	..
	Group	03	92	.	9	..
	Family	030	29	.	3	..
	Family	033	1		N	..
	Family	039	62	..	6	..
	Group	04	53	29	6	4
	Family	040	..	20	..	3
	Family	041	..	9	..	1
	Family	043	45	..	5	..
	Family	049	8	..	1	..

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N. C. O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Lakhimpur—*contd.*	Group	05	76	19	8	2
	Family	052	49	..	5	..
	Family	053	..	19	..	2
	Family	059	27	..	3	..
	Group	07	12	..	1	..
	Family	071	12	..	1	..
	Group	09	9	..	1	..
	Family	099	9	..	1	..
	Division	1	80	..	8	..
	Group	13	80	..	8	..
	Family	130	80	..	8	..
	Division	2	615	..	62	..
	Group	20	9	..	1	..
	Family	200	8	..	1	..
	Family	201	1	..	N	..
	Group	21	13	..	1	..
	Family	211	13	..	1	..
	Group	28	579	..	59	..
	Family	289	579	..	59	..
	Group	29	14	..	1	..
	Family	290	14	..	1	..
	Division	4	94,288	80,750	9,552	9,986
	Group	40	338	149	34	18
	Family	402	1	..	N	..
	Family	403	47	..	5	..
	Family	404	284	149	29	18
	Family	409	6	..	N	..
	Group	41	92,407	80,601	9,361	9,968
	Family	411	1,327	24	134	3
	Family	412	87	..	9	..
	Family	415	89,769	76,294	9,094	9,435
	Family	419	1,224	4,283	124	530
	Group	42	98	..	10	..
	Family	429	98	..	10	..
	Group	43	1,231	..	125	..
	Family	431	44	..	5	..
	Family	439	1,187	..	120	..
	Group	44	214	..	22	..
	Family	440	196	..	20	..
	Family	441	9	..	1	..
	Family	442	8	..	1	..
	Family	443	1	..	N	..
	Division	5	2,380	1	241	N
	Group	50	2,265	..	229	..
	Family	500	2,100	..	213	..
	Family	501	16	..	1	..
	Family	502	14	..	1	..
	Family	509	135	..	14	..
	Group	51	104	..	11	..
	Family	510	104	..	11	..
	Group	59	11	1	1	N
	Family	590	11	1	1	N
	Division	6	209	..	21	..
	Group	64	209	..	21	..
	Family	641	209	..	21	..
	Division	7-8	563	62	57	8
	Group	75	81	..	8	..
	Family	750	24	..	2	—
	Family	751	22	..	2	..
	Family	752	5	..	1	—
	Family	753	25	..	3	—

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N. C. O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Lakhimpur—*concld.*	Family	756	3		N	.
	Family	757	1		N	.
	Family	759	1		N	.
	Group	76	12		1	
	Family	760	6		1	..
	Family	761	1		N	..
	Family	764	1		N	.
	Family	769	4		N	..
	Group	77	189		19	..
	Family	770	26	..	3	..
	Family	779	163	.	16	..
	Group	79	9	..	1	..
	Family	790	9	..	1	..
	Group	82	198		20	..
	Family	820	7		1	..
	Family	822	188		19	..
	Group	89	77	62	8	8
	Family	899	77	62	8	8
	Division	9	313	2	32	N
	Group	90	257	..	26	..
	Family	903	257	..	26	..
	Group	91	46	2	5	N
	Family	910	4	..	N	..
	Family	911	12	..	2	..
	Family	912	.	1		N
	Family	913	..	1	..	N
	Family	919	30	..	3	..
	Group	93	10	..	1	..
	Family	931	10	..	1	..
Nowgong District . ..	Division	0	14	..	14	..
	Group	00	3	..	3	..
	Family	009	3	..	3	..
	Group	02	4	..	4	..
	Family	021	2	..	2	..
	Family	022	1	..	1	..
	Family	023	1	..	1	..
	Group	03	2	..	2	..
	Family	030	2	..	2	..
	Group	04	5	.	5	..
	Family	043	5	..	5	..
	Division	1	2	.	2	..
	Group	13	2	.	2	..
	Family	139	2	..	2	..
	Division	2	10	..	10	..
	Group	28	8	..	8	..
	Family	280	6	.	6	..
	Family	289	2	..	2	..
	Group	29	2	..	2	..
	Family	290	2	..	2	..
	Division	4	4,837	7,454	9,942	10,000
	Group	40	750	23	758	31
	Family	402	25	..	25	..
	Family	403	3	..	3	..
	Family	404	613	23	620	31
	Family	409	109	..	110	..
	Group	41	5,305	7,395	5,362	9,920
	Family	411	433	3,487	438	4,678
	Family	415	4,872	3,908	4,924	5,242
	Group	43	672	10	679	14
	Family	431	315	5	318	7

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and Districts where there are sizeable proportions of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N. C. O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Nowgong—*concld.*	Family	439	357	5	361	7
	Group	44	3,110	26	3,143	35
	Family	440	3,027	..	3,059	..
	Family	442	83	26	84	35
	Division	5	12	..	12	..
	Group	50	12	..	12	..
	Family	501	2	..	2	..
	Family	509	10	..	10	..
	Division	7-8	20	..	20	..
	Group	89	20	..	20	..
	Family	899	20	..	20	..
Sibsagar District . ..	Division	0	89	1	11	N
	Group	00	1	..	N	..
	Family	001	1	..	N	..
	Group	02	10	..	1	..
	Family	023	10	..	1	..
	Group	03	5	..	1	..
	Family	030	3	..	1	..
	Family	033	2	..	N	..
	Group	04	63	1	8	N
	Family	041	50	1	7	N
	Family	043	3	..	N	..
	Family	049	10	..	1	..
	Group	05	9	..	1	..
	Family	052	8	..	1	..
	Family	059	1	..	N	..
	Group	07	1	..	N	..
	Family	071	1	..	N	..
	Division	1	13	..	2	..
	Group	13	13	..	2	..
	Family	139	13	..	2	..
	Division	2	88	..	11	..
	Group	20	2	..	N	..
	Family	200	2	..	N	..
	Group	21	3	..	N	..
	Family	211	3	..	N	..
	Group	28	83	..	11	..
	Family	289	83	..	11	..
	Division	4	76,745	67,080	9,878	9,984
	Group	40	494	144	64	21
	Family	402	4	..	1	..
	Family	403	158	..	20	..
	Family	404	187	8	24	1
	Family	409	145	136	19	20
	Group	41	75,310	66,606	9,693	9,913
	Family	410	106	..	14	..
	Family	411	1,592	20	205	3
	Family	412	29	10	4	1
	Family	415	72,501	66,576	9,331	9,909
	Family	419	1,082	..	139	..
	Group	42	13	..	2	..
	Family	420	13	..	2	..
	Group	43	559	307	72	46
	Family	431	418	307	54	46
	Family	439	141	..	18	..
	Group	44	369	23	47	4
	Family	440	49	12	6	2
	Family	442	285	11	37	2
	Family	449	35	..	4	..
	Division	5	659	80	85	12

TABLE 10.18--*contd.*

State and District where there are sizeable proportion of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N C O)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Sibsagar—*concld.*	Group	50	659	80	85	12
	Family	500	146		19	
	Family	501	504	62	65	9
	Family	502		1		N
	Family	509	9	17	1	3
	Division	6	12		2	
	Group	64	12	.	2	..
	Family	641	12		2	..
	Division	7 8	25	25	5	4
	Group	75	13		2	..
	Family	750	8		1	.
	Family	756	1	.	N	..
	Family	759	4	..	1	.
	Group	76	2	..	N	..
	Family	760	1	..	N	..
	Family	769	1		N	..
	Group	89	20	25	3	4
	Family	899	20	25	3	4
	Division	9	5	1	1	N
	Group	93	5	1	1	N
	Family	931	5	1	1	N
	Division	X	49	1	6	N
	Group	X8	49	1	6	N
	Family	X80	49	8	6	N
Cachar District . ..	Division	0	191	79	52	30
	Group	00	25	..	7	..
	Family	002	1		N	..
	Family	007	24	.	7	..
	Group	03	51	..	14	..
	Family	030	5	.	1	..
	Family	033	24		7	..
	Family	039	22	.	6	..
	Group	04	86	13	23	5
	Family	040	1	..	N	..
	Family	041	3	13	1	5
	Family	042	26	..	7	..
	Family	043	7	..	2	.
	Family	049	49	..	13	.
	Group	05	27	66	7	25
	Family	052	17	65	4	25
	Family	059	10	1	3	N
	Group	07	2	..	1	..
	Family	071	2	..	1	—
	Division	1	8	.	2	—
	Group	13	8	..	2	—
	Family	139	8	.	2	—
	Division	2	305	2	82	1
	Group	20	3	..	1	—
	Family	200	2	..	1	—
	Family	201	1	..	N	..
	Group	21	6	—	2	..
	Family	211	6	..	2	—
	Group	28	276	2	74	1
	Family	289	276	2	74	1
	Group	29	20	..	5	..
	Family	290	20	..	5	..
	Division	4	32,366	22,909	8,740	8,672

TABLE 10.18—*contd.*

State and District where there are sizeable proportion of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N. C. O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
Cachar—*concld.*	Group	40	236	102	64	39
	Family	402	8	..	2	..
	Family	403	146	81	40	31
	Family	404	75	..	20	..
	Family	409	7	21	2	8
	Group	41	29,907	22,717	8,076	8,599
	Family	410	6	..	2	..
	Family	411	684	167	185	63
	Family	412	43	11	11	4
	Family	415	28,712	22,322	7,753	8,450
	Family	419	462	217	125	82
	Group	43	2,163	64	584	24
	Family	431	671	60	181	23
	Family	439	1,492	4	403	1
	Group	44	60	26	16	10
	Family	440	44	20	12	8
	Family	442	12	..	3	..
	Family	449	4	6	1	2
	Division	5	39	..	10	..
	Group	52	1	.	N	..
	Family	520	1	..	N	..
	Group	59	38	..	10	..
	Family	590	38	..	10	..
	Division	6	12	..	3	..
	Group	64	12	..	3	..
	Family	641	12	..	3	..
	Division	7-8	3,763	3,424	1,016	1,296
	Group	75	61	..	16	..
	Family	750	5	..	1	..
	Family	751	7	..	2	..
	Family	752	6	..	2	..
	Family	753	12	..	3	..
	Family	759	31	..	8	..
	Group	76	6	..	2	..
	Family	760	3	..	1	..
	Family	769	3	..	1	..
	Group	77	44	..	12	..
	Family	770	44	..	12	..
	Group	89	3,652	3,424	986	1,296
	Family	899	3,652	3,424	986	1,296
	Division	9	307	1	83	N
	Group	90	278	..	75	..
	Family	903	278	..	75	..
	Group	91	21	1	6	N
	Family	910	2	..	1	..
	Family	911	7	..	2	..
	Family	912	8	1	2	N
	Family	919	4	..	1	..
	Group	93	8	..	2	..
	Family	931	8	..	2	..
	Division	X	43	2	12	1
	Group	X8	42	2	12	1
	Family	X80	42	2	12	1
	Group	X9	1	..	N	..
	Family	X90	1	..	N	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District*	Division	0	5	4	4	8
	Group	00	1	..	1	..

TABLE 10.18 *contd*

State and District where there are sizeable proportion of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N C O)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Male	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
U K & J Hills—*contd*	Family	009	1		1	
	Group	04		2		4
	Family	040		2		4
	Group	08	3	2	2	4
	Family	083	3	2	2	4
	Group	09	1		1	
	Family	091	1		1	
	Division	1	3	1	3	2
	Group	13	3	1	3	2
	Family	130	3	1	3	2
	Division	2	31	2	28	4
	Group	28	28	2	25	4
	Family	280			3	
	Family	289	25	2	22	4
	Group	29	3		3	
	Family	290	3		3	
	Division	4	9 550	5 244	8 585	9 503
	Group	40	677	156	609	283
	Family	402	1	55	1	100
	Family	403	10	5	9	9
	Family	404	665	89	598	161
	Family	409	1	7	1	13
	Group	419	8 451	5 071	7,597	9 190
	Family	411	3 679	1,460	3,307	2 646
	Family	412	60	42	54	76
	Family	413		1		2
	Family	415	4 712	3 538	4,236	6 412
	Family	419		30		54
	Group	42	1		1	
	Family	420	1		1	
	Group	43	13		11	
	Family	431	7		6	
	Family	439	6		5	
	Group	44	408	17	367	30
	Family	440	85		77	
	Family	442	295	17	265	30
	Family	449	28		25	
	Division	5	249	14	224	25
	Group	50	248		223	..
	Family	500	31		28	..
	Family	509	217		195	..
	Group	59	1	14	1	25
	Family	590	1	14	1	25
	Division	6	13		12	..
	Group	64	13		12	..
	Family	641	13		12	..
	Division	7 8	66	58	59	105
	Group	75	8		7	..
	Family	753	8		7	..
	Group	77	6		5	..
	Family	770	4		3	..
	Family	772	1		1	..
	Family	779	1		1	..
	Group	89	52	58	47	105
	Family	890	27		24	..
	Family	899	25	58	23	105
	Division	9	294	95	264	172
	Group	91	73	95	65	172
	Family	910	21	43	19	78
	Family	912	52		46	..
	Family	913		52	..	94

TABLE 10.18—*concld.*

State and District where there are sizeable proportion of workers in the Primary Sector, Category III	Division, Group and Family according to the National Classification of Occupations (N. C. O.)		Total Workers		Proportion per 10,000 of all workers	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2		3	4	5	6
U. K & J. Hills—*concld.*	Group	93	221	..	199	..
	Family	930	1	..	1	..
	Family	931	220	..	198	..
	Division	X	913	100	821	181
	Group	X8	913	100	821	181
	Family	X80	913	100	821	181

N.B.—Two digit and three digit codes of column 2 are spelt out below :

00 Architects, Engineers and Surveyors
001 Civil Engineers (including Overseers)
002 Mechanical Engineers
007 Surveyors
009 Architects, Engineers and Surveyors, n.e.c.
01 Chemists, Physicists, Geologists and other Physical Scientists
010 Chemists except Pharmaceutical Chemists
019 Chemists, Physicists, Geologists and other Physical Scientists, n.e.c.
02 Biologists, Veterinarians, Agronomists and related Scientists
021 Veterinarians
022 Silviculturists
023 Agronomists and Agricultural Scientists
03 Physicians, Surgeons and Dentists
030 Physicians and Surgeons, Allopathic
033 Physicians, Others
039 Physicians, Surgeons and Dentists, n.e.c.
04 Nurses, Pharmacists and other Medical and Health Technicians
040 Nurses
041 Midwives and Health Visitors
042 Nursing Attendants and Related Workers
043 Pharmacists and Pharmaceutical Technicians
049 Medical and Health Technicians, n.e.c. (excluding Laboratory Assistants see 091)
05 Teachers
052 Teachers, Middle and Primary Schools
053 Teachers, Nursery and Kindergarten Schools
059 Teachers, n.e.c.
07 Social Scientists and Related Workers
071 Accountants and Auditors
08 Artists, Writers and Related Workers
083 Painters, Decorators and Commercial Artists
09 Draughtsmen, and Science and Engineering Technicians, n.e.c.
091 Laboratory Assistants
099 Science and Engineering Technicians, n.e.c.
13 Directors, Managers and Working Proprietors, Other
130 Directors, Managers and Working Proprietors, Mining, Quarrying and Well Drilling
139 Directors, Managers and Working Proprietors, n.e.c.
20 Book-keepers and Cashiers
200 Book-keepers, Book-keeping and Accounts Clerks
201 Cashiers
21 Stenographers and Typists
211 Typists and Tele-typists
28 Clerical Workers, Miscellaneous
280 General and other Ministerial Assistants and Clerks
289 Miscellaneous Office Workers including Record Keepers, Despatchers, Packers and Binders of office papers
29 Unskilled Office Workers
290 Office Attendants including Peons, Messengers, Ushers, Hall Porters, Darwans etc., n.e.c.

40 Farmers and Farm Managers
402 Farm Managers, Inspectors and Overseers
403 Planters and Plantation Managers
404 Farmers and Farm Managers, Animals, Birds and Insects Rearing
409 Farmers and Farm Managers, n.e.c.
41 Farm Workers
410 Farm Machinery Operators
411 Farm Workers, Animals, Birds and Insects Rearing
412 Gardeners (Malis)
413 Tappers (Palm, Rubber trees, etc.)
415 Plantation labourers
419 Farm Workers, n.e.c.
42 Hunters and Related Workers
420 Hunters
429 Hunters and Related Workers, n.e.c.
43 Fishermen and Related Workers
431 Fishermen, Inland and Coastal Waters
439 Fishermen and Related Workers, n.e.c.
44 Loggers and other Forestry Workers
440 Forest Rangers and Related Workers
441 Harvesters and Gatherers of Forest Products including lac (except. logs)
442 Log Fellers and Wood Cutters
449 Loggers and Other Forestry Workers, n.e.c.
50 Miners and Quarrymen
500 Miners
501 Quarrymen
502 Drillers, Mines and Quarries
503 Shot Firers
509 Miners and Quarrymen, n.e.c.
51 Well Drillers and Related Workers
510 Well Drillers, Petroleum and Gas
511 Well Drillers, other than Petroleum and Gas
52 Mineral Treaters
520 Mineral Treaters
59 Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers, n.e.c.
590 Miners, Quarrymen and Workers, n.e.c.
64 Drivers, Road Transport
641 Motor Vehicle and Motor Cycle Drivers
643 Animal Drawn Vehicle Drivers
649 Drivers, Road Transport, n.e.c. (including Palki and Doli Bearers)
73 Furnacemen, Rollers, Drawers, Moulders and Related Metal Making and Treating Workers
733 Blacksmiths, Hammersmiths and Forgemen
75 Tool-Makers, Machinists, Plumbers, Welders, Platers and Related Workers
750 Fitter Machinists, Tool-makers and Machine Tool Setters
751 Machine Tool Operators
752 Fitter-Assemblers and Machine Erectors (Except Electrical and Precision Instrument Fitter-Assemblers).
753 Mechanics-Repairmen (except Electrical and Precision Instrument Repairmen)
756 Welders and Flame Cutters
759 Tool-Makers, Machinists, Plumbers, Welders, Platers and Related Workers, n.e.c. (including Metal engravers other than printing)
76 Electricians and Related Electrical and Electronics Workers
760 Electricians, Electrical Repairmen and Related Electrical Workers
761 Electrical and Electronics Fitters
764 Linemen and Cable Joiners
769 Electricians and Related Electrical and Electronics Workers, n.e.c.
77 Carpenters, Joiners, Pattern Makers Coopers and Related Workers
770 Carpenters, Joiners, Pattern Makers (wood)
772 Sayers and Wood Working Machinists
779 Carpenters, Joiners, Cabinet Makers, Cooper and Related Workers, n.e.c.
79 Bricklayers, Plasterers and Construction Workers, n.e.c.
790 Stone Cutters, Stont Carvers and Stone Dressers
791 Bricklayers, Plasterers, Masons
82 Millers, Bakers, Brewmasters and Related Food and Beverage Workers
820 Millers, Pounders, Huskers and Parchers, Grains and Related Food Workers
822 Dairy Workers (Non-Farm)
89 Labourers, n.e.c.
890 Loaders and Unloaders
899 Labourers, n.e.c.
90 Fire Fighters, Policemen, Guards and Related Workers

903 Watchmen and Chowkidars

91 House Keepers, Cooks, Maids and Related Workers

910 House Keepers, Matrons, Stewards (Domestic and Institutional)

911 Cooks, Cook-Bearers (Domestic and Institutional)

912 Butlers, Bearers, Waiters, Maids and Other Servants (Domestic)

913 Ayas, Nurse-maids

919 House Keepers, Cooks, Maids and Related Workers, n.e.c.

93 Building Care-takers, Cleaners and Related Workers

930 Building Care-takers

931 Cleaners, Sweepers and Watermen

X8 Workers Reporting Occupations Unidentifiable or Unclassifiable

X80 Workers reporting occupation unidentifiable or unclassifiable

X9 Workers not Reporting Occupation

X90 Workers not reporting Occupation

n.e.c.—Not elsewhere classified

72. From the above table, it may be seen that as far as the whole of Assam is concerned, the greatest number of workers in category III belongs to Division 4, Group 41 and Family 415, that is plantation labourers. This is quite natural because of the big number of tea plantations in Assam where hundreds of thousands of labourers are engaged in the plantation of tea. It may also be noted that this number excludes factory workers in the tea estates. Next in this Division comes Group 41, Family 411 relating to workers in farms, animals, birds and insects rearing. Next in this category come fishermen who are given a Family code numbr 439.

73. Next to Division 4, the greatest number of workers can be found in Division 5 relating to miners and quarrymen and related workers. It may be noted that there are no workers in Division 3 relating to sales workers in category III and that the number of professional, technical and related workers in Division 0 is very small in the State. Similarly, workers in all the other Divisions are comparatively very small in the State thereby suggesting that excepting in tea plantation, and to some extent in mining and quarrying, category III workers in Assam are comparatively very few. That shows that there is practically no organised farming, dairying etc. in Assam.

74. The occupational pattern in the abovementioned five districts in the Plains of Assam is more or less the same as that of Assam itself. There appears to be some deviation in the case of the Darrang district where there are some workers in mining and quarrying, but this may be due to extension of the railway in the North Bank which requires stones in the process of its construction. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district also, the biggest number of category III workers is found in Division 4, Families 415 and 411, because of the fact that there are extensive plantations of betelnuts, pan leaves and fruits in this district. There are extensive mining work of coal in the Cherrapunji region and quarrying of stones all around Shillong as well as all along the road constructions in this district, but it is strange that the number of workers in Division 5 is only 249 males and 14 females. This is probably due to a wrong conception of our enumerators regarding the nature of work of the people, that is most of these workers might have been classified as mere labourers or workers not otherwise classifiable by occupation. Stone quarrying in this district is generally done on a contract basis by men and women workers on a rather extensive scale and so the number of such workers ought to have run into thousands and not only below 300. Similarly, in the coal mining work in the Cherrapunji region, the workers extract coal on a contract basis and so the number of coal miners ought to have been much more that what is presented in the statistics. So the mistake may have been made by enumerators or by the workers themselves who may have given their occupation as labourers. This may be looked into in the next Census.

75. We may now turn to discuss about the secondary work of persons whose principal work is as cultivator or agricultural labourer or at household industry for the State as well as for all of its districts from the following table:

Distribution of 1,000 persons who principally work as Cultivators or Agricultural labourers or at Household Industry but also have secondary work in any of the three categories (State and Districts)

TABLE 10·19

State/District	Principal work	Total Rural Urban	Secondary Work: I At Household Industry		II As Cultivator		III As Agricultural Labourer	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Assam	Cultivation	T 1,000	139	707			114	40
		R 1,000	138	708			114	40
		U 1,000	329	146			363	162
	Agricultural labour	T 1,000	57	106	784	53		..
		R 1,000	55	106	786	53		..
		U 1,000	308	141	807	44		..
	Household Industry	T 1,000			56	761	24	199
		R 1,000			54	765	22	199
		U 1,000			425	132	215	228
	Division 2 & 3	T 1,000			56	761	24	199
		R 1,000			53	766	22	199
		U 1,000			425	132	215	228
	Major Group 20	T 1,000			575	158	146	121
		R 1,000			596	160	126	118
		U 1,000			50	100	650	200
	Major Group 23	T 1,000			21	804	10	165
		R 1,000			19	808	9	164
		U 1,000			370	151	206	273
	Major Group 26	T 1,000			5	982		13
		R 1,000			5	982		13
		U Nil				.	.	..
	Major Group 28	T 1,000			568	78	304	50
		R 1,000			553	78	318	51
		U 1,000			912	59	.	29
	Major Group 39	T 1,000			870		130	..
		R 1,000			870	.	130	..
		U Nil						..
Goalpara	Cultivation	T 1,000	79	775			127	19
		R 1,000	79	777		..	126	18
		U 1,000	85	61		.	220	634
	Agricultural Labourer	T 1,000	182	312	433	73	.	..
		R 1,000	185	312	430	73	..	..
		U 1,000	40	300	620	40	..	..
	Household Industry	T 1,000			25	783	7	185
		R 1,000			24	784	7	185
		U 1,000	..		417	..	375	208
Kamrup	Cultivation	T 1,000	151	659		.	182	8
		R 1,000	149	660			183	8
		U 1,000	894	106		.	..	..
	Agricultural Labour	T 1,000	14	108	863	15	..	..
		R 1,000	14	108	863	15	..	..
		U 1,000	100	..	900	..	..	..
	Household Industry	T 1,000			37	806	28	129
		R 1,000	..	..	25	821	24	130
		U 1,000	..	.	573	146	191	90
Darrang	Cultivation	T 1,000	100	700	..	..	156	44
		R 1,000	99	701	..	..	156	44
		U 1,000	194	339	..	..	193	274
	Agricultural Labour	T 1,000	5	42	943	10	..	..
		R 1,000	4	42	944	10	..	..
		U 1,000	658	..	342	..	..	..
	Household Industry	T 1,000	..	..	88	635	19	298
		R 1,000	..	..	88	635	19	298
		U Nil	..	..	—	—	—	..

TABLE 10·19—*contd.*

State/District	Principal work	Total Rural Urban	Secondary Work: I. At Household Industry		II. As Cultivator		III. As Agricultural Labourer	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lakhimpur	Cultivation	T=1,000	115	816	..	..	65	4
		R=1,000	114	818	..	..	65	3
		U=1,000	234	241	..	..	320	205
	Agricultural Labour	T=1,000	89	589	168	154	..	..
		R=1,000	90	601	151	158	..	..
		U=1,000	77	192	731	..	..	..
	Household Industry	T=1,000	..	..	181	596	39	184
		R=1,000	..	..	144	644	42	170
		U=1,000	.	..	609	43	..	348
Nowgong	Cultivation	T=1,000	50	637	..	..	206	107
		R=1,000	50	637	..	..	206	107
		U=1,000	188	312	..	..	188	312
	Agricultural Labour	T=1,000	257	73	556	114	..	..
		R=1,000	239	76	567	118	..	..
		U=1,000	750	..	250	..	..	..
	Household Industry	T=1,000	..	..	40	910	20	30
		R=1,000	..	..	41	929	7	23
		U=1,000	..	..	34	..	621	345
Sibsagar	Cultivation	T=1,000	64	840	..	..	52	44
		R=1,000	64	840	..	..	52	44
		U=1,000	264	165	..	..	505	66
	Agricultural Labour	T=1,000	239	202	491	68	..	..
		R=1,000	237	202	492	69	..	..
		U=1,000	388	163	449	..	..	..
	Household Industry	T=1,000	..	..	132	663	44	161
		R=1,000	..	..	132	663	44	161
		U=1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cachar	Cultivation	T=1,000	362	456	..	..	151	31
		R=1,000	362	468	..	..	139	31
		U=1,000	386	..	..	..	614	..
	Agricultural Labour	T=1,000	30	28	659	283	..	..
		R=1,000	22	26	665	287	..	..
		U=1,000	310	121	431	138	..	..
	Household Industry	T=1,000	..	..	198	708	80	14
		R=1,000	..	..	199	709	78	14
		U=1,000	..	..	..	625	375	..
Garo Hills	Cultivation	T=1,000	32	41	..	..	500	27
		R=1,000	32	36	..	..	501	431
		U=1,000	..	540	..	..	365	95
	Agricultural Labour	T=1,000	436	378	106	80	..	..
		R=1,000	436	378	106	80	..	..
		U=*Nil*	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Household Industry	T=1,000	..	..	58	449	15	478
		R=1,000	..	..	58	449	15	478
		U=*Nil*	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	Cultivation	T=1,000	287	325	..	..	216	172
		R=1,000	287	325	..	..	216	172
		U=1,000	250	195	..	..	319	236
	Agricultural Labour	T=1,000	41	27	831	101	..	..
		R=1,000	37	25	837	101	..	..
		U=1,000	348	174	391	87	..	..
	Household Industry	T=1,000	..	..	104	310	471	115
		R=1,000	..	..	74	309	506	111
		U=1,000	..	..	500	333	..	167

TABLE 10·19—*concld.*

State/District	Principal work	Total Rural Urban	Secondary Work: I At Household Industry		II As Cultivator		III As Agricultural Labourer	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
United North Hills Mikir & Cachar	Cultivation	T = 1,000	429	522		.	3[illegible]	10
		R = 1,000	429	522		.	[illegible]	10
		U = 1,000					1,000	..
	Agricultural Labour	T = 1,000	3	15	720	262		..
		R = 1,000	3	15	720	262		.
		U = *Nil*						..
	Household Industry	T = 1,000	.		140	261	219	360
		R = 1,000			140	261	219	360
		U = *Nil*						..
Mizo Hills	Cultivation	T = 1,000	445	539		.	9	8
		R = 1,000	446	539	.		[illegible]	7
		U = 1,000	67	200			333	400
	Agricultural Labour	T = 1,000			1,000			..
		R = 1,000			1,000	.		.
		U = *Nil*						..
	Household Industry	T = 1,000			414	241	.	345
		R = 1,000			414	241	.	345
		U = *Nil*					.	..

76. The Table 10.19 above gives the distribution of 1000 persons who principally work as cultivators or agricultural labourers or at household industry and also have secondary work in any of the three categories for both male and female and also for total, rural and urban separately. It thus excludes the persons principally working in these categories with no secondary work and those having secondary work in categories other than these three categories. The cultivators and agricultural labourers can be grouped together and they may be taken to be engaged in cultivation and then we can study the extent to which cultivation is supplemented by household industry or vice versa.

77. As stated earlier, the percentage of females engaged in household industry is highest in Assam among the major States of India, but the percentage of that of males is the least in India. It is therefore seen that in the State of Assam out of every 1000 total cultivators, 139 males have household industry as their secondary occupation against 707 females. Again, there are 57 males and 106 females with household industry as supplementary occupation per 1000 agricultural labourers. In the case of persons principally engaged in household industry, the proportion of males and females is also of the same order. In the urban areas, however, the proportion is on the opposite direction where males are more than females. The number of percentage of persons having secondary work at household industry who are principally engaged in cultivation is more or less the same as that of persons engaged in cultivation as secondary occupation with principal work at household industry and hence it may be concluded that both cultivation and household industry are supplemented by each other equally. The above observations hold good for all the districts of Assam with some minor variations in respect of the proportion of males and females in the hills districts.

78. It may be interesting to study the number of households engaged in cultivation and household industry and the type of industry from the following two tables. While Table 10.20 gives the total number of households on a 20 per cent. sample of all households in rural areas engaged both in cultivation and household industry and the type of industry, Table 10.21 furnishes the total number of households engaged in cultivation only, both in cultivation and household industry for total, rural and urban areas separately.

Total number of households on a 20% sample of all households in rural areas engaged both in cultivation and household industry, 1961.

TABLE 10·20

State and District	Household industry by Division and Major Group of I.S.I.C.	Total number of households
	1	2
Assam—		
Division	0	1,6[illegible]
Major Group	00	28
Major Group	01	32
Major Group	02	1
Major Group	03	43
Major Group	04	1,966

TABLE 10·20—*contd.*

State and District — Household industry by Division and Major Group of I.S.I.C. 1		Total number of households 2
Division	2 & 3	82,572
Major Group	20	3,114
Major Group	21	21
Major Group	22	7
Major Group	23	74,419
Major Group	24	32
Major Group	25	52
Major Group	26	22
Major Group	27	376
Major Group	28	3,151
Major Group	30	1
Major Group	31	26
Major Group	34-35	472
Major Group	36	282
Major Group	37	1
Major Group	38	73
Major Group	39	523
Goalpara—		
Division	0	7
Major Group	03	2
Major Group	04	5
Division	2 & 3	10,049
Major Group	20	231
Major Group	22	3
Major Group	23	9,428
Major Group	25	2
Major Group	26	1
Major Group	27	39
Major Group	28	176
Major Group	31	2
Major Group	34-35	40
Major Group	36	29
Major Group	38	1
Major Group	39	97
Kamrup—		
Division	0	16
Major Group	03	15
Major Group	04	1
Division	2 & 3	16,269
Major Group	20	61
Major Group	23	15,402
Major Group	25	30
Major Group	27	35
Major Group	28	472
Major Group	31	2
Major Group	34-35	103
Major Group	36	25
Major Group	38	50
Major Group	39	89
Darrang—		
Division	0	56
Major Group	03	16
Major Group	04	40
Division	2 & 3	7,256
Major Group	20	106
Major Group	23	6,721
Major Group	24	1
Major Group	25	1
Major Group	27	46
Major Group	28	183
Major Group	31	1
Major Group	34-35	55
Major Group	36	44
Major Group	38	3
Major Group	39	95
Lakhimpur—		
Division	0	34
Major Group	03	1
Major Group	04	33
Division	2 & 3	12,925
Major Group	20	1,510
Major Group	23	11,168
Major Group	24	1
Major Group	25	6
Major Group	27	26
Major Group	28	96
Major Group	31	2
Major Group	34-35	29
Major Group	36	26
Major Group	38	4
Major Group	39	57
Nowgong—		
Division	0	25
Major Group	01	1
Major Group	03	2
Major Group	04	22

TABLE 10·20—*concld*

State and District / Household industry by Division and Major Group of I S I C		Total number of households
1		2
Division	2 & 3	6 064
Major Group	20	68
Major Group	23	5 701
Major Group	25	1
Major Group	26	1
Major Group	27	36
Major Group	28	98
Major Group	31	3
Major Group	34-35	53
Major Group	36	17
Major Group	38	3
Major Group	39	61
Sibsagar— *Division*	0	34
Major Group	03	4
Major Group	04	30
Division	2 & 3	13 890
Major Group	20	143
Major Group	23	13 160
Major Group	24	29
Major Group	26	17
Major Group	27	61
Major Group	28	247
Major Group	31	5
Major Group	34-35	124
Major Group	36	42
Major Group	38	4
Major Group	39	58
Cachar— *Division*	0	17
Major Group	01	2
Major Group	02	1
Major Group	03	3
Major Group	04	11
Division	2 & 3	4 565
Major Group	20	296
Major Group	23	3 459
Major Group	26	3
Major Group	27	66
Major Group	28	602
Major Group	31	10
Major Group	34-35	49
Major Group	36	39
Major Group	37	1
Major Group	38	8
Major Group	39	12
Garo Hills *Division*	2 & 3	804
Major Group	20	2
Major Group	23	749
Major Group	25	12
Major Group	29	1
Major Group	28	14
Major Group	34-35	14
Major Group	36	1
Major Group	39	1
United Khasi Jaintia Hills *Division*	0	1,387
Major Group	00	27
Major Group	01	49
Major Group	04	1,311
Division	2 & 3	469
Major Group	20	22
Major Group	21	21
Major Group	22	4
Major Group	23	101
Major Group	24	1
Major Group	27	48
Major Group	28	254
Major Group	36	11
Major Group	39	7
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills— *Division*	0	109
Major Group	04	109
Division	2 & 3	4,891
Major Group	20	337
Major Group	23	3,838
Major Group	27	8
Major Group	28	676
Major Group	34-35	5
Major Group	36	8
Major Group	39	19
Mizo Hills *Division*	0	5
Major Group	00	1
Major Group	04	4
Division	2 & 3	5,640
Major Group	20	338
Major Group	23	4,892
Major Group	27	10
Major Group	28	333
Major Group	30	1
Major Group	31	1
Major Group	36	20
Major Group	39	5

Total number of households on a 20% sample of all households in all areas, engaged (i) in cultivation only and (ii) both in cultivation and household industry, 1961.

TABLE 10·21

State/District	Total Rural Urban		Total number of households	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged both in cultivation and household industry
1	2		3	4	5
ASSAM	T	(a)	442,219	215,216	84,908
		(b)	1,000	487	192
	R	(a)	409,126	213,409	84,262
		(b)	1,000	521	206
	U	(a)	33,093	1,807	646
		(b)	1,000	55	19
Goalpara District	T	(a)	55,481	31,781	10,105
		(b)	1,000	573	182
	R	(a)	51,734	31,530	10,056
		(b)	1,000	609	194
	U	(a)	3,747	251	49
		(b)	1,000	67	13
Kamrup District	T	(a)	73,095	37,508	16,583
		(b)	1,000	513	227
	R	(a)	65,064	37,256	16,285
		(b)	1,000	573	250
	U	(a)	8,031	252	298
		(b)	1,000	31	37
Darrang District	T	(a)	49,067	25,220	7,344
		(b)	1,000	514	150
	R	(a)	47,245	25,087	7,312
		(b)	1,000	531	155
	U	(a)	1,822	133	32
		(b)	1,000	73	17
Lakhimpur District	T	(a)	59,858	17,087	13,015
		(b)	1,000	286	217
	R	(a)	53,978	16,824	12,959
		(b)	1,000	312	240
	U	(a)	5,880	263	56
		(b)	1,000	45	9

TABLE 10.21 —*contd.*

State/District	Total Rural Urban		Total number of households	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged both in cultivation and household industry
1	2		3	4	5
Nowgong District	T	(a)	13,584	27,545	6,114
		(b)	1,000	632	140
	R	(a)	40 758	27,172	6,089
		(b)	1 000	667	149
	U	(a)	2 826	373	25
		(b)	1,000	132	9
Sibsagar District	T	(a)	57,154	21,4[illegible]	14,033
		(b)	1 000	376	246
	R	(a)	54,647	21 256	13,924
		(b)	1 000	389	255
	U	(a)	2 507	234	109
		(b)	1 000	93	44
Cachar District	T	(a)	51,668	28,350	4,617
		(b)	1 000	549	89
	R	(a)	48,386	28,123	4,582
		(b)	1,000	581	95
	U	(a)	3,282	227	35
		(b)	1,000	69	11
Garo Hills District	T	(a)	12,671	10,649	594
		(b)	1,000	840	47
	R	(a)	12,400	10,642	594
		(b)	1,000	858	48
	U	(a)	271	7	..
		(b)	1,000	26	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District	T	(a)	19,946	9,801	1,860
		(b)	1,000	491	93
	R	(a)	15,834	9,761	1,856
		(b)	1,000	617	117
	U	(a)	4,112	40	4
		(b)	1,000	10	1

TABLE 10·21—*concld.*

State/District	Total Rural Urban		Total number of household	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged both in cultivation and household industry
1	2		3	4	5
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills District	T	(a)	10,975	3,848	5,002
		(b)	1,000	351	456
	R	(a)	10,845	3,843	5,000
		(b)	1,000	354	461
	U	(a)	130	5	2
		(b)	1,000	39	15
Mizo Hills District	T	(a)	8,720	1,937	5,641
		(b)	1,000	222	647
	R	(a)	8,235	1,915	5,605
		(b)	1,000	233	681
	U	(a)	485	22	36
		(b)	1,000	45	74

T=Total R—Rural U=Urban (a) Absolute Number (b) Proportion=1,000

79. According to Table 10.20 there are 1,690 households engaged in Division 0: i.e., agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting in the State of Assam out of which as many as 1,566 households are in livestock and hunting. Households engaged in the above Division are mostly found in the district of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills with 1,387 followed by United Mikir and North Cachar Hills with 109 households. The industries under Division 2 & 3 are the major and most familiar household industries in Assam which absorb 82,572 households. Major Group 23 of this Division, i.e., cotton textiles, the most predominant household industry engages 74,419 households. Next comes major group 28, manufacture of wood and wooden products, with 3,151 households closely followed by major group 20—foodstuffs—with 3,114 households. The same trend is noticed in all the districts with some minor variations in respect of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district.

80. In Table 10.21 we get the number of households engaged in cultivation only and both in cultivation and household industry separately with their proportion per 1,000 of the total number of households. All the household economic tables have been prepared on a 20 per cent. sample basis and hence the total number of households referred to here should not be taken as the actual number. It may be seen that out of 442,219 households, 215,216 or 48.7 per cent. are engaged only in cultivation against 84,908 or 19.2 per cent. which are engaged both in cultivation and household industry in the State of Assam. Very few households are engaged in cultivation and household industry in urban areas as only 5.5 per cent. of the total urban households do only cultivation against 52.1 per cent. in rural areas and only 1.9 per cent. are engaged both in household industry and cultivation against 20.6 per cent. in rural areas.

81. It may be rewarding to make an attempt to estimate the proportion of households dependent on cultivation for their livelihood in the sample. The following table gives the distribution of 1,000 of households in rural and urban areas among those engaged in cultivation only, in household industry only, both

in cultivation and household industry and those engaged neither in cultivation nor household industry.

Distribution of 1,000 of households in rural and urban areas among those engaged in cultivation only, in household industry only, both in cultivation and household industry and in neither, 1961

TABLE 10·22

State/District	Total number of Households (Total=1,000, Rural=1,000, Urban=1,000)	Households engaged neither in cultivation nor household industry	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged in household industry only	Households engaged both in cultivation and household industry
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM	T=1,000	293	487	28	192
	R=1,000	249	521	24	206
	U=1,000	845	55	81	19
Goalpara	T=1,000	211	573	34	182
	R=1,000	166	609	31	194
	U=1,000	840	67	80	13
Kamrup	T=1,000	200	513	60	227
	R=1,000	179	573	48	250
	U=1,000	776	31	156	37
Darrang	T=1,000	320	514	16	150
	R=1,000	301	531	13	155
	U=1,000	830	73	80	17
Lakhimpur	T=1,000	480	286	17	217
	R=1,000	434	312	14	240
	U=1,000	904	45	42	9
Nowgong	T=1,000	218	632	10	140
	R=1,000	175	667	9	149
	U=1,000	834	132	25	9
Sibsagar	T=1,000	359	376	19	246
	R=1,000	339	389	17	255
	U=1,000	808	93	55	44
Cachar	T=1,000	335	549	27	89
	R=1,000	298	581	26	95
	U=1,000	874	69	46	11
Garo Hills	T=1,000	97	840	16	47
	R=1,000	81	858	13	48
	U=1,000	838	26	136	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	T=1,000	391	491	25	93
	R=1,000	241	617	25	117
	U=1,000	967	10	22	1
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	T=1,000	174	351	19	456
	R=1,000	167	354	18	461
	U=1,000	846	39	100	15
Mizo Hills	T=1,000	78	222	53	647
	R=1,000	57	233	29	681
	U=1,000	421	45	460	74

82. According to Table 10.22, out of every 1000 total households of the State, there are 293 households engaged neither in cultivation nor household industry, 487 in cultivation only, 28 in household industry only and 192 in both cultivation and household industry; their percentage being 29.3, 48.7, 2.8 and 19.2 respectively. Households engaged both in cultivation and household industry can be taken as dependent on cultivation and so column 4 together with column 6 gives the proportion of households dependent on cultivation for their livelihood in the sample. Thus the proportion of households dependent on cultivation for the State of Assam is 679 per 1000 total households, the proportion in rural areas being 727 and that of urban areas being 74. The proportions in the districts can be had from the following table.

Proportion of households dependent on cultivation

TABLE 10·23

	District	Total	Rural	Urban
	1	2	3	4
1	Goalpara . . .	755	803	80
2	Kamrup . . .	740	823	68
3	Darrang . . .	664	686	90
4	Lakhimpur . . .	503	552	54
5	Nowgong . . .	772	816	141
6	Sibsagar . . .	622	644	137
7	Cachar	638	676	80
8	Garo Hills . . .	887	906	26
9	United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	584	734	11
10	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	807	815	54
11	Mizo Hills . . .	869	914	119

83. The proportion to the total number of households is higest in the Garo Hills district with 887 followed by Mizo Hills with 869; but in respect of rural areas, Mizo Hills tops the list with 914 followed by 906 in Garo Hills. This is quite natural because in these two districts, there is neither industrialisation nor any growth of urbanisation, the factors which are responsible for shifting the economy of the people from agriculture to non-agriculture. The lowest proportion is found in the district of Lakhimpur with 503 households per 1000 total households of the district. In the rural areas also it is lowest with 552 households. This is because Lakhimpur is the most industrialised zone in the State of Assam and about 51.4 per cent. of the district income in 1960-61 is contributed by the industrial sector including tea and oil. If the total sample households are multiplied by 5, the approximate total number of households can be obtained. Again, taking the average size of the household consisting of five members, the total number of households thus obtained have to be multiplied by 5 to get the total population. As the aim here is to find out the approximate total population of the State dependent on cultivation, the calculation is confined to the number of households engaged in cultivation only and both in cultivation and household industry. Thus, the total number of sample households engaged in cultivation comes to 300,124 and multiplying it by 5 we get the approximate total number of households as 1,500,620 and multiplying this again by 5 we get the approximate total population of 7,503,100 dependent on cultivation in the State of Assam. The proportion of population dependent on cultivation (excluding agricultural labourer) per 1000 of the total population in 1961 comes to 632 against 701 in 1951 (livelihood classes I and II of 1951), the absolute figures being 7,503,100 in 1961 and 6,194,709 in 1951. This shows an increase of 1,308,391 in the number of population in this category or 21.12 per cent. in terms of percentage in 1961 over 1951.

84. The term 'cultivation' as defined in the 1961 Census is rather liberal to such an extent that both the landlord and his tenant can be deemed to be cultivating the same land personally. According to the definition, the landlord can be deemed to cultivate the land personally if he supervises or directs cultivation of land, even though he gets the rent as share of produce. Similarly, a person becomes a tenant by virtue of his paying rent as share of produce, even if there was personal supervision on behalf of his landlord. It may not be uncommon that both landlord and his tenant or landlord and his agricultural labourer or all of them together might have got themselves returned as cultivators in respect of the same

parcel of land whereby the number of cultivators as well as the area of cultivated land might have been inflated. Since land utilisation statistics for 1960-61 are not available, it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which the area of cultivated land has been inflated or how much the assumptions made above are correct, and so the interest and size of land are to be studied from the face value of the Census return. The following two tables give the distribution of households under each interest by size of land and distribution of interests in land for households and size of land. Table 10.24 furnishes the distribution of 1,000 households under each of the three interests namely (1) owned or held from Government, (2) owned or held from private persons and (3) partly held from Government and partly from private persons or institutions by different sizes of land, while Table 10.25 gives the distribution of interests in land for every 1,000 households and for each size class of land.

Distribution of 1,000 households under each interest by size Class of land held

TABLE 10·24

State and District / Interest in Land	No. of cultivating households	Households engaged in cultivation by size of land in acres										
		less than 1	1·0 to 2·4	2·5 to 4·9	5·0 to 7·4	7·5 to 9·9	10·0 to 12·4	12·5 to 14·9	15·0 to 29·9	30·0 to 49·9	50 &	Unspecified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM Total	1,000	97	2[illegible]	349	160	70	36	17	27	4	1	6
1 Owned or held from Government	1 000	98	235	328	160	74	38	19	32	5	1	10
2 Owned or held from private persons, etc	1,000	210	351	317	77	20	11	4	6	1	1	2
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc	1,000	13	242	432	219	94	45	20	30	4	1	N
Goalpara Total	1,000	64	189	390	168	83	38	21	33	4	1	9
1 Owned or held from Government	1,000	85	197	344	162	87	41	25	39	5	1	14
2 Owned or held from private persons, etc	1,000	75	360	528	70	15	6	3	3	N	..	N
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc	1,000	10	134	456	214	94	42	19	28	2	1	N
Kamrup Total	1,000	83	174	376	182	81	39	21	32	5	1	6
1 Owned or held from Government	1,000	120	200	324	165	80	38	22	35	6	1	9
2 Owned or held from private persons, etc	1,000	115	254	460	108	32	18	5	7	1	N	N
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc	1,000	7	106	445	236	98	47	23	34	3	1	N
Darrang Total	1,000	76	173	367	184	89	45	21	36	5	1	3
1 Owned or held from Government.	1,000	90	187	332	177	91	47	23	42	6	1	4
2 Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	136	253	456	105	27	11	3	7	1	N	1
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1 000	7	93	405	246	117	59	26	39	6	2	N
Lakhimpur Total	1,000	105	208	336	170	81	42	21	28	4	1	4
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	80	197	338	185	88	46	23	32	4	1	6
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	333	343	257	42	14	6	2	2	N	..	1
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	12	129	403	225	114	54	25	33	3	1	1

TABLE 10·24—*concld.*

State and District / Interest in Land	No. of cultivating households	Households engaged in cultivation by size of land in acres: less than 1	1·0 to 1·4	2·5 to 4·9	5·0 to 7·4	7·5 to 9·9	10·0 to 12·4	12·5 to 14·9	15·0 to 29·9	30·0 to 49·9	50+	Unspecified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Nowgong Total	1,000	106	194	347	166	83	37	23	35	6	1	2
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	130	198	310	159	86	40	25	41	7	1	3
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	156	263	422	106	32	8	5	6	1	1	N
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	17	152	422	214	97	43	22	29	4	N	N
Sibsagar Total	1,000	144	225	336	151	68	32	16	22	3	1	2
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	117	226	337	158	73	36	19	27	3	1	3
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	462	303	175	38	11	4	2		1	N	1
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	17	171	438	205	92	39	15	21	2	N	N
Cachar Total	1,000	176	404	268	85	28	16	6	10	2	1	4
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	144	389	279	95	37	23	8	14	3	1	7
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	283	472	183	39	9	6	1	2	N	1	4
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	36	295	419	156	46	23	8	15	1	1	N
Garo Hills Total	1,000	44	269	375	153	48	32	12	24	3	1	39
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	57	267	342	132	46	27	11	29	4	1	84
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	42	318	380	155	38	31	12	18	2	..	4
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	6	116	468	223	88	48	16	27	5	3	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Total	1,000	64	409	266	133	35	36	5	25	6	5	16
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	60	415	256	132	33	39	5	27	6	5	[illegible]
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	96	490	240	98	26	21	5	12	3	3	[illegible]
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	26	188	391	214	76	52	7	36	9	7	..
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills Total	1,000	57	304	356	156	55	34	13	18	3	1	3
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	57	312	358	151	53	34	12	17	2	1	3
2. Owned or held from private persons etc.	1,000	101	365	360	109	35	13	3	6	3	2	3
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	6	108	319	297	108	53	40	55	12	2	..
Mizo Hills Total	1,000	4	295	413	202	41	26	2	4	N	..	13
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	4	295	413	202	41	26	2	4	N	..	13
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	1,000	..	1 000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

N—Negligible.

Distribution of interest in land for every 1,000 households and for each size class of land held

TABLE 10·25

State and District / Interest in Land	No of cultivating households	Households engaged in cultivation by size of land in acres: less than 1	1·0 to 2·4	2·5 to 4·9	5·0 to 7·4	7·5 to 9·9	10·0 to 12·4	12·5 to 14·9	15·0 to 19·9	30·0 to 49·9	[illegible]	Un-specified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	629	618	635	591	628	663	679	712	731	[illegible]	721	919
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	154	333	232	140	74	45	49	31	32	35	97	[illegible]
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	217	29	133	269	298	292	272	257	237	191	182	7
Goalpara Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	647	852	673	571	626	686	697	761	768	[illegible]	700	994
2 Owned or held from private persons, etc.	90	105	142	121	37	16	15	11	8	6		3
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	263	43	185	308	337	298	288	228	224	162	300	3
Kamrup Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	579	841	663	498	532	568	567	614	631	752	759	980
2 Owned or held from private persons, etc.	95	132	139	116	56	38	43	21	22	17	17	3
3 Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	326	27	198	386	422	394	390	365	347	231	224	17
Darrang Total .	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1 Owned or held from Government.	618	733	667	559	595	634	648	675	711	682	667	921
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	136	245	200	169	77	42	32	18	25	23	24	68
3. Partly held from Government partly, etc.	246	22	133	272	328	324	320	307	264	295	309	11
Lakhimpur Total .	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	723	546	685	728	783	783	802	822	826	868	875	960
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	139	438	229	106	34	24	18	13	11	19	..	24
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	138	16	86	166	183	193	180	165	163	113	125	16
Nowgong Total .	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	668	815	682	597	638	691	711	749	789	820	829	972
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	101	148	137	122	64	39	21	24	18	11	98	14
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	231	37	181	281	298	270	268	227	193	169	73	14
Sibsagar Total .	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	645	522	648	647	674	690	718	777	789	809	850	929
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	141	452	189	74	36	22	20	22	17	34	100	57
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	214	26	163	279	290	288	262	201	194	157	50	14

TABLE 10·25—*concld.*

State and District / Interest in Land	No. of cultivating households	Households engaged in cultivation by size of land in acres: less than 1	1·0 to 2·4	2·5 to 2·9	5·0 to 7·4	7·5 to 7·9	10·0 to 12·4	12·5 to 14·9	15·0 to 29·9	30·0 to 49·9	50 +	Unspecified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cachar Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	451	367	435	471	507	593	630	663	671	804	500	636
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	373	597	436	254	170	115	128	88	66	118	395	351
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	176	36	129	275	323	292	242	249	263	78	105	13
Garo Hills Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	443	574	440	404	380	423	380	404	537	595	556	957
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	426	408	503	433	430	337	423	419	315	216	..	43
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	131	18	57	163	190	240	197	177	148	189	444	.
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	684	635	694	659	681	640	736	644	748	735	741	925
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	218	325	261	196	160	164	125	220	109	118	121	75
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	98	40	45	145	159	196	139	136	143	147	138	.
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	872	868	895	877	842	841	883	809	802	652	714	923
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	71	126	85	72	49	45	27	17	25	87	143	77
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	57	6	20	51	109	114	90	174	173	261	143	..
Mizo Hills Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Owned or held from Government.	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	..	1,000
2. Owned or held from private persons, etc.	N	..	N	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Partly held from Government, partly, etc.	N	..	..	N	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..

N = Negligible.

85. It is necessary to ascertain the contribution of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in cultivation, agricultural labourer and in mining, quarrying etc. in the State as well as in the different districts. The following Table 10.26 gives the ratio of persons working in the above three categories between the general population and Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes.

86. It may be seen that 23 per cent. of the total male workers and 34 per cent. of the total female workers of the State belong to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. These male workers constitute 28 per cent. of the total male cultivators, 20 per cent. of the total male agricultural labourers and 12 per cent. of the total male workers in mining, quarrying etc. of the State, while the female workers constitute 40 per cent. in cultivation, 48 in agricultural labour and 9 in mining, quarrying etc. In the plains districts, both Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have their contribution in the ratio but in the hills districts, only Scheduled Tribes may be said to be the contributors, because the number of Scheduled Castes found in these districts are negligible. Again, in the plains districts, the ratio of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes workers in categories I and II is much lower than that of State. The ratios would have been a bit higher but for the strict application of the President's Order according to which persons belonging to Scheduled tribes living in the plains or non-scheduled areas have not been recorded as Scheduled Tribes.

Ratio of persons working as Cultivotors, Agricultural Labourers and in Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, etc., between the General Population on one hand and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the other, 1961

TABLE 10·26

State and selected districts where Scheduled Castes and Tribes predominate	Category	Total Population		Total Workers		I Working as Cultivators		II Working as Agricultural Labourers		III Working in Mining, Quarrying, etc.	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ASSAM . .	A General Population	6,328,129	5,544,643	3,423,454	1,713,957	2,189,874	1,133,626	158,179	29,237	291,163	226,937
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	1,444,702	1,352,870	786,928	580,051	620,366	449,202	31,736	14,018	35,114	20,022
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	23	24	23	34	28	40	20	48	12	9
Goalpara . .	A General Population.	812,723	731,169	448,644	164,666	317,212	116,260	33,280	5,242	4,646	1,262
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	157,791	146,820	84,028	60,481	62,823	33,856	6,267	2,005	2,055	278
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	19	20	19	37	20	29	19	38	44	22
Kamrup . .	A General Population.	1,109,608	952,964	579,468	255,117	388,562	125,430	26,012	3,597	6,951	2,724
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	178,553	162,144	89,015	54,854	66,771	34,906	3,818	847	2,702	528
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	16	17	15	22	17	28	15	24	39	19
Darrang . .	A General Population.	694,927	594,743	392,440	213,954	255,951	156,953	17,815	3,332	43,370	34,709
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	105,816	97,272	61,444	44,013	48,582	36,655	3,940	1,117	2,287	1,389
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	15	16	16	21	19	23	22	94	5	4
Lakhimpur . .	A General Population.	853,879	709,963	464,859	288,891	229,915	189,787	7,958	2,449	98,712	80,863
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	133,089	110,707	67,407	62,442	53,482	52,903	946	344	4,444	5,536
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	16	16	15	22	23	28	12	14	5	7
Nowgong . .	A General Population.	645,690	565,071	341,630	107,428	252,543	73,418	21,439	1,113	9,895	7,454
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	99,576	89,357	53,323	26,211	47,170	20,324	1,361	197	436	269
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	15	16	16	24	19	28	6	18	4	4
Sibsagar . .	A General Population.	808,935	699,455	421,821	294,105	244,083	196,508	10,267	2,934	77,695	67,188
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	98,884	91,121	54,385	40,913	39,719	31,440	1,421	1,733	8,398	3,221
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	12	13	13	14	16	16	14	59	11	5

TABLE 10·26—*concld.*

State and selected districts where Scheduled Castes and Tribes predominate	Category	Total Population		Total Workers		I Working as Cultivators		II Working as Agricultural Labourers		III Working in Mining, Quarrying, etc.	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Cachar ..	A General Population.	722,487	655,989	388,337	90,617	219,632	25,224	30,251	2,330	37,034	26,417
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	107,662	99,219	58,494	13,796	35,390	3,841	5,092	244	5,125	3,278
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	15	15	15	15	16	15	17	10	14	12
Garo Hills . .	A General Population.	156,740	150,488	93,461	80,232	82,556	76,882	2,062	1,203	1,004	344
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	133,591	130,258	89,510	75,084	82,488	72,723	2,015	856	918	85
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	85	87	96	94	100	95	98	71	91	25
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	A General Population.	240,548	221,604	138,236	90,519	71,765	63,721	7,212	6,663	11,124	5,518
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	186,465	190,108	105,954	87,391	70,020	63,634	6,473	6,535	8,563	5,189
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	78	86	77	97	98	100	90	98	77	94
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	A General Population.	150,127	129,599	90,226	67,074	72,470	55,110	1,850	374	479	176
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	114,440	103,680	61,578	54,125	58,767	45,040	374	140	44	15
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	76	80	68	81	81	82	20	37	9	9
Mizo Hills	A General Population.	132,465	133,598	64,332	61,354	55,185	54,333	33	..	253	282
	B Scheduled Castes . / Scheduled Tribes .	128,835	132,184	61,790	60,741	55,154	53,880	29	..	142	234
	C $\frac{B}{A} \times 100$ . .	97	99	96	99	100	99	88	..	56	83

PART C

Household Industries in Assam, 1961

Names of Industries (Employing less than ten persons at State level have been excluded) 1	Obtaining in districts (number of persons engaged shown in bracket) 2
Production of wood, bamboo, cane reeds, thatching grass, etc. . . .	Lakhimpur (1), Nowgong (23), Sibsagar (52), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (4)
Production of tea, in plantation	Goalpara (12)
Production of plantation crops other than tea, coffee, rubber, tobacco, ganja, cinchona, opium.	Goalpara (15)
Production of fish by fishing in inland water including the operation of fish farms and fish hatcheries.	Kamrup (1), Darrang (8), Nowgong (4)
Production and rearing of livestock (large heads only) mainly for milk and animal power such as cow, buffalo, goat.	Goalpara (1), Kamrup (13), Darrang (7), Sibsagar (7), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (3), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (206).

PART C—*contd.*

Names of Industries (Employing less than ten persons at State level have been excluded)	Obtaining in districts (number of persons engaged shown in bracket)
1	2
Rearing of bees for production of honey, wax and collection of honey	Goalpara (46).
Rearing of silk-worms and production of cocoons and raw silk	United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (22)
Production rice, atta, flour, etc. by milling, dehusking and processing of crop and foodgrains.	Goalpara (1468), Kamrup (1060), Darrang (833), Lakhimpur (32), Nowgong (53), Sibsagar (361), Cachar (288).
Production of indigenous sugar, gur, from sugar cane or palm juice and production of candy.	Goalpara (278), Kamrup (11), Darrang (3), Sibsagar (403), Cachar (130).
Production of fruit products such as jam, jelly, sauce and canning and preservation of fruits.	Goalpara (5), Lakhimpur (3), Cachar (1), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (6).
Production of bread, biscuits, cake an other bakery products	Goalpara (16), Kamrup (149), Darrang (9), Lakhimpur (20), Nowgong (4), Sibsagar (4), Cachar (10).
Production of butter, ghee, chease and other dairy products	Goalpara (174), Kamrup (16), Lakhimpur (53), Nowgong (1), Cachar (3), Garo Hills (1), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (81), Mizo Hills (10).
Production of edible fats and oil (other than hydrogenated oil)	Goalpara (124), Kamrup (32), Nowgong (1), Sibsagar (2), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (1).
Production of other food products such as sweetmeat and condiments, muri, murki, chira, khoi, cocoa, chocolate, toffee, lozenge.	Goalpara (70), Kamrup (43), Darrang (10), Lakhimpur (18), Nowgong (6), Sibsagar (141), Cachar (102), Garo Hills (8), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (17).
Production of distilled spirits, wines, liquor from alcoholic malt, fruits and malts in distillery and brewery.	Kamrup (7), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (10), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (1).
Production of country liquor	Kamrup (38), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (188), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (2).
Production of indigenous liquor such as toddy liquor from mahua, palm juice	Kamrup (4), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (66).
Production of aerated and mineral water	Kamrup (54), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (2).
Manufacture of bidi	Goalpara (41), Kamrup (125), Nowgong (9), Sibsagar (2), Cachar (9), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (21), Mizo Hills (1).
Manufacture of hookah tobacco	Kamrup (64), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (2), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (21).
Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing and baling	Goalpara (34), Kamrup (59), Darrang (40), Lakhimpur (151), Sibsagar (7), Cachar (1049).
Cotton spinning (other than in mills)	Goalpara (81), Kamrup (3375), Darrang (57), Lakhimpur (1019), Nowgong (508), Sibsagar (136), Cachar (1803), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (918).
Cotton dyeing, bleaching	Goalpara (19), Kamrup (172), Darrang (3), Lakhimpur (16), Nowgong (4), Sibsagar (120), Cachar (133), Garo Hills (8), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (12), Mizo Hills (37).
Cotton weaving in power looms	Kamrup (2), Darrang (242), Nowgong (1), Sibsagar (1), Cachar (4), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (5).
Cotton weaving in handlooms	Goalpara (30,758), Kamrup (105,556), Darrang (116,441) Lakhimpur (7,356), Nowgong (22,093), Sibsagar (17,885), Cachar (17,644), Garo Hills (91), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (478), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (7,837), Mizo Hills (4,954).

PART C—*contd.*

Names of Industries (Employing less than ten persons at State level have been excluded) 1	Obtaining in districts (number of persons engaged shown in bracket) 2
Manufacturing of khadi textile in handlooms	Kamrup (424), Nowgong (13), Sibsagar (914), Cachar (117).
Printing of cotton textile	Goalpara (25), Kamrup (12), Lakhimpur (29), Sibsagar (42), Cachar (1), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (7).
Manufacturing of cotton nets	Goalpara (97), Kamrup (1,211), Darrang (432), Lakhimpur (42), Nowgong (21), Sibsagar (98), Cachar (1,078), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (7).
Manufacturing of cotton, cordage, rope and twine	Goalpara (21), Kamrup (5), Lakhimpur (2), Nowgong (1), Cachar (60).
Jute pressing and baling	Goalpara (54), Cachar (25)
Manufacture of rope, cordage from jute and similar fibres such as hemp, mesta	Goalpara (23), Kamrup (44), Lakhimpur (5) Cachar (23), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (8).
Embroidery and art work in woollen textile	Goalpara (65), Kamrup (199), Darrang (41), Lakhimpur (8), Nowgong (2), Sibsagar (47), Cachar (25), Garo Hills (3), Uoited Khasi-Jaintia Hills (24), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (6), Mizo Hills (3).
Dyeing and bleaching of silk	Kamrup (1), Cachar (1), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (61), Mizo Hills (72).
Spinning of silk other than in mills	Goalpara (172), Kamrup (138), Darrang (26), Lakhimpur (4), Sibsagar (38), Cachar (5), Garo Hills (1), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (4).
Weaving of silk textile by handloom	Goalpara (22), Kamrup (446), Darrang (56), Lakhimpur (98), Sibsagar (10), Cachar (115), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (13), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (455), Mizo Hills (1).
Manufacture of carpet and all other similar type of textile products	Goalpara (9), Kamrup (2), Sibsagar (14).
Manufacture of hosiery and other knitted fabrics and garments	Goalpara (6), Kamrup (11), Darrang (79), Lakhimpur (38), Cachar (8), Garo Hills (1), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (10), Nowgong (47), Sibsagar (57).
Embroidery and making of crepe lace and fringes	Goalpara (60), Kamrup (146), Darrang (4), Lakhimpur (248), Nowgong (26), Sibsagar (142), Cachar (58), Garo Hills (10), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (80).
Making of textile garments including rain coats and headgear	Goalpara (155), Kamrup (585), Darrang (90), Lakhimpur (548), Nowgong (67), Sibsagar (146), Cachar (164), Garo Hills (35), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (709), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (21), Mizo Hills (76).
Manufacture of made-up textile goods except wearing apparel such as curtains, pillow cases, bedding materials, mattress, textile bags	Goalpara (14), Kamrup (8), Darrang (31), Nowgong (2), Sibsagar (2), Cachar (4).
Manufacture of coir and coir products	Darrang (13).
Manufacture of umbrellas	Goalpara (10), Kamrup (2), Darrang (8), Nowgong (2), Cachar (4).
Sawing and planing of wood	Goalpara (28), Kamrup (25), Darrang (5), Lakhimpur (6), Nowgong (1), Sibsagar (72), Cachar (69), Garo Hills (37), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (4), Mizo Hills (2).

PART C – *contd.*

Names of Industries (Employing less than ten persons at State level have been excluded) 1	Obtaining in districts (number of persons engaged shown in bracket) 2
Manufacture of wooden furniture and fixtures	Goalpara (443), Kamrup (447), Darrang (20), Lakhimpur (228), Nowgong (184), Sibsagar (151), Cachar (2701), Garo Hills (83), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (147), Mizo Hills (253), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (14).
Manufacture of wooden structural goods (including treated timber) such as beams, posts, doors, windows.	Goalpara (100), Kamrup (109), Darrang (9), Lakhimpur (82), Nowgong (1), Sibsagar (47), Cachar (59), Garo Hills (7), United Khasi and Jaintia Hills (40), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (1), Mizo Hills (6).
Manufacture of earthenware and earthen pottery	Goalpara (1071) Kamrup (1,510), Darrang (36), Lakhimpur (15), Nowgong (19), Sibsagar (83), Cachar (466), Garo Hills (108), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (5), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (5).
Manufacture of chinaware and crockery	Cachar (74).
Manufacture of glass bangles and beads	Goalpara (57).
Manufacture of earthen images, busts and statues	Kamrup (26), Darrang (3), Lakhimpur (22), Nowgong (5), Cachar (92), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (1), Mizo Hills (1).
Manufacture of earthen toys and artwares except images, busts and statues	Goalpara (42) Kamrup (12), Lakhimpur (88), Nowgong (1), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (19).
Manufacture of glass and glass products except optical and photographic lenses.	Kamrup (71).
Manufacture of iron and steel including smelting, refining, rolling, conversion into basic froms such as billets, blooms, tubes, rods.	Goalpara (36), Darrang (11), Lakhimpur (17).
Manufacture of ornaments	Goalpara (17), Kamrup (7), Lakhimpur (4) Garo Hills (2).
Manufacture of iron and steel furniture	Goalpara (133), Kamrup (322), Darrang (7), Lakhimpur (106), Nowgong (53), Sibsagar (14), Cachar (174), Garo Hills (45), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (136), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (1), Mizo Hills (86).
Manufacture of brass and bell metal products	Goalpara (2), Kamrup (406), Darrang (13), Lakhimpur (19), Nowgong (8), Sibsagar (38), Cachar (40), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (11).
Manufacture of metal products (other than of iron, brass, bell metal and aluminium) such as tin can.	Kamrup (19), Lakhimpur (38), Nowgong (1), Sibsagar (2).
Enamelling, galvanising, plating (including electroplating) polishing and welding of metal products.	Kamrup (20), Lakhimpur (14), Nowgong (1), Sibsagar (6), Cachar (2), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (4).
Repairing and servicing of motor vehicles	Kamrup (2), Darrang (9), Lakhimpur (10), Nowgong (72), Sibsagar (9), Garo Hills (3), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (16), Mizo Hills (1).

PART C—*contd.*

Names of Industries (Employing less than ten persons at State level have been excluded) 1	Obtaining in districts (number of persons engaged shown in bracket) 2
Manufacture of bicycles and tricycles and accessories such as saddle, seatframe, gear.	Goalpara (7), Kamrup (9), Lakhimpur (6), Nowgong (11), Garo Hills (4).
Building and repairing of boats	Kamrup (7), Lakhimpur (1), Cachar (3).
Repairing of bicycles and tricycles	Kamrup (36), Darrang (1), Lakhimpur (13), Nowgong (2), Sibsagar (4), Cachar (5), Garo Hills (2), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (2).
Manufacture of animal drawn and hand drawn vehicles	Goalpara (8), Kamrup (9), Darrang (6), Lakhimpur (1), Nowgong (10), Garo Hills (3), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (16).
Assembling and repairing of watches and clocks	Goalpara (1), Kamrup (54), Darrang (13), Lakhimpur (1), Cachar (1), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (17), Mizo Hills (9).
Manufacture of jewellery, silverware and wares using gold and other precious metals.	Goalpara (422), Kamrup (765) Darrang (58), Lakhimpur (331), Nowgong (89), Sibsagar (128), Cachar (230), Garo Hills (70), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (76) Mizo Hills (1).
Manufacture and tuning of musical instruments	Kamrup (13), Lakhimpur (1), Cachar (9), United Khasi-Jaintia Hills (3).

N.B.—Unclassifiable industries have been excluded.

PART D

Workers in Manufacturing other than Household Industry, Construction, Trade and Commerce, Transport, Storage and Communications and in Other Services.

87. Out of a total population of 11,872,772 is Assam, only 103,634 persons or 0.87 per cent. of the population are engaged in manufacturing other than household industry of which 91,326 are males and 12,308 females, the percentage being 1.44 and 0.22 respectively. A very significant development since the last Census was the completion of two Five Year Plans entailing large development expenditures together with a spate of legislative regulations and reforms. These measures have made visible impressions on the social and economic life of the people and on their attitudes and opportunities towards work. However, the impact of these measures has not been uniform throughout but different on different sections of the population inhabiting different districts of the State. In view of the above, it would have been rewarding to study the growth of working force in manufacturing other than household industry but for the non-availability of comparable data for 1951 and 1961. The number of workers in manufacturing including household industry as worked in 1961 is not strictly comparable with that for 1951, since an appreciable number of such workers might have been transferred from Category III to Category IV. The total number of workers in manufacturing including household industry in Assam according to the 1961 Census is 383,987 of whom 119,619 are males and 264,368 are females against 309,505 persons of whom 106,185 were males and 203,320 females in 1951. This shows an absolute increase of 74,482 persons, 13,434 males and 61,048 females in 1961 over 1951, the percentage of increase being 24.06, 12.65 and 30.03 respectively.

88. The following table gives the distribution of 1,000 total population of each sex among workers and workers in industrial categories IV to IX.

Distribution of 1,000 total population of each sex among workers and workers in Industrial Categories IV to IX, 1961

TABLE 10·27

Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Population		Total Workers		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
							ASSAM STATE										
	Total	1 000	1 000	541	309	5	40	14	2	6	N	28	2	3	N	99	8
	0—14	1 000	1 000	78	64	1	9	1	N	N	N	1	N	N	N	5	2
	15—34	1 000	1 000	858	558	7	81	25	1	11	1	44	2	22	N	171	16
Total	35—59	1 000	1 000	960	548	8	85	20	4	10	N	58	5	22	N	97	15
	60+	1 000	1,000	749	215	9	30	12	2	4	N	34	4	4	N	45	7
	Age not stated	1 000	1 000	404	183	3	47	8	3	1		15	1	3	N	53	15
	Total	1 000	1 000	540	324	4	47	9	1	5	N	19	1	5	N	44	7
	0—14	1 000	1 000	81	68	1	9	1	N	N	N	1	N	N	N	4	2
	15—34	1 000	1 000	870	588	6	83	15	2	11	1	30	2	10	N	82	12
Rural	35—59	1 000	1 000	902	569	7	85	15	2	9	N	37	4	10	N	73	12
	60+	1 000	1 000	758	274	8	31	6	1	3	N	25	3	3		34	5
	Age not stated	1 000	1,000	404	188	3	47	5	N	N		12	1	2		44	14
	Total	1 000	1 000	554	99	11	33	77	10	12	N	122	7	81	2	225	34
	0—14	1 000	1 000	36	13	1	5	10	2	N	N	5	N	1	N	17	6
	15—34	1 000	1 000	766	161	15	54	101	20	16	N	154	8	116	4	335	59
Urban	35—59	1 000	1 000	940	227	19	79	133	35	23	N	233	25	147	4	338	68
	60+	1 000	1 000	615	85	21	21	80	8	14		188	16	28	N	211	28
	Age not stated	1 000	1 000	419	109	19	36	68	32	15		72		15	5	215	32

N = Negligible

89 According to Table 10.27 the participation of women is very low in other categories as compared to household industry It may be stated that the sphere of economic activity of women in Assam is mostly limited to the household sector. In so far as there is scope for employment in the household sector, such as in household cultivation or industry, the rate of female employment is high but the level of activity in other sectors is very low The participation of both males and females of the working age group 15-59 is highest among all the age groups. The proportion of female workers in household industry is higher in the rural than in the urban areas, while that of male workers is higher in the urban than in the rural areas In all other industrial categories, the proportion of both male and female workers is higher in urban than in rural areas.

90 The distribution of urban population of each sex among total workers and workers in industrial categories IV to IX for each Class I town and for all towns together in each size class of town may be had from the following table

Distribution of 1,000 Urban Population of each sex among total-workers

TABLE

Cities and Classes of Towns	Age Groups	Population		Total Workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
Class I					
Shillong Town Group	Total	1,000	1,000	552	144
	0—14	1,000	1,000	24	13
	15—34	1,000	1,000	781	214
	35—59	1,000	1,000	942	317
	60+	1,000	1,000	528	155
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	520	59
Gauhati City	Total	1,000	1,000	599	68
	0—14	1,000	1,000	26	8
	15—34	1,000	1,000	754	104
	35—59	1,000	1,000	914	146
	60+	1,000	1,000	552	55
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	..	..
Class II					
Dibrugarh Town	Total	1,000	1,000	563	84
	0—14	1,000	1,000	23	20
	15—34	1,000	1,000	756	143
	35—59	1,000	1,000	937	162
	60+	1,000	1,000	641	56
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	857	48
Class III					
Silchar, Nowgong, Pandu, Karimganj, Tinsukia, Dhubri, Jorhat, Tezpur, Lumding, Barpeta.	Total	1,000	1,000	548	73
	0—14	1,000	1,000	46	9
	15—34	1,000	1,000	750	117
	35—59	1,000	1,000	945	170
	60+	1,000	1,000	562	55
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	289	60
Class IV					
Digboi, Digboi Oil Town, Sibsagar, Goalghat, Aijal, Hailakandi, Goalpara, Hojai, Sualkuchi, Bilasipara.	Total	1,000	1,000	512	125
	0—14	1,000	1,000	29	17
	15—34	1,000	1,000	745	206
	35—59	1,000	1,000	942	297
	60+	1,000	1,000	655	118
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	447	173
Class V					
Gauripur, Barpeta Road, Kokrajhar, Nalbari, Mankachar, Mariani, Tura, Naharkatiya, Bongaigaon, Mangaldai, Doom Dooma, Dergaon, Sapatgram, North Gauhati, Dhing, Dhekiajuli, Jowai, Badarpur, Amingaon, Sarthebari, Abhayapuri, North Lakhimpur, Kharupatia.	Total	1,000	1,000	555	104
	0—14	1,000	1,000	42	12
	15—34	1,000	1,000	795	177
	35—59	1,000	1,000	944	251
	60+	1,000	1,000	692	85
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	405	186
Class VI					
Rangia, Nazira, Lala, Kamakhya, Tangla, Palasbari, Haflong, Bihpuria Tinali, Tihu, Lakhipur, Chabua.	Total	1,000	1,000	586	129
	0—14	1,000	1,000	42	22
	15—34	1,000	1,000	828	227
	35—59	1,000	1,000	949	269
	60+	1,000	1,000	742	100
	Age not stated	1,000	1,000	370	143

and workers in Industrial Categories IV to IX, 1961

10·28

IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
7	4	42	3	5	N	59	10	25	1	404	100
N	N	2	N	N		1	1	N		20	12
9	5	56	4	5	1	75	31	35	3	591	165
12	11	79	8	10	N	119	103	46	1	659	175
13	3	64	1	10		97	66	16		282	17
								40		480	59
5	21	69	2	13	N	91	4	124	5	287	35
N	3	2	N			2		N		22	5
6	30	90	3	14		95	4	161	8	379	57
10	49	100	5	25	N	186	14	191	9	387	68
9	16	67	2	15		141	5	50	3	250	26
								1 000			
10	30	61	10	14	N	117	4	136	3	211	35
N	9	4	N	1		4	N	N		13	10
13	53	82	20	16		149	5	171	5	304	56
17	46	101	22	27	N	203	11	266	8	296	71
6	12	67		21		178	10	74	1	280	31
				143		143		143		428	48
9	35	69	7	14	N	143	2	110	3	192	24
1	3	21	1	N	N	6	N	1	N	16	5
13	57	92	13	17	N	184	2	158	6	273	37
16	87	100	13	27	N	267	7	204	5	310	53
12	20	71	4	17		190	5	29	N	203	25
22				22		89		22		133	60
22	55	127	31	9	N	107	6	29	1	181	23
2	9	5	2	N		5	N	1		14	5
29	88	161	52	12	N	149	8	52	1	295	42
40	133	286	77	20		206	17	43	1	279	41
57	42	113	19	11		164	11	18		184	15
26	58	132	38	26		39				211	.
11	34	79	24	16	N	147	7	68	1	184	24
1	4	7	2	1		8	N	1		17	4
16	62	112	43	25	1	191	7	96	2	295	40
17	77	135	56	23	1	280	52	135	3	258	54
18	23	91	11	15		240	19	22		171	21
24	51	83	85			83				202	34
16	49	84	49	8		168	3	40	1	197	16
.	9	4	8			7	N	N		19	3
21	89	129	89	11		224	3	62	1	295	27
28	104	126	101	18		301	8	64	1	283	32
17	16	61	33	6		226	9	11		233	26
.	95	37				148			48	111	..

N = Negligible

91. The observation already made in respect of the rate of participation of workers belonging to age group 15-59 holds good for all classes of towns also. Shillong being the capital of Assam with predominant functional characteristics as an administrative town, it is quite natural to find here the highest rate of participation by both the sexes in Other Services. There is very limited scope for female employment in the small manufacturing workshops located in this town. The proportion of females engaged in trade and commerce is highest in Shillong among all other towns individually or collectively because of the high participation by Khasi women. The proportion of workers of both sex in different industrial categories follows the functional characteristics of each town and all towns together in each size class of town.

92. It may be interesting to examine the concentration of educated persons in particular industrial categories in urban areas of the State. The following table has been specially devised for the purpose. The industrial categories with smaller number of educated persons and the educational levels below Matriculation or Higher Secondary have been excluded from the table. According to Table 10.29 below, the largest number of educated persons both male and female with all educational levels is engaged in Other Services. Category VIII comes second to Category IX followed by Category VII. Manufacturing other than Household Industry absorbs the least number of educated persons. In respect of technical degree, however, category V stands second with 155 persons, 147 males and 8 females to Category IX with 1,206 males and 113 females.

Concentration of educated persons in industrial categories in urban areas

TABLE 10·29

Educational levels	V Manufacturing other than household industry		VII Trade and commerce		VIII Transport, storage and communications		IX Other services	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	2,568	167	4,637	40	7,335	250	17,200	1,745
Technical diploma not equal to degree	287	..	627	4	276	..	296	16
Non-technical diploma not equal to degree	38	..	140	..	143	..	1,089	11
University degree or Post Graduate degree other than technical degree	437	5	596	3	901	31	7,800	655
Technical degree or diploma equal to degree or Post Graduate degree	147	8	44	..	111	6	1,206	113
Engineering	111	1	14	..	60	..	343	2
Medicine	18	1	29	..	32	3	582	51
Agriculture	1	..	1	..	..	..	34	..
Veterinary and Dairying	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..
Technology	15	..	..	..	..	..	13	..
Teaching	..	6	..	..	7	3	119	59
Others	2	..	..	..	12	..	7	1

93. We may now examine the participation of men and women in particular branch of industries and their occupations from the following two tables. Table 10.30 gives the distribution of male and female workers in the industrial divisions and major groups while Table 10.31 deals with their distribution in the occupational divisions and major groups. The former supplies the number of persons engaged in different branches of industries together with their proportion per 10,000 of all workers and their distribution between household industry and non-household industry while the latter furnishes such data about the occupations of the persons engaged in different industrial categories.

94. According to Table 10.30, participation of males is highest in the industrial division 8 (services) with 360,826 followed by division 0 (agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting) with 285,446, division 6 (trade and commerce) with 174,845 and division 2 & 3 (manufacturing) with 119,199. In case of female workers 264,326 are employed in division 2 & 3; 226,263 in division 0 and 45,057 in division 8. Workers at household industry

are found only in division 0 and division 2 & 3, but the number of persons working at household industry in division 0 are negligible as compared to non-household industry.

95. The proportion per 10,000 of male workers in division 0 is 2,654 and that of female workers is 4,106 out of which only 4 males and 1 female are engaged in household industry Division 2 & 3, however, employs a good number of persons at household industry in which the proportion of women is much higher than that of men. Major group 23 (textile-cotton) alone records the highest participation of females among all other major groups in division 2 & 3.

96. In non-household industry, the proportion of male workers is highest in division 8 distributed into the major groups 89 (services not elsewhere classified), 80 (public services), 88 (personal services), 81 (educational and scientific services), 82 (medical and health services), 83 (religious and welfare services), 86 community services and trade and labour associations), 84 (legal services), 87 (recreation services) and 85 (business services) in descending order followed by division 0, and division 6. Major group 01 (plantation crops) in division 0 and major group 64-68 (retail trade in division 6 employ the highest proportion of both male and female workers among all other branches of the respective divisions.

97. Table 10.31 shows that 296,812 males and 287,917 females belong to occupational division 7-8 (craftsmen, production process workers, and labourers not elsewhere classified), 272,932 males and 222,787 females to division 4 (farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers), 167,778 males and 9,493 females to division 3 (sales workers), 96,676 males and 13,278 females to division 9 (service, sport and recreation workers), 65,065 males and 10,145 females to division 0 (professional, technical and related workers), 57,591 males and 2,233 females to division 2 (clerical and related workers), 56,081 males and 304 females to division 6 (workers in transport and communications occupation), 27,720 males and 4,302 females to division X (workers not classifiable by occupation), 24,797 males and 461 females to division 1 (administrative, executive and managerial workers) and 8,949 males and 174 females to division 5 (miners, quarrymen and related workers) in descending order of numerical strength. The proportion per 10,000 of these workers under each of the above divisions with their distribution into the different industrial categories are given in the table Distribution of workers with particular occupations under each occupational division into the industrial categories is also given. Workers belonging to occupational division 0 are mostly found in industrial category IX while workers in division 7-8 are found in all the industrial categories IV to IX. Persons with occupational divisions other than 7-8 and X are not found in category IV. The proportion of female workers at household industry (category IV) is highest in occupational group 70 (spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers) among all other groups. This confirms the earlier observations about female workers at household industry in Assam. Figures in other columns also tell what has already been told.

Proportion of Workers of each sex to total of all workers (per 10,000 of all workers) in the Industrial Divisions and Major Groups, 1961

ASSAM

Table 10·30

Branch of Industry			Total Workers: Males (a) Absolute figure (b) 10 000	Total Workers: Females (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	At Household Industry: Males	At Household Industry: Females	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business, etc.: Males	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business, etc.: Females
1			2	3	4	5	6	7
Division . . .	0	(a)	285,446	226,263	..	..	..	..
		(b)	2,654	4,106	4	1	2,650	4,105
Major Group –	00	(a)	5,537	3,710	..	..	..	..
		(b)	51	67	1	N	50	67
Major Group .	01	(a)	253,511	213,670	..	..	..	..
		(b)	2,357	3,877	N	..	2,357	3,877
Major Group . .	02	(a)	1,794	201	..	..	..	..
		(b)	17	4	N	N	17	4

TABLE 10·30—*contd.*

Branch of Industry		Total Workers: Males (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	Total Workers: Females (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	At Household Industry: Males	At Household Industry: Females	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business, etc.: Males	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business, etc.: Females
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Major Group	03 (a)	11,594	4,295		..	..	..
	03 (b)	108	78	N	N	108	78
Major Group	04 (a)	13,010	4,387	..			..
	04 (b)	121	80	3	1	118	79
Division	*1 (a)*	*6,737*	*716*	..	..	..	..
	1 (b)	*57*	*13*	..	..	*57*	*13*
Major Group	10 (a)	6,137	716	..	.	..	..
	10 (b)	57	13	..	..	57	13
Division	*2 & 3 (a)*	*119,199*	*264,326*	..		..	.
	2 & 3 (b)	*1,109*	*4,796*	*259*	*4,573*	*890*	*223*
Major Group	20 (a)	11,223	6,953	..	..	.	..
	20 (b)	104	126	13	90	91	36
Major Group	21 (a)	3,447	974		..	.	.
	21 (b)	32	18	2	5	30	13
Major Group	22 (a)	1 301	284	.	..	..	.
	22 (b)	12	5	1	4	11	1
Major Group	23 (a)	11,028	238,304	.		..	..
	23 (b)	103	4,324	69	4,254	34	70
Major Group	24 (a)	377	87	..	..	..	..
	24 (b)	4	2	1	2	3	N
Major Group	25 (a)	119	355		.	..	..
	25 (b)	1	6	1	6	N	N
Major Group	26 (a)	500	1,476	..	..	..	..
	26 (b)	5	27	4	25	1	2
Major Group	27 (a)	16,261	2,769	..	..	..	..
	27 (b)	151	50	20	30	131	20
Major Group	28 (a)	27,926	6,690	..	..	..	..
	28 (b)	260	121	79	111	181	10
Major Group	29 (a)	317	107	..	..	..	..
	29 (b)	3	2	1	1	2	1
Major Group	30 (a)	1,995	231	..	..	..	..
	30 (b)	19	4	1	N	18	4
Major Group	31 (a)	3,055	190	..	..	..	..
	31 (b)	28	4	3	1	25	3
Major Group	32 (a)	6,089	330	..	..	..	..
	32 (b)	57	6	N	..	57	6
Major Group	33 (a)	1,652	79	..	..	..	..
	33 (b)	15	1	N	N	15	1
Major Group	34-35 (a)	7,164	4,702	..	..	..	..
	34-35 (b)	67	85	19	41	48	44
Major Group	36 (a)	7,298	191	..	..	..	..
	36 (b)	68	4	17	2	51	2
Major Group	37 (a)	202	4	..	..	..	..
	37 (b)	2	N	..	N	2	N

TABLE 10·30—*contd.*

Branch of Industry		Total Workers: Males (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	Total Workers: Females (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	At Household Industry: Males	At Household Industry: Females	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business etc.: Males	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business etc.: Females
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Major Group	38 (a)	7,222	260			.	..
	38 (b)	67	5	3	N	64	5
Major Group	39 (a)	11,993	340			.	.
	39 (b)	111	6	26	1	85	5
Division	*4 (a)*	*38,212*	*1,626*				..
	4 (b)	*355*	*29*			*355*	*29*
Major Group	40 (a)	38,212	1,626	.			..
	40 (b)	355	29	.		355	29
Division	*5 (a)*	*769*	*28*				
	5 (b)	*7*	*N*		..	*7*	*N*
Major Group	50 (a)	602	3	.		*N*	..
	50 (b)	6	N		..	6	N
Major Group	51 (a)	167	25	.	.		..
	51 (b)	1	N	..	.	1	N
Division	*6 (a)*	*174,845*	*9,862*		.	..	..
	6 (b)	*1,626*	*179*	..	..	*1,626*	*179*
Major Group	60-63 (a)	6,567	383	..	..	.	..
	60-63 (b)	61	7	..	.	61	7
Major Group	64-68 (a)	167,483	9,451	..	..	.	..
	64-68 (b)	1,558	171		..	1,558	171
Major Group	69 (a)	795	28	..	..	..	..
	69 (b)	7	1	..	..	7	1
Division	*7 (a)*	*74,637*	*975*		..	..	..
	7 (b)	*694*	*18*	..	..	*694*	*1*
Major Group	70-71 (a)	68,267	740	..	..	..	..
	70-71 (b)	635	14	..	.	635	14
Major Group	72 (a)	221	9	..	..	..	..
	72 (b)	2	N	..	..	2	N
Major Group	73 (a)	6,149	226	..	..	..	..
	73 (b)	57	4	..	..	57	4
Division	*8 (a)*	*360,826*	*45,057*	..	..	..	..
	8 (b)	*3,355*	*818*	..	..	*3,355*	*818*
Major Group	80 (a)	101,752	3,690	..	..	..	..
	80 (b)	946	67	..	..	946	67
Major Group	81 (a)	42,105	7,326	..	..	..	..
	81 (b)	391	133	..	..	391	133

TABLE 10·30—*concld.*

Branch of Industry		Total Workers: Males (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	Total Workers: Females (a) Absolute figure (b) 10,000	At Household Industry: Males	At Household Industry: Females	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business etc.: Males	In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business etc.: Females
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Major Group	82 (a)	15,653	2,180	..	..	..	..
	(b)	145	40	..	..	145	40
Major Group	83 (a)	11,790	775	..	..	..	..
	(b)	110	14	..	..	110	14
Major Group	84 (a)	2,992	91	..	..	..	..
	(b)	28	2	..	..	28	2
Major Group	85 (a)	2,057	28	..	..	..	..
	(b)	19	N	..	.	19	N
Major Group	86 (a)	9,358	458	..	.	..	..
	(b)	8	8	..	..	87	8
Major Group	87 (a)	2,32	12	..	..	..	..
	(b)	22	2	..	..	22	2
Major Group	88 (a)	64,063	10,949	..	..	..	..
	(b)	596	199	.	.	596	199
Major Group	89 (a)	108,726	19,435	..		.	..
	(b)	1,011	353		.	1,011	353
Division	*9 (a)*	*15,310*	*2,241*	..	.	..	..
	(b)	*143*	*41*	..	..	*143*	*41*
Major Group	90 (a)	15,310	§2,241	..	..	..	..
	(b)	143	41	..	..	143	41

Proportion of Workers of each sex to total of all workers (per 10,000 of all workers) in the occupational Divisions and Groups, 1961

Table 10·31

Branch of Occupation: Branches Division & Group		Total Workers: M	Total Workers: F	IV: M	IV: F	V: M	V: F	VI: M	VI: F	VII: M	VII: F	VIII: M	VIII: F	IX: M	IX: F
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Division	*0 (a)*	*65,065*	*§10,145*	..	..	*5*	*1*	*N*	..	..	..	*8*	*2*	*586*	*177*
	(b)	*605*	*184*												
Group	00 (a)	§2,874	8	..	..	2	..	N	..	..	..	2	.	23	N
	(b)	27	N												
Group	01 (a)	268	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	N
	(b)	3	N												
Group	02 (a)	1,141	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	N
	(b)	11	N												
Group	03 (a)	7,139	126	..	..	N	N	..	..	.	..	1	N	64	2
	(b)	66	2												

TABLE 10·31—*contd.*

Branch of Occupation		Total Workers		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
All Branches, Division & Group		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Group 04	(a)	3,826	2,996	.		N	1	..	..	.	.	2	1	31	50
	(b)	35	54												
Group 05	(a)	37,217	6,359	.	.	1	N	.	.	..	.	1	1	343	113
	(b)	346	116												
Group 06	(a)	1,387	2	..	.	..	.		..	..	.	..	..	11	N
	(b)	13	N												
Group 07	(a)	1,946	219	..	..	1	..	N	..	..	..	N	..	17	4
	(b)	18	4												
Group 08	(a)	1,661	78	..	..	N	N	N	..	..	..	1	N	14	2
	(b)	15	2												
Group 09	(a)	717	13	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	5	N
	(b)	7	N												
Group . . . . . OX	(a)	6,871	339		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64	6
	(b)	64	6												
Division	(a)	*24,797*	*461*	..	..	*10*	*N*	*27*	*1*	*14*	*N*	*5*	*N*	*174*	*7*
	(b)	*231*	*8*												
Group 10	(a)	13,849	163	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	129	3
	(b)	129	3												
Group 11	(a)	1,192	19	..	..	.	..	..	..	11	N	..	..	..	..
	(b)	11	N												
Group 12	(a)	51	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	N	..	..	..	..
	(b)	1	N												
Group 13	(a)	9,705	278	..	..	10	N	27	1	2	N	5	N	45	4
	(b)	90	5												
Division *2*	(a)	*57,591*	*2,233*	..	..	*15*	*N*	*5*	*N*	*10*	*N*	*68*	*4*	*427*	*37*
	(b)	*536*	*41*												
Group 20	(a)	3,051	42	..	..	6	N	..	N	1	..	3	N	19	1
	(b)	28	1												
Group 21	(a)	1,331	147	..	..	2	N	N	..	1	..	2	N	8	3
	(b)	13	3												
Group 22	(a)	195	..	..	..	N	..	..	..	..	..	N	..	2	..
	(b)	2	..												
Group 28	(a)	41,212	2,042	..	..	7	N	4	..	8	N	51	3	303	34
	(b)	383	37												
Group 29	(a)	11,802	2	..	.	2	..	N	.	1	..	12	..	95	[illegible]
	(b)	110	N												
Division *3*	(a)	*167,778*	*9,493*	..	..	*12*	*2*	..	..	*1,547*	*70*	..	..	*2*	*N*
	(b)	*1,560*	*172*												
Group 30	(a)	101,428	6,570	..	..	..	..	..	..	943	119	..	..	..	..
	(b)	943	119												
Group 31	(a)	4,732	90	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	2	..	..	N	..
	(b)	44	2												
Group 32	(a)	1,872	107	..	..	5	2	..	..	11	N	..	..	1	..
	(b)	17	2												

TABLE 10·31—*contd.*

Branch of Occupation		Total Workers		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
All Branches, Division & Group		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Group	33 (a)	59,120	2,275	..	..	6	N	..	..	542	49	..	..	2	N
	33 (b)	550	49												
Group	34 (a)	626	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	N	..	..	..	..
	34 (b)	6	N												
Division	*4 (a)*	*273,932*	*222,787*	..	..	..	..	..	..	*1*	*2*	..	..	*11*	*N*
	4 (b)	*2,547*	*4,043*												
Group	40 (a)	3,310	812	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	40 (b)	31	15												
Group	41 (a)	252,762	22,049	..	..	..	..	..	..	N	..	..	..	11	N
	41 (b)	2,350	3,998												
Group	42 (a)	204	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	42 (b)	2	.												
Group	43 (a)	10,210	1,189	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	43 (b)	95	22												
Group	44 (a)	7,446	437	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
	44 (b)	69	8												
Division	*5 (a)*	*8,949*	*174*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5 (b)	*83*	*3*												
Group	50 (a)	8,252	159	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	50 (b)	77	3												
Group	51 (a)	191	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	51 (b)	2	.												
Group	52 (a)	34		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	52 (b)	N	.												
Group	59 (a)	472	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	59 (b)	4	N												
Division	*6 (a)*	*56,081*	*304*	..	..	*2*	..	*N*	..	*4*	..	*499*	*5*	*13*	*N*
	6 (b)	*521*	*6*												
Group	60 (a)	186	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
	60 (b)	2	.												
Group	61 (a)	3,561	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	..
	61 (b)	33	.												
Group	62 (a)	68	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	62 (b)	1	.												
Group	63 (a)	1,858	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..
	63 (b)	17	..												
Group	64 (a)	22,012	..	..	..	2	..	N	..	4	..	238	..	13	..
	64 (b)	260	..												
Group	65 (a)	1,134	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..
	65 (b)	10	..												
Group	66 (a)	2,578	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..
	66 (b)	24	..												

TABLE 10·31—*contd.*

Branch of Occupation		Total Workers		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
All Branches, Division & Group		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Group	67 (a)	1,470	142			..		..	..	.	..	14	3	..	..
	(b)	14	3												
Group	68 (a)	3,227	.	.		..	.	.	.		..	30	..	..	..
	(b)	30													
Group	69 (a)	13,987	162	..	.				..		..	129	3	1	N
	(b)	130	3												
Division	*7-8 (a)*	*296,812*	*287,917*	*260*	*4,543*	*781*	*217*	*317*	*26*	*39*	*6*	*62*	*1*	*1,297*	*365*
	(b)	*2,760*	*5,224*												
Group	70 (a)	12,525	240,270	82	4267	35	93		..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	117	4,360												
Group	71 (a)	16,899	4,309	26	51	128	27	..	..	3	N	N	N	..	..
	(b)	157	78												
Group	72 (a)	4,322	197	4	N	36	3	.	.	N	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	40	3												
Group	73 (a)	6,408	46	17	N	42	1	N	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	(b)	60	1												
Group	74 (a)	8,324	16	20	N	57	N	..	N	N	..	..	..	..	..
	(b)	77	N												
Group	75 (a)	12,323	37	6	N	86	1	1		2		16	..	2	N
	(b)	115	1												
Group	76 (a)	2,744	3	.		9		..	.	1	..	4	N	12	..
	(b)	26	N												
Group	77 (a)	28,535	7	23		169	N	63	..	7	..	2	..	..	..
	(b)	265	N												
Group	78 (a)	132	..	..	.	N	..	N	..	N	..	N	..	1	..
	(b)	1	.												
Group	79 (a)	18,682	586	..		..	..	174	11	..	..	N	..	..	..
	(b)	174	11												
Group	80 (a)	2,399	603	N	N	13	1	..	..	N	..	N	..	9	10
	(b)	22	11												
Group	81 (a)	8,471	4,723	23	48	45	36	N	N	11	1	.	..	N	1
	(b)	79	86												
Group	82 (a)	9,186	6,615	9	75	61	41	..	..	7	2	..	..	6	1
	(b)	85	120												
Group	83 (a)	1,756	218	N	N	16	N	..	..	..	..	N	..	N	N
	(b)	16	N												
Group	84 (a)	534	56	N	N	4	1	..	..	1	N	..	..	..	..
	(b)	5	1												
Group	85 (a)	8,198	5,415	43	91	33	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	N	..
	(b)	76	98												
Group	86 (a)	638	4	..	..	N	N	..	..	N	..	1	N	5	N
	(b)	6	N												
Group	87 (a)	1,253	62	N	..	5	..	2	..	N	..	2	..	3	1
	(b)	12	1												

TABLE 10·31—*concld.*

Branch of Occupation		Total Workers		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
All Branches, Division & Group 1		M 2	F 3	M 4	F 5	M 6	F 7	M 8	F 9	M 10	F 11	M 12	F 13	M 14	F 15
Group	89 (a)	153,483	24,950	5	10	43	6	77	15	8	1	57	1	1,200	353
	89 (b)	1,427	453												
Division	9 (a)	*96,676*	*13,278*	.	.	*12*	*1*	*3*		*5*	*N*	*26*	*4*	*844*	*234*
	9 (b)	*899*	*241*												
Group	90 (a)	35,289	1			5	.	1		1		12		304	N
	90 (b)	328	N												
Group	91 (a)	36,701	11,166	.		3	1	1	.	3	N	3	1	330	199
	91 (b)	341	203												
Group	92 (a)	240	..	..	..	N	..	N	..	.		N	..	2	..
	92 (b)	2	..												
Group	93 (a)	7,089	928	..	..	4	1	1	..	1		11	2	46	14
	93 (b)	66	17												
Group	94 (a)	8,900	9	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	.	..	83	N
	94 (b)	83	N												
Group	95 (a)	5,035	812	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	.	47	15
	95 (b)	47.	15												
Group	96 (a)	220	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
	96 (b)	2	..												
Group	97 (a)	671	3	..	..	N	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	N
	97 (b)	6	N												
Group	99 (a)	2,531	359	..	..	N	..	..	..	..	..	N	..	24	6
	99 (b)	24	6												
Division	*X* (a)	*27,720*	*4,302*	*3*	*31*	*12*	*2*	*4*	*3*	*5*	*N*	*7*	*3*	*211*	*37*
	X (b)	*258*	*78*												
Group	X8 (a)	20,559	4,042	3	31	12	2	3	3	3	N	6	2	148	33
	X8 (b)	191	73												
Group	X9 (a)	7,161	260	N	N	N	N	N	..	2	N	1	..	64	5
	X9 (b)	67	5												

(*a*)—Absolute figure (*b*)—Per 10,000 of Workers N—Negligible.

PART E

Employer, Employee, Single Worker, Family Worker

98. In the 1961 Census, the workers recorded in Q.10 of the Individual Slip have been classified into Family Workers and Employees and those recorded in Q.11 have been classified into Employers, Employees, Family Workers and Single Workers according to their status of employment against Employers, Employees and Independent Workers in 1951.

99. These four concepts have been defined as follows :—

(i) An Employer is a person who has to employ other persons in order to perform the work entered in Q.11 (a) ; that is to say, such a person is not only responsible for his own personal work but also for giving work to others in the business mentioned in Q.11 (a). But a person who employs domestic servants for household duties or has subordinates under him in an office where he is employed by others, is not an employer, even if he has the power to employ other person in his office on behalf of his own employer or employers.

(ii) An Employee is a person who usually works under some other person for salary as wages in cash or kind. These may be persons who are employed as managers, superintendents, agents, etc., and in that capacity employ or control other workers on behalf of their

own employers. Such persons are only employees, and should not be regarded as employers.

(iii) A Single Worker is a person who works by himself but not as head of a household in a Household Industry. He is not employed by any one else and in his turn does not employ anybody else, not even members of his household except casually. This definition of a Single Worker will include a person who works in joint partnership with one or several persons hiring no employees, and also a member of a producers' co-operative. Each one of the partners or members of such producers' co-operatives should be treated as Single Worker

(iv) A Family Worker is a member who works, without receiving wages in cash or kind, in an industry, business or trade conducted mainly by members of the family and ordinarily does at least one hour of work everyday during the working season.

100. For the purpose of Q 10, Household Industry is an industry which should be conducted by the Head of the Household himself and/or mainly by members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas and only at home in urban areas. The industry should not be run on the scale of a registered factory. But in case of Q.11, such an industry should be on a scale larger than what has been covered in 'Household Industry' whether run at home or away from home in town or village and even away from the village in rural areas and should ordinarily be in the nature of a recognised partnership, joint stock company or registered factory. For the purpose of this definition, members of a family may be drawn from beyond the limits of the household by ties of blood or marriage. The family workers may not be entitled to a share of the profits in the work of the business carried on either by the person or head of the household or other relative.

101. Members of the household who help solely in household duties should not be treated as family workers.

102. A 'Family Worker' is a new concept adopted in the 1961 Census. Till 1951, income or economic independence was made a criterion for measuring the economy of the country and the usual 'status' approach was adopted to collect economic data at each Census. Under the approach, a person was enumerated on the basis of his usual functional role in economic activity and this role was to some extent independent of his activity at any given time. It was widely felt that the strict application of the criterion of income or economic independence suppressed those who worked in family economic activities but did not actually earn an income, like men other than the head of the household and women of the family or children working at cultivation or cottage industries of the household.

103. A departure has, therefore, been made in the criterion for the collection of economic data in the 1961 Census and stress has been laid on WORK so that all people who work including family workers who are not in receipt of any income, or working children who cannot earn enough for their own maintenance, are included in the category of workers.

104. Table 10.32 below furnishes the distribution of 1,000 workers of each sex in industrial divisions and major groups among employers, employees, single workers, family workers and others. As stated earlier, very few persons in division 0 are engaged in household industry. Out of every 1,000 male workers only 1 male and less than 1 female are engaged in household industry and the number of employees are very negligible. In division 2 & 3, however, 23.4 per cent. of the total male workers and 95.3 per cent. of the total female workers participate in household industry of which 3 6 per cent. males and 3.2 females are employees. The scope of employment for hired workers in household industry is very limited in view of the definition of household industry.

105 In the case of non-household industry, we get the workers with all the four statuses of employment except in division 4 & 5. In division 4, there is no family worker, while in division 5, workers are engaged only as employees and single workers. The percentage of employers, both males and females, is lowest while that of employees is highest in almost all industrial divisions and major groups among all the four statuses of employment.

Distribution of 1,000 workers of each sex in Industrial Divisions and Major Groups

Table

Branch of Industry	Total Workers		At Household Industry					
			Total		Employees		Others	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Division . . 0	*1,000*	*1,000*	*1*	*N*	*N*	*N*	*1*	*N*
Major Group 00	1,000	1,000	15	1	1	..	14	1
Major Group . . . 01	1,000	1,000	N	..	N	.	N	..
Major Group . . . 02	1,000	1,000	1	15	..	..	1	15
Major Group 03	1,000	1,000	1	N	.	N	1	..
Major Group . . . 04	1,000	1,000	23	8	4	.	19	8
Division . . . 1	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group . 10	1,000	1,000	.	..	..	.	..	..
Division . . . 2 & 3	*1,000*	*1,000*	*234*	*953*	*36*	*32*	*198*	*921*
Major Group . 20	1,000	1,000	131	716	36	57	95	659
Major Group . 21	1,000	1,000	75	254	16	23	59	231
Major Group . . . 22	1,000	1,000	68	729	28	35	40	694
Major Group . . 23	1,000	1,000	675	984	97	31	578	953
Major Group . . 24	1,000	1,000	289	897	50	.	239	897
Major Group . . . 25	1,000	1,000	807	921	76	228	731	693
Major Group 26	1,000	1,000	728	934	198	60	530	874
Major Group . . . 27	1,000	1,000	133	609	31	130	102	479
Major Group . . . 28	1,000	1,000	305	917	38	23	267	894
Major Group . . 29	1,000	1,000	287	626	22	37	265	589
Major Group . . . 30	1,000	1,000	20	121	5	104	15	17
Major Group . . 31	1,000	1,000	97	132	16	5	81	127
Major Group . . . 32	1,000	1,000	2	6	1	6	1	..
Major Group 33	1,000	1,000	27	286	8	26	19	260
Major Group . . . 34-35	1,000	1,000	275	480	26	49	249	431
Major Group 36	1,000	1,000	243	387	36	21	207	366
Major Group 37	1,000	1,000	..	500	..	..	..	500
Major Group 38	1,000	1,000	40	15	8	4	32	11
Major Group 39	1,000	1,000	239	241	38	23	201	211
Division 4	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 40	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Division 5	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 50	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 51	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Division 6	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 60-63	1·000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 64-68	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 69	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Division 7	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 70-71	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 72	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 73	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..

among Employers, Employees, Single Workers, Family Workers and Others
10·32

In Non-Household Industry Trade Business, Profession or Service									
Total		Employer		Employee		Single Worker		Family Worker	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
999	1,000	6	5	838	853	82	51	73	91
985	999	140	246	135	74	309	104	401	575
1,000	1,000	2	N	907	900	48	37	43	63
999	985	26	55	190	214	193	283	90	433
999	1,000	13	1	218	5	474	452	294	542
977	992	28	21	563	110	276	290	310	571
1,000	1 000	13	25	311	665	374	193	302	117
1,000	1,000	13	25	311	665	374	193	302	117
766	47	38	1	347	13	225	13	156	20
869	284	45	2	365	90	192	79	267	113
925	746	17	10	537	658	231	27	140	51
932	271	45	.	596	35	239	25	52	211
325	16	8	N	113	1	88	7	116	8
711	103	16		493	12	154	57	48	34
193	79	8	9	25	3	101	28	59	39
272	66	20	..	200	18	46	13	6	35
867	391	50	6	274	113	312	110	231	162
695	83	43	1	263	11	257	28	132	43
713	374	63	..	227	47	205	215	218	112
980	879	66	269	665	563	180	17	69	30
903	868	33	..	282	168	446	458	142	242
998	994	58	3	788	922	110	33	42	36
973	714	71	52	778	259	78	182	46	221
725	520	20	3	389	161	203	99	113	257
757	613	31	16	323	121	253	136	150	340
1,000	500	114	..	574	.	257	..	55	500
960	985	49	108	582	285	212	169	117	423
761	759	29	50	292	362	225	168	215	179
1,000	1,000	45	15	520	278	435	707	..	..
1 000	1,000	45	15	520	277	435	708	..	..
1,000	1,000	..	..	943	786	57	214	..	..
1,000	1,000	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
1,000	1,000	..	..	737	760	263	240	..	..
1,000	1,000	67	55	269	118	414	693	250	334
1,000	1,000	69	13	410	248	289	350	232	389
1,000	1,000	67	56	262	112	420	499	251	333
1,000	1,000	98	71	534	357	223	536	145	36
1,000	1,000	20	4	677	909	197	43	106	44
1,000	1,000	21	5	649	891	285	47	115	97
1,000	1,000	63	..	435	111	330	778	172	111
1,000	1,000	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..

TABLE

Branch of Industry	Total Workers		At Household Industry					
			Total		Employees		Others	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Division *8*	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	.
Major Group . 80	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group . . 81	1,000	1,000	.	..	.	..	.	..
Major Group . . . 82	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	.	..
Major Group . . 83	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 84	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group . . 85	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 86	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 87	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group 88	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Major Group . 89	1,000	1,000	..	.	..	..	.	..
Division *9*	*1,000*	*1,000*	..	..	..	..	..	.
Major Group . . 90	1,000	1,000	..	.	..	..	..	..

10·32—*concld.*

In Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business, Profession or Service									
Total		Employee		Employer		Single Worker		Family Worker	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1,000	*1,000*	*14*	*13*	*701*	*539*	*215*	*263*	*70*	*185*
1,000	1,000	..	.	1 000	1,000				..
1,000	1,000	7	9	893	871	76	83	24	97
1,000	1,000	27	49	725	756	165	115	83	80
1,000	1,000	15	28	320	594	411	303	254	75
1,000	1 000	46	.	300	154	517	802	137	44
1,000	1,000	31	71	659	572	213	286	97	71
1,000	1,000	12	15	407	653	407	266	174	66
1,000	1,000	60	8	648	312	216	64	76	616
1,000	1,000	27	15	634	548	200	154	139	283
1,000	1,000	19	11	463	296	439	455	79	238
1,000	*1,000*	*15*	*1*	*424*	*467*	*414*	*326*	*147*	*206*
1,000	1,000	15	1	424	467	414	326	147	206

CHAPTER XI

NON-WORKING POPULATION

This is the first time that the means of livelihood or means of occupational classification has been discarded and the population has been divided into Workers and Non-Workers. The discarding is due to the fact that it is no longer possible to show on which means of livelihood or occupation dependants of non-workers are dependent. For the first time also the 1961 Census has classified the non-working population into eight categories. Because of the rather generous definition of what constitutes 'work' and the marginal cases that such a definition creates, it is by no means certain that all full-time students or children attending schools, housewives or persons attending to household duties, dependants or any of the remaining five categories of non-working population have completely accounted for the tables in this chapter.

2. I reproduce below extracts from question No. 12 of the 1961 Census relating to the non-working population together with the instructions how the answers to the questionnaire should be filled up.

> "This question will apply to a person NOT working. Write 'X' in this question for a person who is working, that is, for whom you have recorded the work in any of the questions 8 to 11 above.

The following activities should be recorded in the case of persons NOT working:—

1. For a full-time student or child attending school who does no other work, such as make articles at home for sale, nor even help part-time in his own family cultivation, industry, trade or business . . . . . Write ST
2. For a person engaged in unpaid home duties (like housewife or other adult female) who does no other work, such as make articles at home for sale or wages, nor help regularly even part-time in family cultivation, industry, trade or business . . . Write HW
3. For any dependent, including an infant or child not attending school, a person permanently disabled from work because of illness or old age . . Write D
4. For a retired person who is not employed again, rentier, person living on agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or any other person of independent means for securing which he does not have to work and who does no other work . . . Write R
5. For a beggar, vagrant or independent woman without indication of source of income and others of unspecified source of existence . . . . Write B
6. For a convict in jail (an undertrial prisoner will be shown as a worker if he used to work before he was apprehended) or an inmate of a penal, mental or charitable institution . . Write I
7. For a person who has not been employed before but is seeking employment for the first time . . . . Write NE
8. For a person employed before but now out of employment and seeking employment . . . . . Write UN

Explanation.—If a person, who does not work cannot be readily classified in any of the above categories, put him in category 5 and write B in this question. A retired person who has taken up regular work again should not be entered in this question as he would have been entered for his new work in Question 8 to 11.

3. A person who is not working but has been offered work which he has not joined should be included in item 3 and 'D' should be written. He should not be included in item 7 or 8.

4. The following table 11.1 is prepared from Union Table B-I for India and all the States and Union Territories:—

Distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex in each age group among Workers and Non-Workers, India and States, 1961

TABLE 11·1

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL INDIA	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	571	280	429	720
		0-14	1,000	1,000	94	66	906	934
		15-34	1,000	1,000	881	436	119	564
		35-59	1,000	1,000	967	476	33	524
		60+	1,000	1,000	766	224	234	776
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	297	126	703	874
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	582	314	418	686
		0-14	1,000	1,000	106	76	894	924
		15-34	1,000	1,000	911	498	89	502
		35-59	1,000	1,000	975	523	25	477
		60+	1,000	1,000	799	243	201	757
		A N.S.	1,000	1,000	300	135	700	865
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	524	111	476	889
		0-14	1,000	1,000	35	16	965	984
		15-34	1,000	1,000	769	158	231	842
		35-59	1,000	1,000	933	229	67	771
		60+	1,000	1,000	584	114	416	886
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	274	62	726	938
Andhra Pradesh	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	622	413	378	587
		0-14	1,000	1,000	157	112	843	888
		15-34	1,000	1,000	921	635	79	365
		35-59	1,000	1,000	973	663	27	337
		60+	1,000	1,000	778	311	222	689
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	440	310	560	690
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	643	460	357	540
		0-14	1,000	1,000	177	128	823	872
		15-34	1,000	1,000	954	717	46	283
		35-59	1,000	1,000	982	721	18	279
		60+	1,000	1,000	804	338	196	667
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	459	325	541	675
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	524	187	476	813
		0-14	1,000	1,000	63	35	937	965
		15-34	1,000	1,000	784	266	216	734
		35-59	1,000	1,000	929	359	71	641
		60+	1,000	1,000	613	181	387	819
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	319	207	681	793
Assam	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	541	309	459	691
		0-14	1,000	1,000	78	64	922	936
		15-34	1,000	1,000	858	558	142	442
		35-59	1,000	1,000	960	548	40	452
		60+	1,000	1,000	749	215	251	785
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	404	183	596	817
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	540	324	460	676
		0-14	1,000	1,000	81	68	919	932
		15-34	1,000	1,000	870	588	130	412
		35-59	1,000	1,000	962	569	38	431
		60+	1,000	1,000	758	224	242	776
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	404	188	596	812
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	554	99	446	901
		0-14	1,000	1,000	36	13	964	987
		15-34	1,000	1,000	766	161	234	839
		35-59	1,000	1,000	940	227	60	773
		60+	1,000	1,000	615	85	385	915
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	419	109	581	891

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bihar	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	556	271	444	729
		0-14	1,000	1,000	96	59	904	941
		15-34	1,000	1,000	876	414	124	586
		35-59	1,000	1,000	974	483	26	517
		60+	1,000	1,000	823	231	177	769
		A N S	1,000	1,000	561	222	439	778
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	560	285	440	715
		0-14	1,000	1,000	101	63	899	937
		15-34	1,000	1,000	893	437	107	563
		35-59	1,000	1,000	977	502	23	498
		60+	1,000	1,000	834	238	166	762
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	570	233	430	767
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	517	104	483	896
		0-14	1,000	1,000	39	12	961	988
		15-34	1,000	1,000	740	144	260	856
		35-59	1,000	1,000	947	232	53	768
		60+	1,000	1,000	677	127	323	873
		A.N S.	1,000	1,000	462	89	538	911
Gujarat	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	535	279	465	721
		0-14	1,000	1,000	73	66	927	934
		15-34	1,000	1,000	869	464	131	536
		35-59	1,000	1,000	963	464	37	536
		60+	1,000	1,000	663	171	337	829
		A.N S	1,000	1,000	353	168	647	832
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	553	341	447	659
		0-14	1,000	1,000	90	84	910	916
		15-34	1,000	1,000	915	583	85	417
		35-59	1,000	1,000	976	553	24	447
		60+	1,000	1,000	709	200	291	800
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	371	182	629	818
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	484	92	516	908
		0-14	1,000	1,000	21	9	979	991
		15-34	1,000	1,000	755	136	245	864
		35-59	1,000	1,000	927	195	73	805
		60+	1,000	1,000	509	79	491	921
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	248	93	752	907
Jammu and Kashmir . . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	578	256	422	744
		0-14	1,000	1,000	96	63	904	937
		15-34	1,000	1,000	883	426	117	574
		35-59	1,000	1,000	953	397	47	603
		60+	1,000	1,000	738	178	262	822
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	128	39	872	961
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	593	295	407	705
		0-14	1,000	1,000	106	73	894	927
		15-34	1,000	1,000	906	489	94	511
		35-59	1,000	1,000	960	452	40	548
		60+	1,000	1,000	756	194	244	806
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	113	44	887	956
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	508	58	492	942
		0-14	1,000	1,000	49	11	951	989
		15-34	1,000	1,000	776	93	224	907
		35-59	1,000	1,000	920	107	80	893
		60+	1,000	1,000	603	59	397	941
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	233	5	767	995

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population M	Total Population F	Total Workers M	Total Workers F	Total Non-workers M	Total Non-workers F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kerala	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	472	197	528	803
		0-14	1,000	1,000	22	19	978	981
		15-34	1,000	1,000	765	326	235	674
		35-59	1,000	1,000	944	373	56	627
		60+	1,000	1,000	656	148	344	852
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	614	303	386	697
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	474	209	526	791
		0-14	1,000	1,000	22	20	978	980
		15-34	1,000	1,000	778	350	222	650
		35-59	1,000	1,000	950	395	50	605
		60+	1,000	1,000	678	155	322	845
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	609	303	391	697
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	460	130	540	870
		0-14	1,000	1,000	22	18	978	982
		15-34	1,000	1,000	701	195	299	805
		35-59	1,000	1,000	914	249	86	751
		60+	1,000	1,000	521	104	479	896
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	740	304	260	696
Madhya Pradesh . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	602	440	398	560
		0-14	1,000	1,000	118	108	882	892
		15-34	1,000	1,000	931	686	69	314
		35-59	1,000	1,000	977	725	23	275
		60+	1,000	1,000	805	360	195	640
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	218	92	782	908
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	616	486	384	514
		0-14	1,000	1,000	133	122	867	878
		15-34	1,000	1,000	957	765	43	235
		35-59	1,000	1,000	982	784	18	216
		60+	1,000	1,000	832	387	168	613
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	193	98	807	902
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	524	145	476	855
		0-14	1,000	1,000	27	16	973	984
		15-34	1,000	1,000	800	208	200	792
		35-59	1,000	1,000	947	304	53	696
		60+	1,000	1,000	637	168	363	832
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	327	70	673	930
Madras	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	597	313	403	687
		0-14	1,000	1,000	93	67	907	933
		15-34	1,000	1,000	885	457	115	543
		35-59	1,000	1,000	966	514	34	486
		60+	1,000	1,000	734	258	266	742
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	555	293	445	707
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	622	371	378	629
		0-14	1,000	1,000	111	82	889	918
		15-34	1,000	1,000	924	551	76	449
		35-59	1,000	1,000	978	590	22	410
		60+	1,000	1,000	784	296	216	704
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	576	334	424	666
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	532	149	468	851
		0-14	1,000	1,000	44	28	956	972
		15-34	1,000	1,000	788	208	212	792
		35-59	1,000	1,000	931	275	69	725
		60+	1,000	1,000	557	132	443	868
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	447	55	553	945

TABLE 11.1 *contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population M	Total Population F	Total Workers M	Total Workers F	Total Non-workers M	Total Non-workers F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Maharashtra	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	571	381	429	619
		0-14	1,000	1,000	86	88	914	912
		15-34	1,000	1,000	875	609	125	391
		35-59	1,000	1,000	969	637	31	363
		60+	1,000	1,000	728	263	272	737
		A N S	1,000	1,000	164	101	836	899
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	581	467	419	533
		0-14	1,000	1,000	106	113	894	887
		15-34	1,000	1,000	929	774	71	226
		35-59	1,000	1,000	982	752	18	248
		60+	1,000	1,000	775	298	225	702
		A.N S.	1,000	1,000	152	112	848	888
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	548	134	452	866
		0-14	1,000	1,000	29	16	971	984
		15-34	1,000	1,000	779	189	221	811
		35-59	1,000	1,000	940	281	60	719
		60+	1,000	1,000	577	137	423	863
		A N S.	1,000	1,000	209	61	791	939
Mysore	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	584	320	416	680
		0-14	1,000	1,000	119	82	881	918
		15-34	1,000	1,000	901	508	99	492
		35-59	1,000	1,000	970	559	30	441
		60+	1,000	1,000	764	247	236	753
		A N S.	1,000	1,000	449	261	551	739
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	604	368	396	632
		0-14	1,000	1,000	136	96	864	904
		15-34	1,000	1,000	944	598	56	402
		35-59	1,000	1,000	979	624	21	376
		60+	1,000	1,000	800	271	200	729
		A N S.	1,000	1,000	473	289	527	711
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	516	149	484	851
		0-14	1,000	1,000	59	28	941	972
		15-34	1,000	1,000	776	214	224	786
		35-59	1,000	1,000	937	307	63	693
		60+	1,000	1,000	608	150	392	850
		A N S.	1,000	1,000	344	133	656	867
Orissa	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	608	266	392	734
		0-14	1,000	1,000	123	66	877	934
		15-34	1,000	1 000	912	403	88	597
		35-59	1,000	1,000	966	434	34	566
		60+	1,000	1,000	788	194	212	806
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	457	211	543	789
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	610	274	390	726
		0-14	1,000	1,000	127	69	873	931
		15-34	1,000	1,000	923	417	77	583
		35-59	1,000	1,000	969	444	31	556
		60+	1,000	1,000	798	198	202	802
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	458	217	542	783
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	572	131	428	869
		0-14	1,000	1,000	50	20	950	980
		15-34	1,000	1,000	796	190	204	810
		35-59	1,000	1,000	922	242	78	758
		60+	1,000	1,000	619	113	381	887
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	433	63	567	937

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population M	Total Population F	Total Workers M	Total Workers F	Total Non-workers M	Total Non-workers F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Punjab	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	529	142	471	858
		0-14	1,000	1,000	79	38	921	962
		15-34	1,000	1,000	850	234	150	766
		35-59	1,000	1,000	955	246	45	754
		60+	1,000	1,000	709	105	291	895
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	204	46	796	954
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	534	165	466	835
		0-14	1,000	1,000	91	46	909	954
		15-34	1,000	1,000	873	277	127	723
		35-59	1,000	1,000	959	280	41	720
		60+	1,000	1,000	729	115	271	885
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	206	54	794	946
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	509	47	491	953
		0-14	1,000	1,000	27	5	973	995
		15-34	1,000	1,000	779	72	221	928
		35-59	1,000	1,000	941	99	59	901
		60+	1,000	1,000	599	53	401	947
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	196	18	804	982
Rajasthan	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	581	359	419	641
		0-14	1,000	1,000	136	121	864	879
		15-34	1,000	1,000	910	572	90	428
		35-59	1,000	1,000	965	560	35	440
		60+	1,000	1,000	719	234	281	766
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	126	71	874	929
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	601	408	399	592
		0-14	1,000	1,000	156	141	844	859
		15-34	1,000	1,000	940	653	60	347
		35-59	1,000	1,000	972	629	28	371
		60+	1,000	1,000	746	263	254	737
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	121	75	879	925
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	480	101	520	899
		0-14	1,000	1,000	32	17	968	983
		15-34	1,000	1,000	769	152	231	848
		35-59	1,000	1,000	925	198	75	802
		60+	1,000	1,000	572	96	428	904
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	191	30	809	970
Uttar Pradesh	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	582	181	418	819
		0-14	1,000	1,000	86	41	914	959
		15-34	1,000	1,000	894	261	106	739
		35-59	1,000	1,000	979	323	21	677
		60+	1,000	1,000	855	198	145	802
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	151	39	849	961
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	592	199	408	801
		0-14	1,000	1,000	93	46	907	954
		15-34	1,000	1,000	917	288	83	712
		35-59	1,000	1,000	983	347	17	653
		60+	1,000	1,000	880	209	120	791
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	147	40	853	960
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	517	53	483	947
		0-14	1,000	1,000	38	6	962	994
		15-34	1,000	1,000	765	67	235	933
		35-59	1,000	1,000	947	125	53	875
		60+	1,000	1,000	659	94	341	906
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	191	18	809	982

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
West Bengal . . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	54[illegible]	94	460	[illegible]
		0-14	1,000	1,000	[illegible]	12	950	[illegible]
		15-34	1,000	1,000	824	153	176	[illegible]47
		35-59	1,000	1,000	940	183	60	817
		60+	1,000	1,000	679	79	321	921
		A N S	1,000	1,000	410	66	590	934
	Rural	All ages	1 000	1,000	535	106	465	894
		0-14	1 000	1,000	58	15	942	985
		15-34	1 000	1,000	863	178	137	822
		35-59	1,000	1,000	953	199	47	801
		60+	1,000	1,000	737	88	263	912
		A N S	1 000	1,000	422	69	578	931
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	554	51	446	949
		0-14	1 000	1,000	22	2	978	998
		15-34	1 000	1,000	744	68	[illegible]6	932
		35-59	1 000	1,000	909	127	91	873
		60+	1 000	1,000	478	47	522	953
		A N S	1,000	1,000	170	21	830	979
A. and N. Islands . . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	678	188	322	812
		0-14	1,000	1,000	51	30	949	970
		15-34	1,000	1,000	945	321	55	679
		35-59	1,000	1,000	969	371	31	629
		60+	1,000	1,000	734	160	266	840
		A N S	1,000	1,000			.	.
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	683	224	317	776
		0-14	1,000	1,000	61	38	939	962
		15-34	1,000	1,000	956	387	44	613
		35-59	1,000	1,000	974	422	26	578
		60+	1,000	1,000	761	165	239	835
		A N S.	1,000	1,000			.	..
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	662	51	338	949
		0-14	1,000	1,000	15	3	985	997
		15-34	1,000	1,000	908	86	92	914
		35-59	1,000	1,000	953	122	47	878
		60+	1,000	1,000	607	129	393	871
		A N S	1,000	1,000			..	..
Delhi	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	523	65	477	935
		0-14	1,000	1,000	20	8	980	992
		15-34	1,000	1,000	795	106	205	894
		35-59	1,000	1,000	953	129	47	871
		60+	1,000	1,000	547	52	453	948
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	220	20	780	980
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	478	220	522	780
		0-14	1,000	1,000	31	46	969	954
		15-34	1,000	1,000	793	387	207	613
		35-59	1,000	1,000	951	394	49	606
		60+	1,000	1,000	723	146	277	854
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	480	45	520	955
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	528	45	472	955
		0-14	1,000	1,000	19	3	981	997
		15-34	1,000	1,000	795	74	205	926
		35-59	1,000	1,000	953	91	47	909
		60+	1,000	1,000	516	39	484	961
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	205	15	795	985

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Himachal Pradesh . . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	631	558	369	442
		0-14	1,000	1,000	121	181	879	819
		15-34	1,000	1,000	923	855	77	145
		35-59	1,000	1,000	984	834	16	166
		60+	1,000	1,000	825	409	175	591
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	420	303	580	697
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	635	577	365	423
		0-14	1,000	1,000	125	189	875	811
		15-34	1,000	1,000	923	887	77	113
		35-59	1,000	1,000	986	855	14	145
		60+	1,000	1,000	831	418	169	582
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	412	300	588	700
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	564	119	436	881
		0-14	1,000	1,000	37	9	963	991
		15-34	1,000	1,000	789	179	211	821
		35-59	1,000	1,000	946	243	54	757
		60+	1,000	1,000	663	145	337	855
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	625	500	375	500
L. M. and A. Islands . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	516	517	484	483
		0-14	1,000	1,000	34	82	966	918
		15-34	1,000	1,000	880	886	120	114
		35-59	1,000	1,000	948	776	52	224
		60+	1,000	1,000	540	277	460	723
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	500	..	500
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	516	517	484	483
		0-14	1,000	1,000	34	82	966	918
		15-34	1,000	1,000	880	886	120	114
		35-59	1,000	1,000	948	776	52	224
		60+	1,000	1,000	540	277	460	723
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	500	..	500
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		0-14	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		15-34	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		35-59	1,000	1,000	.	..	..	..
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
Manipur	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	473	445	527	555
		0-14	1,000	1,000	32	76	968	924
		15-34	1,000	1,000	751	742	249	258
		35-59	1,000	1,000	946	762	54	238
		60+	1,000	1,000	739	440	261	560
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	400	305	600	695
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	479	449	521	551
		0-14	1,000	1,000	34	79	966	921
		15-34	1,000	1,000	770	755	230	245
		35-59	1,000	1,000	955	764	45	236
		60+	1,000	1,000	761	438	239	562
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	397	297	603	703
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	410	404	590	596
		0-14	1,000	1,000	6	39	994	961
		15-34	1,000	1,000	585	611	415	389
		35-59	1,000	1,000	859	737	141	263
		60+	1,000	1,000	500	456	500	544
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	442	733	558	267

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Tripura	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	545	209	455	791
		0-14	1,000	1,000	[illegible]	31	948	969
		15-34	1,000	1,000	885	370	115	630
		35-59	1,000	1,000	975	364	25	636
		60 +	1,000	1,000	751	126	249	874
		A N.S	1,000	1,000	532	150	468	850
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	552	224	448	776
		0-14	1 000	1,000	55	36	945	964
		15-34	1,000	1 000	902	398	98	602
		35-59	1,000	1 000	979	388	21	612
		60 +	1,000	1,000	770	133	230	867
		A.N S.	1,000	1,000	579	167	421	833
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	468	55	532	945
		0-14	1,000	1,000	20	4	980	996
		15-34	1,000	1,000	694	89	306	911
		35-59	1,000	1,000	923	113	77	887
		60+	1,000	1 000	521	48	479	952
		A.N.S.	1,000	1 000	409	..	591	1,000
Dadra and Nagar Haveli . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	620	579	380	421
		0-14	1,000	1,000	172	180	828	820
		15-34	1,000	1,000	966	929	34	71
		35-59	1,000	1,000	991	910	9	90
		60+	1 000	1,000	801	531	199	469
		A N.S.	1,000	1,000	1,000	240	..	760
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	620	579	380	421
		0-14	1,000	1,000	172	180	828	820
		15-34	1,000	1,000	966	929	34	71
		35-59	1,000	1,000	991	910	9	90
		60 +	1,000	1,000	801	531	199	469
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	1,000	240	..	760
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	..	.	..	..
		0-14	1,000	1,000	.	.	..	..
		15-34	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		35-59	1,000	1,000	.	..	..	..
		60+	1,000	1,000	.	..	..	..
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
Goa, Daman and Diu . .	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	513	318	487	682
		0-14	1,000	1,000	34	32	966	968
		15-34	1,000	1,000	763	472	237	528
		35-59	1,000	1,000	939	535	61	465
		60+	1,000	1,000	721	321	279	679
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	1,000
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	518	340	482	660
		0-14	1,000	1,000	35	32	965	968
		15-34	1,000	1,000	780	510	220	490
		35-59	1,000	1,000	944	571	56	429
		60+	1,000	1,000	734	338	266	662
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	1,000
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	487	200	513	800
		0-14	1,000	1,000	28	32	972	968
		15-34	1,000	1,000	684	286	316	714
		35-59	1,000	1,000	910	328	90	672
		60+	1,000	1,000	640	210	360	790
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..

TABLE 11.1—*contd.*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population M	Total Population F	Total Workers M	Total Workers F	Total Non-workers M	Total Non-workers F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
N. E. F. A.	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	810	172	190	828
		0-14	1,000	1,000	46	29	954	971
		15-34	1,000	1,000	930	246	70	754
		35-59	1,000	1,000	907	326	93	674
		60+	1,000	1,000	479	163	521	837
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	604	..	396	1,000
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	810	172	190	828
		0-14	1,000	1,000	46	29	954	971
		15-34	1,000	1,000	930	246	70	754
		35-59	1,000	1,000	907	326	93	674
		60+	1,000	1,000	479	163	521	837
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	604	..	396	1,000
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		0-14	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		15-34	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		35-59	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
Nagaland	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	605	582	395	418
		0-14	1,000	1,000	139	166	861	834
		15-34	1,000	1,000	840	843	160	157
		35-59	1,000	1,000	976	923	24	77
		60+	1,000	1,000	853	720	147	280
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	585	418	415	582
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	610	603	390	397
		0-14	1,000	1,000	146	175	854	825
		15-34	1,000	1,000	855	878	145	122
		35-59	1,000	1,000	980	941	20	59
		60+	1,000	1,000	855	727	145	273
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	583	418	417	582
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	521	97	479	903
		0-14	1,000	1,000	13	6	987	994
		15-34	1,000	1,000	674	146	326	854
		35-59	1,000	1,000	909	257	91	743
		60+	1,000	1,000	671	250	329	750
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	667	..	333	..
Pondicherry	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	551	201	449	799
		0-14	1,000	1,000	55	25	945	975
		15-34	1,000	1,000	824	288	176	712
		35-59	1,000	1,000	919	355	81	645
		60+	1,000	1,000	657	177	343	823
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	269	75	731	925
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	571	230	429	770
		0-14	1,000	1,000	59	26	941	974
		15-34	1,000	1,000	857	338	143	662
		35-59	1,000	1,000	943	405	57	595
		60+	1,000	1,000	713	196	287	804
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	312	97	688	903
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	487	112	513	888
		0-14	1,000	1,000	41	21	959	979
		15-34	1,000	1,000	720	137	280	863
		35-59	1,000	1,000	843	206	157	794
		60+	1,000	1,000	480	126	520	874
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	200	..	800	1,000

TABLE 11·1 *concld*

India and States	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sikkim	Total	All ages	1,000	1,000	668	611	332	[illegible]
		0-14	1,000	1,000	231	254	769	746
		15-34	1,000	1,000	937	887	63	113
		35-59	1,000	1,000	967	872	33	128
		60 +	1,000	1,000	812	650	188	350
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	267	319	733	681
	Rural	All ages	1,000	1,000	672	630	328	370
		0-14	1,000	1,000	238	263	762	737
		15-34	1,000	1,000	943	916	57	84
		35-59	1,000	1,000	971	898	29	102
		60	1,000	1,000	815	663	185	337
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	390	373	610	627
	Urban	All ages	1,000	1,000	600	131	400	869
		0-14	1 000	1,000	46	32	954	968
		15-34	1,000	1,000	823	216	177	784
		35 59	1,000	1,000	899	178	101	822
		60+	1,000	1,000	686	59	314	941
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000		190	1,000	810

Note — A.N.S.—Age not stated

5. From the above table it may be seen that in Assam, the proportion of male non-workers per 1,000 total males of the State is 459 against the all-India figure of 429. In other words, 45.9 per cent. of the male population of Assam are non-workers against 42.9 per cent. male workers on an all-India basis. This shows that the proportion of male non-workers in Assam is bigger than most States of India excepting Kerala, Punjab, Gujarat and West Bengal among the major States of India. As far as the female non-workers are concerned, Assam has a percentage of 69.1 per cent. of the total female population of the State against the all-India figure of 72.0 per cent. But even this lower percentage of female non-workers is more than those of Madhya Pradesh (56.0 per cent.) Andhra Pradesh (58.7 per cent.), Maharashtra (61.9 per cent.), Rajasthan (64.1 per cent.), Mysore (68.0 per cent.) and Madras (68.7 per cent.). This moderately lower percentage of female non-workers is mainly due to the fact that Assam has many Scheduled Tribes and Tea Tribes whose women are workers. In the Assam Hills Division, the proportion of female workers is 47.1 per cent. of the total female population. Similarly, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts have 42.0 per cent. and 40.7 per cent. respectively because of the big number of Tea Garden labourers in the tea gardens of these two districts. In contrast to this, it is astounding that in West Bengal as many as 90.6 per cent. of the females are non-workers. This assumption is also borne out by the fact that in the Cachar district of Assam which is predominantly occupied by Bengalis, the number of female non-workers is 86.2 per cent. despite the fact that there are many tea gardens in this district also. Another peculiar feature brought out by this table is that the proportion of both male and female non-workers in the Punjab is very high it being 47.1 per cent. and 85.8 per cent. respectively. The general assumption is that Punjabis are hard workers, but these figures, if correct, seem to belie that fact. The 1961 Census definition does not record housewives as workers and so it is not fair to assume that Bengali women do not do domestic works. On the contrary, Bengali women are very good housewives.

6. URBAN NON-WORKERS: *Males*— The comments already given above relate to the Total Non-Working Population of Assam as well as of India and other States. No comment appears called for in respect of the rural figures because they closely follow the Total Non-Working population. In respect of the Urban Areas, there are some points

worth mentioning. The all-India figure of Male Non-Workers in the Urban Areas is 47.6 per cent. and the least number of Urban Male Non-Workers is found in the State of Orissa where the percentage is 42.8. Next come Assam and West Bengal with 44.6 per cent. These figures show that in Orissa, Assam and West Bengal, most of the males are occupied in some work and the males who have been classified as Non-Workers relate not only to adult persons but also to all male babies and school-going boys. In other words, almost all able-bodied men in these three States are occupied in some work. The highest percentage of Non-Workers is found in Kerala where 54 per cent. of the Males are Non-Workers followed by Rajasthan with 52 per cent. and Gujarat with 51.6 per cent. The rest of the figures speak for themselves.

7. *Females.*—The all-India figure for female Non-Workers is 88.9 per cent. and that of Assam is 90.1 per cent. The least number of female non-workers in the Urban areas is found in Andhra Pradesh where 81.3 per cent. of the females are Non-Workers followed by Madras with 85.1 per cent. and Madhya Pradesh with 85.5 per cent. The greatest number of female Non-Workers in the Urban Areas is the Punjab where 95.3 per cent. of the females are non-workers followed by West Bengal with 94.9 per cent. and Uttar Pradesh with 94.7 per cent. By and large, it apears that women in the Urban Areas are not workers according to the strict definition of the 1961 Census, but most of them may be working as housewives which is not 'WORK' according to the Census.

8. NON-WORKERS BY AGE-GROUPS: The remarks given in the previous paragraphs relate to Non-Workers of all ages, which means that even new-born babies are recorded as non-workers. Strictly speaking, the working age should be from 15 to 59, but in the case of educated people, the real working age is only from 21 to 55. The above figures show the non-workers for all ages as well as non-workers in age-groups 0-14, 15-34, 35-59 and 60+. In the Census there are some people who do not give their age; that is why we have another category with initials ANS which simply means Age Not Stated. It may therefore be seen in the all-India figures, the least number of total Male Non-Workers which is only 3.3 per cent. is found in the age-group 35-59. Even females in this age-group constitute only 52.4 per cent. The next age-group in which the percentage of Non-Workers is less is 15-34 where the all-India figure of Male Non-Workers is only 11.9 per cent. whereas that of female is 56.4 per cent. In other words, in the age-group 15-59, the least number of non-workers can be found both for males and females. This is quite natural because this is the age-group in which people are supposed to be working. Among those who can afford to take higher education, even the age of 15 is too low for working. Graduates and others normally work from about 21. In Assam, the Total Male Non-Workers in the age-group 35-59 is only 4 per cent. which is very near the All-India percentage and the pattern is similar for most States of India excepting Uttar Pradesh where the percentage is 2.1 and Madhya Pradesh where it is 2.3. On the other hand, the highest number of Non-Workers in this age-group can be found in West Bengal with 6 per cent.

9. The above remark relates to the Total Non-Working population. But a study of the Rural and Urban figures reveals some peculiar characteristics of the Non-Working population. It may be seen that in the Rural Areas, Non-Workers in the age-group are less than the Total, while those in the Urban Areas are more than the Total. This pattern is the same for all the States of India. This shows that there is unemployment in the Urban Areas more than that in the Rural Areas because in the Rural Areas, people can do something either in cultivation or in some other gainful occupations. It therefore appears that urbanisation brings unemployment as one of its problems.

10. The following is table 11.2 showing the distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex in each age-group among Workers and Non-Workers in Assam and its districts, 1961. This table is of the same pattern as table 11.1, the only difference being that here we can see the pattern of Non-Workers in the various districts of Assam.

Distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex in each age group among Workers and Non-workers, State and District, 1961

TABLE 11.2

State/District	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1,000	541	309	459	691
		0—14	1,000	1,000	78	64	922	936
		15—34	1,000	1,000	858	558	142	442
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	960	548	40	452
		60+	1,000	1,000	749	215	251	785
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	404	183	596	817
		Total	1,000	1,000	540	324	460	676
		0—14	1,000	1,000	81	68	919	932
		15—34	1,000	1,000	870	588	130	412
ASSAM	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	962	569	38	431
		60+	1,000	1,000	758	224	242	776
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	404	188	596	812
		Total	1,000	1,000	540	99	446	901
		0—14	1,000	1,000	36	13	964	987
		15—34	1,000	1,000	766	161	234	839
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	940	227	60	773
		60+	1,000	1,000	615	85	385	915
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	419	109	581	891
		Total	1,000	1,000	552	225	448	775
		0—44	1,000	1,000	97	52	903	948
		15—34	1,000	1,000	885	400	115	600
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	963	401	37	599
		60+	1,000	1,000	806	162	194	838
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	566	223	434	777
		Total	1,000	1,000	550	236	450	764
		0—14	1,000	1,000	100	55	900	945
		15—34	1,000	1,000	890	419	110	581
Goalpara	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	964	416	36	584
		60+	1,000	1,000	814	168	186	832
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	570	230	430	770
		Total	1,000	1,000	580	58	420	942
		0—14	1,000	1,000	44	7	956	993
		15—34	1,000	1,000	833	86	167	914
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	951	153	49	847
		60+	1,000	1,000	689	67	311	933
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	444	..	556	1,000
		Total	1,000	1,000	522	268	478	732
		0—14	1,000	1,000	70	54	930	946
		15—34	1,000	1,000	825	497	175	503
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	962	497	38	503
		60+	1,000	1,000	767	142	233	858
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	375	192	625	808
		Total	1,000	1,000	515	279	485	721
		0—14	1,000	1,000	74	57	926	943
		15—34	1,000	1,000	836	526	164	474
Kamrup	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	965	511	35	489
		60+	1,000	1,000	781	146	219	854
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	372	188	628	812
		Total	1,000	1,000	577	144	423	856
		0—14	1,000	1,000	29	19	971	981
		15—34	1,000	1,000	777	232	223	768
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	938	333	62	667
		60+	1,000	1,000	600	97	400	903
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	465	278	535	722

TABLE 11.2—*contd.*

State/District	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population M	Total Population F	Total Workers M	Total Workers F	Total Non-Workers M	Total Non-Workers F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1,000	565	360	435	640
		0—14	1,000	1,000	88	80	912	920
		15—34	1,000	1,000	892	646	108	354
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	965	640	35	360
		60+	1,000	1,000	759	232	241	768
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	300	114	700	886
		Total	1,000	1,000	565	369	435	631
		0—14	1,000	1,000	90	83	910	917
		15—34	1,000	1,000	898	664	102	336
Darrang	Rural	325—59	1,000	1,000	968	653	32	347
		60+	1,000	1,000	763	237	237	763
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	315	115	685	885
		Total	1,000	1,000	567	69	433	931
		0—14	1,000	1,000	40	6	960	994
		15—34	1,000	1,000	788	121	212	879
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	902	166	98	834
		60+	1,000	1,000	662	75	338	925
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	83	100	917	900
		Total	1,000	1,000	544	407	456	593
		0—14	1,000	1,000	72	86	928	914
		15—34	1,000	1,000	876	739	124	261
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	954	728	46	272
		60+	1,000	1,000	719	317	281	683
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	265	120	735	880
		Total	1,000	1,000	540	437	460	563
		0—14	1,000	1,000	73	93	927	907
		15—34	1,000	1,000	888	797	112	203
Lakhmipur	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	955	773	45	227
		60+	1,000	1,000	723	340	277	660
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	249	124	751	876
		Total	1,000	1,000	577	72	423	928
		0—14	1,000	1,000	62	14	938	986
		15—34	1,000	1,000	799	124	201	876
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	949	155	51	845
		60+	1,000	1,000	672	53	328	947
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	382	106	618	894
		Total	1,000	1,000	529	190	471	810
		0—14	1,000	1,000	71	37	929	963
		15—34	1,000	1,000	851	353	149	647
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	966	373	324	627
		60+	1,000	1,000	792	114	208	886
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	707	130	293	870
		Total	1,000	1,000	530	200	470	800
		0—14	1,000	1,000	73	39	927	961
		15—34	1,000	1,000	863	372	137	628
Nowgong	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	967	391	33	609
		60+	1,000	1,000	801	120	199	880
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	722	136	278	864
		Total	1,000	1,000	520	35	480	965
		0—14	1,000	1,000	27	7	973	993
		15—34	1,000	1,000	735	52	265	948
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	956	87	44	913
		60+	1,000	1,000	631	31	369	969
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	95	56	905	944

TABLE 11.2—*contd*

State/District	Total Rural Urban	Age Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1 000	521	420	479	580
		0—14	1,000	1,000	71	93	929	907
		15—34	1 000	1,000	819	781	181	219
	Total	35—59	1 000	1,000	946	719	54	281
		60+	1,000	1 000	676	234	324	766
		A N S	1,000	1 000	263	195	737	805
		Total	1 000	1,000	519	435	481	565
		0—14	1 000	1 000	73	96	927	904
		15—34	1,000	1 000	825	810	175	190
Sibsagar	Rural	35—59	1 000	1 000	946	738	54	262
		60+	1 000	1 000	680	240	320	750
		A N S	1,000	1,000	244	[illegible]	756	777
		Total	1 000	1 000	561	101	439	899
		0—14	1 000	1 000	40	23	960	977
		15—34	1,000	1,000	756	164	244	836
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	943	223	57	777
		60+	1 000	1 000	599	71	401	929
		A N S	1,000	1,000	417	73	583	927
		Total	1,000	1 000	538	138	462	862
		0—14	1,000	1,000	73	18	927	982
		15—34	1 000	1,000	845	234	155	766
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	957	268	43	732
		60+	1,000	1,000	722	111	278	889
		A.N S	1,000	1,000	293	122	707	878
		Total	1 000	1,000	544	144	456	856
		0—14	1 000	1,000	76	19	924	981
		15—34	1,000	1 000	866	245	134	755
Cachar	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	960	278	40	722
		60+	1 000	1,000	733	115	267	885
		A.N S	1,000	1,000	283	127	717	873
		Total	1,000	1,000	460	52	540	948
		0—14	1,000	1,000	14	5	986	995
		15—34	1 000	1 000	625	86	375	914
	Urban	35—59	1 000	1,000	924	117	76	883
		60+	1,000	1 000	533	41	467	959
		A N S	1 000	1,000	600	.	400	1,000
		Total	1,000	1,000	596	533	404	467
		0—14	1,000	1,000	124	130	876	870
		15—34	1,000	1,000	911	844	89	156
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	978	853	22	147
		60×	1,000	1,000	887	622	113	378
		A N S	1,000	1,000	394	232	606	[illegible]
		Total	1,000	1,000	598	543	402	457
		0—14	1,000	1,000	127	133	873	867
		15—34	1,000	1,000	923	861	77	139
Garo Hills	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	979	860	21	140
		60+	1,000	1,000	889	628	111	372
		A N.S	1,000	1,000	358	235	642	765
		Total	1,000	1,000	543	126	457	74
		0—14	1,000	1,000	24	10	976	90
		15—34	1,000	1,000	687	186	313	14
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	926	374	74	26
		60+	1,000	1,000	779	205	221	795
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	778	..	222	1,000

TABLE 11.2—*concld.*

State/District	Total Rural Urban	Age-Group	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1,000	575	408	425	592
		0—14	1,000	1,000	92	70	908	930
		15—34	1,000	1,000	875	658	125	342
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	968	732	32	268
		60+	1,000	1,000	765	440	235	560
		A N.S.	1,000	1,000	325	178	675	822
		Total	1,000	1,000	584	478	416	522
		0—14	1,000	1,000	109	84	891	916
		15—34	1,000	1,000	923	793	77	207
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	977	823	23	177
		60+	1,000	1,000	824	503	176	497
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	292	202	708	798
		Total	1,000	1,000	546	154	454	846
		0—14	1,000	1,000	26	15	974	985
		15—34	1,000	1,000	771	228	229	772
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	941	339	59	661
		60+	1,000	1,000	527	167	473	833
		A.N.S	1,000	1,000	520	59	480	941
		Total	1,000	1,000	601	518	399	486
		0—14	1,000	1,000	106	134	894	869
		15—34	1,000	1,000	913	841	87	155
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	973	835	27	169
		60+	1,000	1,000	845	551	155	444
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	206	236	794	764
		Total	1,000	1,000	601	522	399	478
		0—14	1,000	1,000	107	135	893	865
		15—34	1,000	1,000	916	847	84	153
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	973	840	27	160
		60+	1,000	1,000	846	553	154	447
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	199	237	801	763
		Total	1,000	1,000	565	102	435	898
		0—14	1,000	1,000	12	7	988	993
		15—34	1,000	1,000	799	191	201	809
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	969	207	31	793
		60+	1,000	1,000	705	91	295	909
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	1,000	..	..	1,000
		Total	1,000	1,000	486	459	514	541
		0—14	1,000	1,000	34	45	966	955
		15—34	1,000	1,000	850	884	150	116
	Total	35—59	1,000	1,000	946	758	54	242
		60+	1,000	1,000	490	204	510	796
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	210	287	790	713
		Total	1,000	1,000	487	467	513	533
		0—14	1,000	1,000	36	47	964	953
		15—34	1,000	1,000	861	904	139	96
Mizo Hills . . .	Rural	35—59	1,000	1,000	949	761	51	239
		60+	1,000	1,000	485	200	515	800
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	199	290	801	710
		Total	1,000	1,000	469	319	531	681
		0—14	1,000	1,000	5	9	995	991
		15—34	1,000	1,000	717	538	283	462
	Urban	35—59	1,000	1,000	895	679	105	321
		60+	1,000	1,000	605	295	395	705
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	429	222	571	778

A.N.S.—Age not stated.

TOTAL NON-WORKERS.

11. In the whole of Assam, there are 45.9 per cent. male Non-workers and 69.1 per cent. female Non-workers in all age-groups. The above table shows that the least number of male non-workers is in the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills district (39.9 per cent.) and the highest is in the Mizo Hills district (51.4 per cent.). In the Plains districts of Assam, the pattern is more or less the same as the all-Assam figure, the only difference being that some districts have more or less non-workers than the State average. With the exception of the Mizo Hills, the remaining three Hills districts of Assam have less Non-workers than the Plains districts.

12. As far as female Non-workers are concerned, the all-Assam figure is 69.1 per cent. The Cachar district has the greatest number of female Non-Workers, the percentage being 86.2, followed by the Nowgong district with 81.0. The least number of female Non-Workers in the plains of Assam is found in the Sibsagar district with 58.0 per cent. followed by Lakhimpur district with 59.3 per cent. and Darrang district with 64.0 per cent. These three districts have a large number of tea estates and many of the tea-garden labourers are women. That is why the number of female Non-Workers in these three Tea Districts is much less than the other districts of Assam. The hills districts of Assam have much less female Non-Workers than the plains districts because of the fact that the able-bodied women of the hills are workers. The lowest number of female Non-Workers in the whole State of Assam is in the Garo Hills with 46.7 per cent., followed by the United Mikir & North Cachar Hills with 48.2 per cent., the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district with 59.2 per cent. and the Mizo district with 54.1 per cent.

NON-WORKERS BY AGE GROUPS.

13. *Males.*—In the age group 35-59 in which all the workers are more concentrated, the percentage of the Total male Non-Workers for the whole of Assam is 4.0 while that for female is 45.2. In the rural areas of Assam the corresponding figures are 3.8 per cent. and 43.1 per cent. while in the urban areas the corresponding figures are 6.0 perl cent. and 77.3 per cent. These figures show that Non-Workers in the rural areas are far less than those in the urban areas. That also suggests that there is more unemployment in the urban areas than in the rural areas because in the towns persons may not be able to find any work to do at all, while in the rural areas one can always find some work to do if one has the will to do it. In the age group 15-35, some may be students in the high schools or colleges while some may be gainfully employed in some jobs. This is the reason why next to the age group 35-59 the number of workers is less in this age group.

14 District-wise, the greatest number of Non-Workers in the age group 35-59 is found in the Mizo Hills district where 5.4 per cent of its male poulation in this age group are Non-Workers. In the Sibsagar districts also 5.4 per cent. of the male population in this category are Non-Workers. This high percentage of male Non-Workers in this age group in which most people are working is peculiar in these two districts. The main reason may be that the highest percentage of literacy is also found in these two districts. It is noted from the all-India tables that the highest percentage of Non-Workers in this age-group is also found in the State of Kerala which has the highest percentage of literacy in India. It appears that educated persons in Assam as well as in India are more averse to manual work. The percentage of male Non-Workers in the remaining Hills districts of Garo Hills, United Mikir & North Cachar Hills and the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills is comparatively lower than all the remaining districts of Assam which suggests that the Hill people other than the Mizos have more workers.

15. *Females.*—As far as female Non-Workers are concerned, the proportion of Non-Workers is far less in the Hills districts than in the Plains districts for the age group 35-59. In he case of females, even the Mizo district has less Non-Workers compared to those other places, but the other three Hills districts have far less proportion of Non-Workers than the Mizo Hills district as far as the rural areas is concerned. In the plains districts of Assam, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Darrang have much less proportion of female Non-Workers than the remaining plains districts because of the fact that they have a big tea garden population whose females are workers in the tea gardens or in cultivation.

16. In all the age groups and in all the districts of Assam, the percentage of Non-Workers among both the males and females is greater in the Urban areas than in the Total or the Rural.

17. I give below table 11.3 showing the distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex in each age-group among Workers and Non-Workers in Assam, 1961. This table has been prepared from Table B-II for each Town Group and towns which display some special characteristics like industrial or commercial town. Age-groups are given only for class I and II towns and for towns from class III to class VI only the total of All Ages is given.

Distribution of 1,000 of Total population of each sex in each Age-Group among Workers and Non-Workers in Assam, 1961

TABLE 11.3.

City, Town Group and Class of Town	Age Group	Total Urban population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Shillong Town Group	Total	1,000	1,000	552	144	448	856
	0—14	1,000	1,000	24	13	976	987
	15—34	1,000	1,000	781	214	219	786
	35—59	1,000	1,000	942	317	58	683
	60+	1,000	1,000	528	155	472	845
	A. N. S.	1,000	1,000	520	59	480	941
Gauhati City	Total	1,000	1,000	599	68	401	932
	0—14	1,000	1,000	26	8	974	992
	15—34	1,000	1,000	754	104	246	896
	35—59	1,000	1,000	914	146	86	854
	60+	1,000	1,000	552	55	448	945
	A. N S.	1,000	1,000	1,000	..	..	..
Digboi Town Group (Industrial and Manufacturing).	Total	1,000	1,000	521	43	479	957
	0—14	1,000	1,000	19	4	981	996
	15—34	1,000	1,000	767	73	233	927
	35—59	1,000	1,000	967	108	33	892
	60 +	1,000	1,000	676	32	324	968
	A. N. S.	1,000	1,000	333	48	667	952
Tinsukia Town (Industrial)	Total	1,000	1,000	632	34	368	966
	0—14	1,000	1,000	191	7	809	993
	15—34	1,000	1,000	850	54	150	946
	35—59	1,000	1,000	942	79	58	921
	60+	1,000	1,000	658	34	342	966
	A. N. S.	1,000	1,000	..	667	..	333
Class II Dibrugarh	Total	1,000	1,000	563	84	437	916
	0—14	1,000	1,000	23	20	977	980
	15—34	1,000	1,000	756	143	244	857
	35—59	1,000	1,000	937	162	63	838
	60+	1,000	1,000	641	56	359	944
	A. N. S.	1,000	1,000	857	48	143	952
Class III (Total) Silchar, Nowgong, Pandu, Karimganj, Tinsukia, Dhubri, Jorhat, Tezpur, Lumding and Barpeta.	All Ages	1,000	1,000	548	72	452	928
Class IV (Total) Digboi Town, Digboi Oil Town, Sibsagar, Golaghat, Aijal, Hailakandi, Goalpara, Hojai, Sualkuchi and Bilasipara.	All Ages	1,000	1,000	533	126	467	874
Class V (Total) Gauripur, Barpeta Road, Kokrajhar, Nalbari, Mankachar, Mariani, Tura, Naharkatiya, Bongaigaon, Mangaldai, Doom Dooma, Dergaon, Sapatgram, North Gauhati, Kharupetia, North Lakhimpur, Dhing, Dhekiajuli, Jowai, Badarpur, Amingaon, Sarthebari and Abhayapuri	All Ages	1,000	1,000	554	112	446	888
Class VI (Total) Rangia, Nazira, Lala, Kamakhya, Tihu, Tangla, Palasbari, Haflong, Bihpuria Tinali Lakhipur, and Chabua.	All Ages	1,000	1,000	586	129	414	871

18. From the above table it may be seen that the proportion of Male Non-Workers is least in Tinsukia Town (36.8 per cent.) because it is an industrial town. Next comes Gauhati with 40.1 per cent. of its total male population being Non-Workers, followed by Dibrugarh with 43.7 per cent., then by Shillong with 44.8 per cent. and then by the Digboi Town Group with 47.9 per cent.

19. As far as female Non-Workers are concerned, Tinsukia again has the distinction of having the largest proportion of female Non-Workers with 96.6 per cent. followed by Digboi Town Group with 95.7 per cent., then by Gauhati with 93.2 per cent. and Dibrugarh with 91.6 per cent. Shillong has the least percentage of female Non-Workers with 85.6 per cent. and this is due to the fact that many Khasi women are workers either in Government offices on in various trades. It may also be noted that of all the towns of Assam, only Tinsukia can be termed as an industrial town because within the limits of its municipality, many industries have been set up. The predominant characteristics of the Shillong Town Group, Gauhati and Dibrugarh are administrative, but those of the Digboi Town Group are industrial and manufacturing.

20. The above analysis relates to all ages. But as already stated before, the actual working age is only in the age-group 35-59. In this age-group it may be seen that the Digboi Town Group has only 3.3 per cent. male Non-Workers followed by the Shillong Town Group and Tinsukia, each with 5.8 per cent. and then by Dibrugarh with 6.3 per cent and then by Gauhati with 8.6 per cent. As far as female Non-Workers in this age-group are concerned, Shillong again has the least number of Non-Workers with 68.3 per cent., and in all the other towns, female Non-Workers exceed 80 per cent. The pattern for all the other classes of towns is more or less the same as the general pattern

21 The following is table 11.4 which has been prepared from Table B-III Part A showing the distribution of educational levels among Non-Workers in urban areas. The table has been prepared for the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati which have a population of 100,000 and over and for the urban areas of all the districts. The figures are given in absolute numbers as well as per 1,000 of the population out of which the percentage can be easily found out by mere reading

Distribution of 1,000 Non-Workers of each sex among the and Town-group of population 100,000 and

TABLE

City, Town-Group and District (Urban areas only)		Non-Workers by sex	Distribution per 1,000				
			Total	Illiterate	Literate without Educational level	Primary or Junior Basic	Matriculation or Higher Secondary
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Shillong Town Group	Males	(a) Absolute figures	26,039	10,484	7,111	6,012	1,973
		(b) Per	1,000	403	273	231	76
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	37,921	18,017	11,065	5,755	2,761
		(b) Per	1,000	475	292	152	73
Gauhati City	Males	(a) Absolute figures	27,008	9,746	7,689	5,218	3,838
		(b) Per	1,000	361	285	193	142
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	31,164	14,030	10,574	4,950	1,434
		(b) Per	1,000	450	339	159	46
Goalpara	Males	(a) Absolute figures	24,857	13,372	6,465	4,085	780
		(b) Per	1,000	538	260	164	32
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	40,458	24,802	10,433	4,768	432
		(b) Per	1,000	613	258	118	11
Kamrup	Males	(a) Absolute figures	57,797	22,203	17,122	12,451	5,340
		(b) Per	1,000	384	296	216	92
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	70,914	39,065	20,821	8,935	1,791
		(b) Per	1,000	551	294	126	25
Darrang	Males	(a) Absolute figures	13,452	7,607	3,005	2,193	614
		(b) Per	1,000	566	223	163	46
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	17,884	11,194	3,579	2,788	303
		(b) Per	1,000	626	200	156	17
Lakhimpur	Males	(a) Absolute figures	39,271	18,118	15,674	4,076	1,254
		(b) Per	1,000	461	399	104	32
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	54,315	28,213	17,639	6,341	1,904
		(b) Per	1,000	519	325	117	35
Nowgong	Males	(a) Absolute figures	22,827	10,430	6,459	4,405	1,082
		(b) Per	1,000	457	283	193	48
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	32,461	18,291	9,619	4,035	488
		(b) Per	1,000	564	296	124	15
Sibsagar	Males	(a) Absolute figures	20,702	8,315	6,070	3,907	2,139
		(b) Per	1,000	402	293	189	105
	Females	(b) Absolute figures	26,532	12,724	8,995	4,007	727
		(b) Per	1,000	480	339	151	27
Cachar	Males	(a) Absolute figures	29,002	10,482	8,426	7,126	2,716
		(b) Per	1,000	361	291	246	94
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	40,815	18,730	10,580	10,158	1,265
		(b) Per	1,000	459	259	249	31
Garo Hills	Males	(a) Absolute figures	2,477	1,211	703	504	59
		(b) Per	1,000	489	284	203	24
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	3,027	1,473	1,059	451	40
		(b) Per	1,000	487	350	149	13
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	Males	(a) Absolute figures	27,754	11,376	7,473	6,438	1,998
		(b) Per	1,000	410	269	232	72
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	40,116	19,217	11,545	6,239	2,788
		(b) Per	1,000	479	288	156	69
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	Males	(a) Absolute figures	866	436	47	363	20
		(b) Per	1,000	504	54	419	23
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	1,143	581	113	418	24
		(b) Per	1,000	508	99	366	21
Mizo Hills	Males	(a) Absolute figures	4,049	1,730	1,133	1,115	56
		(b) Per	1,000	427	280	275	14
	Females	(a) Absolute figures	4,513	2,362	1,631	485	31
		(b) Per	1,000	523	361	108	7

different Educational levels for each City
over for Urban areas of districts
11.4

Non-workers of each sex

Technical Diploma not equivalent to degree	Non-technical Diploma	University degree	Technical degree	Engineering	Medicine	Agriculture	Veterinary and Dairying	Technology	Teaching	Others
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
341 13	2 N	93 3	23 1	12 1	8 N	.			3 N	
		318 8	5 N						3 N	
3 N	10 N	490 18	14 1	2 N	13 N					
		176 6								.
2 N	94 4	56 2	3 N		2 N			1 N		
	3 N	20 N								.
9 N	28 1	623 11	21 N	3 N	15 N		2 N			1 N
2 N		300 4								
		33 2								
		20 1								. .
11 N	1 N	107 3	10 1	13 1	10 N				6 N	1 N
	6 N	202 4	10 N		1 N				4 N	3 N
8 N	328 14	99 4	16 1	1 N	13 1		1 N			1 N
		28 1							.	. ..
9 N	134 6	114 6	14 1	2 N	10 1				2 N	. ..
		78 3	1 N		1 N					.. .
. ..		244 8	8 N	1 N	7 N			..	..	.. .
.. .	6 N	76 2	..	.. ..	.. ..	.	.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
.. ..		..	..	.	.	.	.	.. ..	.. .	.. ..
.. ..		4 1	..	.. ..	.. .	.. ..	.. .	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
341 12	2 N	103 4	23 1	12 1	8 N	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	3 N	.. ..
1 N	.	321 8	5 N	.. .	.. ..	.. .	.. ..	.. .	5 N	.. .
.. ..	..		..	.	.	.	.. ..	.	..	. .
.. ..		7 6	. ..	. .	. .	. ..	.. ..	. ..	. ..	. .
.. ..	.. ..	15 4	.. ..	.. ..	. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
.. ..	.. ..	4 1	..	.. ..	. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..

N—Negligible.

22. From the above table it may be seen that in the two urban areas which have a population of over 100,000, namely the Shillong Town Group and Gauhati, the number of Non-Workers sex-wise is more or less the same in respect of males, but Shillong has more female Non-Workers than Gauhati. The low sex ratio of Gauhati is partly responsible for the lower number of female Non-Workers. The number of illiterate Non-Workers in Shillong is more than Gauhati in respect of males, but more so in respect of females. When it comes to Non-Workers who are literate without educational level, Shillong has less than Gauhati in respect of males, but slightly a little more in respect of females which is again due to the low sex ratio of Gauhati. In respect of Primary or Junior Basic, Shillong has less Non-Workers by both sexes than Gauhati, but when it comes to Matriculation or Higher Secondary, Gauhati has more male Non-Workers than Shillong, but Shillong has more female Non-Workers than Gauhati. In respect of University degree holders, Gauhati has more Non-Workers than Shillong because Gauhati has a University and graduates of Shillong may get some part-time employment even if they are not fully employed. In respect of technical personnel, the number of Non-Workers is more apparent than real because such personnel are more scarce in Assam and everyone can be usefully employed The small number of Non-Workers among such category may be due to the fact that they have just passed their examinations at the time of the enumeration and may be seeking jobs for the first time. Moreover, there are such technical personnel who come to Shillong and Gauhati from outside Assam in search of jobs here.

23. In the remaining urban areas of the districts of Assam, the pattern of distribution is more or less uniform and there are no significant or salient features to distinguish one from the other. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district there are more female Non-Workers who are graduates than in the rest of the districts of Assam. This may be due to the fact that the wives of many officers are graduates and are therefore classified as Non-Workers.

24. The following is another table 11.5 which has been specially prepared for the Rural Areas of each district of Assam from Table B-III Part B. Here the Non-Workers in the Rural Areas have been shown by educational level and not by age-group. A scrutiny of this table shows that the pattern of Non-Workers among the male population in all the districts of Assam excepting the Garo Hills is more or less the same. As far as the total Non-Workers for each district is concerned, the matter had already been discussed. It may be seen that the number of male Non-Workers in the Rural Areas of all the districts of Assam is the greatest among the illiterates Among the literates without educational level, it is slightly less in all the districts, but among those who have passed the primary or junior basic examinations, the proportion of male Non-Workers is slightly more again in all the districts excepting Garo Hills. Quite naturally the proportion of male Non-Workers is much less among those who have passed the matriculation and above. Kamrup, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Cachar districts have much more male Non-Workers ranging from 306 to 378 whereas in the remaining districts of Assam the proportion is 200 and below per 1,000 of the male population.

25. Among the female Non-Workers in the Rural Areas, the pattern of Non-Working female is more or less the same throughout the State in respect of illiterates, literates and those who have passed the primary or junior basic examinations. As regards those females who have passed matriculation and above the proportion is the greatest in the Cachar district with 81.6 per cent., followed by Kamrup with 75.4 per cent. and then by Nowgong with 74.8 per cent. The proportion of matriculate Non-Workers among the females of the hills districts is proportionately far less than those in the plains districts.

26. It may however be noted that both in respect of males and females, matriculate non-workers are above 15 years old, whereas the illiterates, the literates without educational level and those who have passed primary or Junior basic examinations include those below 15 also, and therefore the figures include those who are still reading in schools also.

Distribution of 1,000 of Total Population of each sex in each educational level among Workers and Non-Workers in the Rural Areas of Assam, 1961

TABLE 11.5

District	Educational level	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Goalpara	Total	1,000	1,000	550	236	450	764
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	521	228	479	772
	Literate (without educational level)	1,000	1,000	627	305	373	695
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	598	329	402	671
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	801	446	199	554
2. Kamrup	Total	1,000	1,000	515	279	485	721
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	482	276	518	724
	Literate (without educational level)	1,000	1,000	584	276	416	724
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	543	402	457	598
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	622	246	378	754
3. Darrang	Total	1,000	1,000	565	369	435	631
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	548	381	452	619
	Literate (without educational level)	1,000	1,000	610	271	390	729
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	552	316	448	684
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	806	424	194	576
4 Lakhimpur	Total	1,000	1,000	540	437	460	563
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	480	450	520	550
	Literate (without educational level)	1,000	1,000	646	326	354	674
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	627	479	373	521
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	800	353	200	647
5. Nowgong	Total	1,000	1,000	530	200	470	800
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	533	189	467	811
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	527	247	473	753
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	495	304	505	696
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	694	252	306	748
6. Sibsagar	Total	1,000	1,000	519	435	481	565
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	478	454	522	546
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	590	361	410	639
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	487	347	513	653
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	633	459	367	541
7. Cachar	Total	1,000	1,000	544	144	456	856
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	494	150	506	850
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	648	115	352	885
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	584	91	416	909
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	641	184	359	816
8. Garo Hills	Total	1,000	1,000	598	543	402	457
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	549	527	451	473
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	746	652	254	348
	Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	775	613	225	387
	Matriculation and above	1,000	1,000	917	630	83	370
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills.	Total	1,000	1,000	584	478	416	522
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	534	469	466	531

TABLE 11.5—*concld.*

District	Educational level	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	749	554	251	446
	Primary or Junior Basic . .	1,000	1,000	611	263	389	737
	Matriculation and above .	1,000	1,000	857	542	143	458
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	Total	1,000	1,000	601	522	399	478
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	570	533	430	467
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	715	393	285	607
	Primary or Junior Basic . .	1,000	1,000	617	322	383	678
	Matriculation and above .	1,000	1,000	882	444	118	556
11. Mizo Hills .	Total	1,000	1,000	487	467	513	533
	Illiterate	1,000	1,000	259	384	741	616
	Literate (without educational level).	1,000	1,000	712	647	288	353
	Primary or Junior Basic . .	1,000	1,000	602	452	398	548
	Matriculation and above .	1,000	1,000	872	731	128	269

27. The following is another table 11.6 prepared for the State of Assam more or less on the same pattern as table 11.5, but slightly different from it in the sense that total Workers and Non-Workers for both sexes have been given as 1,000 at the top of the column and then distributed into illiterates and three categories of literacy and education.

Distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex among Workers and Non-Workers in Assam by different educational levels in the Rural Areas of the State, 1961

TABLE 11.6

Educational level	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-Workers	
	Males 1,000	Females 1,000	Males 1,000	Females 1,000	Males 1,000	Females 1,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Illiterate	652	862	609	859	702	864
2. Literate (without educational level) .	252	107	288	112	210	105
3. Primary or Junior Basic . . .	86	30	90	28	82	30
4. Matriculation and above . . .	10	1	13	1	6	1

28. The above table shows that among 1,000 male Non-Workers, 702 are illiterates, 210 are literates without educational level, 82 have passed primary or junior basic examinations and only 6 have passed the matriculation or above. Among 1,000 female Non-Workers, 864 are illiterates, 105 are literates without educational level, 30 have passed the primary or junior basic examinations and only one has passed the matriculation and above. This table shows the disproportion of literacy and education among the males and females of Assam because there are more female illiterates than males and the proportion of those who have passed some examination gradually becomes lesser and lesser for women as one goes up the educational ladder.

29. The following is table 11.7 which has been prepared from Table B-VIII Part A which will give some idea of the age classification of persons seeking employment. The figures are only for the urban areas of all the districts of Assam and also for Gauhati and the Shillong Town Group which have a population of over 100,000.

Distribution of the Total of 1,000 unemployed persons by sex between those seeking employment for the first time and those emvloyed before but now out of employment and seeking work in cities and urban areas of districts, 1961

TABLE 11.7

City, Town Group and District	Total unemployed		Seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Goalpara	1,000	1,000	617	857	383	143
Kamrup	1,000	1,000	704	792	296	208
Gauhati City	1,000	1,000	665	692	335	308
Darrang	1,000	1,000	649	533	351	467
Lakhimpur	1,000	1,000	864	739	136	261
Nowgong	1,000	1,000	686	667	314	333
Sibsagar	1,000	1,000	432	688	568	312
Cachar	1,000	1,000	660	729	340	271
Garo Hills	1,000	1,000	512	750	488	250
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	1,000	1,000	529	559	471	441
Shillong Town Group	1,000	1,000	538	590	462	410
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	1,000	1,000	929	Nil	71	..
Mizo Hills	1,000	1,000	491	1,000	509	..

30. From the above table it may be seen that as far as males are concerned, the number of those seeking employment for the first time are much more than those who had been employed before but were out of employment on March 1, 1961 and were seeking work excepting in the districts of Sibsagar and Mizo Hills where the number of those thrown out of employment is more than those seeking employment for the first time But as far as female persons are concerned, the number of those seeking employment for the first time is much more than those who were employed before but were out of employment on March 1, 1961. As these figures relate only to urban areas, the percentage figures, and especially the figure per 1,000 of the population may appear to be a bit high, but in terms of absolute numbers the figures are rather very small especially when we bear in mind that in the Mizo Hills there is only one town, namely Aijal which has a total population of only 14,257. Similarly, the urban areas of Sibsagar district are relatively very small compared to the big rural population of this district.

31. In all the urban areas of Assam there were only 3,622 persons seeking employment for the first time and only 1,778 persons employed before but out of employment and seeking work again on March 1, 1961 and so it is not necessary to make an elaborate study of these persons by showing certain tables which will occupy a lot of space but not much of matter as these few unemployed persons are scattered in all the towns of all the districts of Assam. Those who want to make a detailed study of these small numbers may refer to Subsidiary Table B-VIII Part A.1 which is being published elsewhere as part of this General Report. Moreover, such unemployment has already been given in Chapter III-Urban Population as well as in Chapter VII-Literacy and Education.

32. The following is table 11.8 in which a study is made of unemployment in the rural areas of Assam by sex and various educational levels.

Distribution of 1,000 unemployed persons of each sex aged 15 and above of various educational levels in the Rural Areas, 1961

TABLE 11.8

Districts	Educational level	Total unemployed persons aged 15+	
		Males	Females
1	2	3	4
Goalpara	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	444	604
	Literate (without educational level)	288	272
	Primary or Junior Basic	205	106
	Matriculation and above	63	18
Kamrup	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	289	750
	Literate (without educational level)	232	93
	Primary or Junior Basic	414	136
	Matriculation and above	65	21
Darrang	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	474	863
	Literate (without educational level)	242	24
	Primary or Junior Basic	203	94
	Matriculation and above	81	19
Lakhimpur	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	718	932
	Literate (without educational level)	204	43
	Primary or Junior Basic	57	19
	Matriculation and above	21	6
Nowgong	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	304	525
	Literate (without educational level)	374	153
	Primary or Junior Basic	208	237
	Matriculation and above	114	85
Sibsagar	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	580	467
	Literate (without educational level)	218	386
	Primary or Junior Basic	125	120
	Matriculation and above	77	27
Cachar	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	273	621
	Literate (without educational level)	197	124
	Primary or Junior Basic	408	204
	Matriculation and above	122	51
Garo Hills	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	316	1,000
	Literate (without educational level)	316	..
	Primary or Junior Basic	210	..
	Matriculation and above	158	..
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	487	..
	Literate (without educational level)	205	571
	Primary or Junior Basic	218	143
	Matriculation and above	90	286
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	Total	1,000	1,000
	Illiterate	738	900
	Literate (without educational level)	153	..
	Primary or Junior Basic	78	100
	Matriculation and above	31	..

TABLE 11.8—*concld*

Districts	Educational level	Total unemployed persons aged 15+	
		Males	Females
1	2	3	4
	Total	1 000	1,0[illegible]
Mizo Hills	Illiterate	159	
	Literate (without educational level)	274	1,000
	Primary or Junior Basic	432	
	Matriculation and above	136	

33 The above table shows that among the male persons, the pattern of employment is more or less the same in all the rural area of the districts of Assam namely, that the biggest number of unemployed persons aged 15 and above is among the illiterate persons followed by that with literacy without educational level and then by those who have passed Primary or Junior Basic Examination, the least number of unemployed persons being naturally among those who have passed Matriculation and above In the case of the Kamrup, Cachar and Mizo Hills districts however, the greatest number of unemployed persons aged 15 and above is among those who have passed Primary or Junior Basic examinations These persons have passed the Primary or Junior Basic Examinations and may have read up to the Matriculation standard and so it appears that in these three districts, the proportion of people having had some education and not doing any work is rather big It may be that they also do not like manual labour, while at the same time, they may not get better jobs

34. In the case of females, the pattern is also more or less the same excepting that the number of unemployed female persons aged 15 and above in higher education is much less than that of males but that also may be due to the fact that females have less number of persons having higher education

35. The figures in this table have been given in terms of per 1,000 and so they may be misleading in the case of the Hill areas where absolute figures in terms of unemployed persons are very small. For example, in the whole of the Mizo Hills, there are only 44 unemployed male persons in the various educational levels but the figures in terms of per 1,000 in the above table appear to be unduly big. The most fantastic figure can be seen in the case of the Mizo Hills where one female unemployed person who is literate without educational level has been shown as 1 000 in the above table Absolute figures of unemployed persons are available from Table B VIII Part B which is also being published separately in Part II-B from which it may be seen that while the figures for the plains districts may run into four figure for male persons those in the Hills districts are below 325

36 The following is table 11 9 showing the distribution of 1 000 persons of each sex and age group among the eight types of activity along the Non Workers, 1961 The 8 types of Non Workers have been given both by Roman numerals as well as by broad description This table shows that the greatest percentage of Non-Workers can be found in the categories of dependents, infants, and disabled persons where the proportion for male is 64 4 per cent and that for females is 56.6 per cent respectively Next in the category of Non Workers come students the proportion for males being 30 6 per cent and that for female being 12 0 per cent As far as females are concerned, the next biggest quantity of Non-Workers comes under the heading 'Household Duties' because 30 3 per cent. of female Non-Workers come under this heading It is however strange that 2.6 per cent of males are also engaged in household duties Male servants doing household duties are classed as workers and not as Non-Workers So also the female workers. So female Non-Workers are housewives while male Non-Workers doing household duties are persons in various age-groups doing household duties in their own homes only and not doing any other work. These data were collected from Census slips and field investigation has not been done whether such males are really doing household duties or whether there has been mistake in the recording of the enumerators.

Distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex and age-group

TABLE

State and District and individual cities	R U	Age-Groups	Total Non-working population		Students		Household duties	
					I		II	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1,000	306	120	26	303
		0—14	1,000	1,000	283	161	17	61
	T	15—34	1,000	1,000	641	76	51	799
		35—59	1,000	1,000	11	4	176	769
		60+	1,000	1,000		.	100	357
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	106	44	96	201
		Total	1,000	1,000	289	105	26	297
		0—14	1,000	1,000	270	143	17	63
Assam	R	15—34	1,000	1,000	613	58	59	806
		35—59	1,000	1,000	9	3	189	769
		60+	1,000	1,000			105	354
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	102	32	100	193
		Total	1,000	1,000	501	271	25	370
		0—14	1,000	1,000	459	409	23	26
	U	15—34	1,000	1,000	767	187	16	751
		35—59	1,000	1,000	25	14	94	764
		60+	1,000	1,000			48	398
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	188	194	13	306
		Total	1,000	1,000	265	86	15	376
		0—14	1,000	1,000	238	121	1	63
	T	15—34	1,000	1,000	679	60	108	878
		35—59	1,000	1,000	45	6	251	818
		60+	1,000	1,000			70	396
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	279	42	16	253
		Total	1,000	1,000	254	79	16	372
		0—14	1,000	1,000	228	109	1	64
Goalpara	R	15—34	1,000	1,000	668	60	120	876
		35—59	1,000	1,000	28	1	262	820
		60+	1,000	1,000		..	79	399
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	290	44	16	249
		Total	1,000	1,000	424	182	11	424
		0—14	1,000	1,000	389	305	1	36
	U	15—34	1,000	1,000	754	62	22	896
		35—59	1,000	1,000	177	66	170	795
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	76	353
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	357
		Total	1,000	1,000	368	117	44	335
		0—14	1,000	1,000	331	172	40	54
	T	15—34	1,000	1,000	760	41	37	888
		35—59	1,000	1,000	5	1	228	828
		60+	1,000	1,000			95	402
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	140	30	24	178
		Total	1,000	1,000	348	102	48	330
		0—14	1,000	1,000	317	152	44	57
Kamrup	R	15—34	1,000	1,000	787	25	44	899
		35—59	1,000	1,000	5	1	274	828
		60+	1,000	1,000		..	93	399
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	138	31	25	180
		Total	1,000	1,000	531	244	8	387
		0—14	1,000	1,000	469	383	1	22
	U	15—34	1,000	1,000	835	132	16	825
		35—59	1,000	1,000	4	3	48	890
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	104	488
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	217	..	..	115

among the eight types of activity of Non-Workers, 1961.

11.9

Dependents, infants and disabled		Retired, rentiers or independent means		Beggars vagrants, etc		Inmates of institutions		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Unemployed but seeking work	
III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
644	566	6	4	5	5	1	N	7	1	5	1
694	775	3	2	1	1	N	N	1	N	1	N
207	112	3	1	11	5	7	1	53	4	27	2
521	197	64	7	107	17	16	1	40	1	65	2
710	578	115	34	53	27	6	1	2	1	1	2
741	741	18	4	30	8	6	N	3	2	N	N
663	587	6	4	5	4	1	N	6	2	4	1
708	791	3	2	1	1	N	N	1	N	N	N
228	122	3	1	11	5	4	N	53	5	29	3
529	197	51	8	107	18	10	N	40	1	65	2
730	582	92	33	53	26	2	1	3	2	15	2
747	762	18	4	24	6	5	1	4	1		1
425	349	14	2	7	5	7	2	14	1	7	N
515	562	N	N	1	2	1	1	1	N	N	..
110	51	2	N	12	4	17	4	56	[illegible]	20	1
462	198	148	6	107	14	56	4	42	N	66	N
504	540	342	27	53	34	43	1			10	..
636	475	13		130	20	13	.		5	7	..
708	532	3	2	4	4	N	N	3	N	2	N
761	816		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
158	58	3	1	10	3	1	N	28	N	13	N
484	158	44	5	116	12	5	N	37	1	18	N
755	546	88	32	69	25	1	1	2	N	6	N
678	673	19	16	4	13	4	.		3	..	..
720	543	2	2	4	4	N	N	3	N	1	N
771	827	.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
160	59	3	1	11	4	1	N	25	N	12	N
485	161	38	5	125	12	5	N	41	1	16	N
764	543	75	32	72	25	2	1	2	N	6	N
666	682	20	17	4	5	4		..	3	..	..
541	389	8	2	3	3	N	..	8	N	5	N
610	659	..	.	.	N	..		N	..	N	..
145	41	N	N	3	N	N	..	51	1	25	..
472	124	87	3	47	12	.	..	14	..	33	N
668	584	207	36	41	27	..		..	..	8	N
1,000	429	..	..	..	214		.	..	..	..	..
467	534	3	8	8	6	2	N	5	N	3	N
626	763	N	10	3	1	N	N	N	N	N	N
114	62	1	2	17	6	10	N	41	1	20	N
487	144	54	4	154	22	10	N	26	N	36	1
722	546	106	17	62	33	10	1	1	..	4	1
796	780	26	..	4	12	7	..	3	..	..	..
586	553	2	9	8	6	1	N	4	N	3	N
636	779	N	11	3	1	N	N	N	N	N	N
134	66	1	2	13	7	11	N	39	N	21	1
467	145	40	4	150	22	6	N	24	N	34	N
889	549	66	17	64	33	2	1	2	..	4	1
797	776	26	..	4	13	7	..	3	..	..	..
409	362	13	2	14	4	5	N	14	1	6	N
526	595	N	N	1	N	2	..	1	N	N	..
47	37	1	1	29	2	6	N	49	2	17	1
964	139	110	6	168	21	25	N	37	1	44	N
410	512	374	16	46	34	61	..	..	..	5	..
783	885	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE

State and District and individual cities	TRU	Age-Groups	Total Non-working population		Students		Household duties	
					I		II	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1,000	575	249	9	450
Gauhati	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	494	414	2	18
		15—34	1,000	1,000	858	161	11	801
		35—59	1,000	1,000	6	2	40	885
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	110	540
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
		Total	1,000	1,000	255	98	47	292
	T	0—14	1,000	1,000	241	121	42	98
		15—34	1,000	1,000	543	85	76	780
		35—59	1,000	1,000	.	N	151	760
		60+	1,000	1,000			72	356
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	68	16	83	216
		Total	1,000	1,000	246	86	40	293
Darrang	R	0—14	1,000	1,000	234	114	34	101
		15—34	1,000	1,000	529	43	83	813
		35—59	1,000	1,000	.	..	161	751
		60+	1,000	1,000			75	349
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	66	17	90	224
		Total	1,000	,000	448	345	192	271
	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	441	326	256	29
		15—34	1,000	1,000	651	542	17	408
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	N	83	882
		60+	1,000	1,000		..	11	546
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	91	..	..	..
		Total	1,000	1,000	269	134	15	226
	T	0—14	1,000	1,000	260	159	6	97
		15—34	1,000	1,000	486	107	39	696
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	N	172	585
		60+	1,000	1,000	.		114	305
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	19	177	76	212
		Total	1,000	1,000	248	111	12	209
Lakhimpur	R	0—14	1,000	1,000	244	127	2	105
		15—34	1,000	1,000	436	95	44	644
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	..	176	628
		60+	1,000	1,000	.	.	126	325
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	21	13	84	218
		..						
		Total	1,000	1,000	448	293	49	337
	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	422	478	52	16
		15—34	1,000	1,000	665	136	31	823
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	1	150	436
		60+	1,000	1,000	..		..	142
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	786	..	190
		Total	1,000	1,000	316	98	9	340
	T	0—14	1,000	1,000	288	155	2	68
		15—34	1,000	1,000	694	29	29	767
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	..	140	783
		60+	1,000	1,000		..	98	354
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	148	45	63	214
		Total	1,000	1,000	295	90	8	332
Nowgong	R	0—14	1,000	1,000	272	142	2	871
		15—34	1,000	1,000	662	22	32	757
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	..	131	773
		60+	1,000	1,000		..	104	350
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	105	49	68	207
		Total	1,000	1,000	570	206	9	434
	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	525	355	1	29
		15—34	1,000	1,000	856	92	16	866
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	..	217	889
		60+	1,000	1,000		..	37	412
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	684	..	..	294

11.9—*contd.*

Dependents, infants and disabled		Retired, rentiers or independent means		Beggars vagrants, etc		Inmates of institutions		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Unemployed but seeking work	
III		IV		V		VI		VIII		VIII	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
353	293	17	3	18	4	5	N	1[illegible]	1	8	N
503	568			N		1		N			
27	31	N	1	31	3	9	N	44	2	10	1
611	87	96	7	163	17	27	N	5	1	30	1
278	409	542	34	31	17	38				1	
658	601	22	1	3	4	[illegible]	N	9	3	4	1
695	779	21		N	N	N	N	1	1	N	1
237	119	5	N	10	4	11	N	87	10	21	2
582	211	61	5	75	17	9	1	63	3	39	3
777	597	81	13	50	30	5	N	1	N	12	5
767	768	75		7							
675	612	23	1	3	4	1	N	9	3	1	1
709	784	22		N	N	N	N	1	1	N	N
247	126	5	N	10	5	N	N	93	11	33	3
575	219	62	5	83	17	4	1	21	3	11	4
791	603	68	13	48	30	3	N	3	N	13	5
754	759	82		8							
297	381	12	2	6	1	30	N	10	N	5	N
300	645							1		2	
166	47	3	N	7	1	94		44	1	18	1
624	107	54	9	28	6	191	1	14		6	
515	4 4	303	14	105	6	67					
909	1 000										
684	624	4	3	5	3	2	1	13	5	8	4
731	741	N	1	1	N	1	N	1	1	N	1
286	144	2	3	10	7	10	1	111	22	96	15
464	359	67	13	101	16	19	4	85	13	122	11
670	635	113	30	61	19	17	1	5	6	20	4
801	591			95	5			5	10	4	5
711	663	4	3	4	4	1	N	11	6	9	4
751	765	N	1	1	N	N	N	1	1	1	1
319	195	1	3	12	10	6	1	113	31	60	21
509	305	47	17	82	21	11	1	43	15	127	13
684	609	101	33	53	21	9	1	6	7	21	4
890	744				6			5	13		6
442	359		1	11	N	12	9	23	1	4	N
519	503	N		2	N	3	3	1		1	
167	30	4	N	2	N	25	18	103	2	1	1
158	546	200	3	224	N	74	14	99	.	55	.
539	847	226	6	133	2	101	3			1	
	24			952						48	
665	559	2	1	3	2	N	N	3	N	2	N
				N	N	N		N	N	N	N
710	777	N	N	5	1	N	N	31	N	12	N
228	203	1	3	92	9	19		16	N	14	N
658	205	31	9	33	16	7	N	N	1	13	N
801	620	48	..								..
789	741										
688	575	1	1	3	2	N	N	3	N	2	N
				N	N	N		N	N	N	N
726	787	N	..	5	1	N	N	25	1	11	N
265	219	N	N	91	9	20		16	N	28	N
695	216	19	2	35	16	N		1	1	13	N
821	626	26	7	.							..
827	744	.	..								
385	355	11	3	3	2	2	N	14	N	6	N
				N			.	N		N	..
474	616	..	..	4	1		1	63	N	19	N
40	40	2	N	107	8	7	..	17		88	..
434	90	140	13	13	17	74	1	.	..	11	..
601	548	264	22	..	.	..	..	..	.	..	..
316	708	..	..								
..											

TABLE

State and District and individual cities	TRU	Age-Groups	Total Non-working population		Students		Household duties	
					I		II	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Total	1,000	1,000	364	197	26	138
	T	0—14	1,000	1,000	349	234	9	10
		15—34	1,000	1,000	621	166	70	570
		35—59	1,000	1,000	4	N	205	587
		60+	1,000	1,000			167	325
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	57	34	341	326
		Total	1,000	1,000	357	187	27	123
Sibsagar	R	10—14	1,000	1,000	347	220	9	10
		15—34	1,000	1,000	597	166	78	547
		35—59	1,000	1,000			210	556
		60+	1,000	1,000			170	311
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	52	27	369	265
		Total	1,000	1,000	473	339	9	351
	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	385	546	1	13
		15—34	1,000	1,000	812	168	11	682
		35—59	1,000	1,000	64	1	301	849
		60+	1,000	1,000			100	613
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	119	59	48	549
		Total	1,000	1,000	335	104	7	419
	T	0—14	1,000	1,000	321	164	2	72
		15—34	1,000	1,000	627	66	27	842
		35—39	1,000	1,000	25	4	67	812
		60+	1,000	1,000			15	284
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	15	53	152	229
		Total	1,000	1,000	315	90	7	423
Cachar	R	0—14	1,000	1,000	304	144	2	76
		15—34	1,000	1,000	610	56	33	851
		35—59	1,000	1,000	29	2	70	821
		60+	1,000	1,000			16	277
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	15	52	155	210
		Total	1,000	1,000	550	276	3	374
	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	553	451	N	18
		15—34	1,000	1,000	691	176	4	741
		35—59	1,000	1,000		29	45	692
		60+	1,000	1,000			12	367
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	83	..	583
		Total	1,000	1,000	158	90	119	155
	T	0—14	1,000	1,000	124	90	123	35
		15—34	1,000	1,000	665	116	50	697
		35—59	1,000	1,000	11	78	139	611
		60+	1,000	1,000			172	298
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	48	32	48	174
		Total	1,000	1,000	141	79	124	134
Garo Hills	R	0—14	1,000	1,000	115	80	127	19
		15—34	1,000	1,000	613	96	57	700
		35—59	1,000	1,000	10	84	156	993
		60+	1,000	1,000			176	298
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	49	32	49	178
		Total	1,000	1,000	574	325	6	617
	U	0—14	1,000	1,000	452	444	1	536
		15—34	1,000	1,000	896	250	14	675
		35—59	1,000	1,000	12	..	..	820
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	59	314
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..

11.9—*contd.*

Dependents, infants and disabled		Retired, rentiers, or independent means		Beggars, vagrants, etc		Inmates of institutions		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Unemployed but seeking work	
III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
577	651	5	2	5	4	1	1	11	5	11	2
635	753	N		1	1	N		4	1	2	1
189	224	7	N	12	9	7	2	44	20	40	6
452	357	42	10	82	23	15	4	63	17	117	6
641	607	102	24	40	25	2	5	6	8	40	6
489	632	21		62		16	4	14	4		..
583	676	5	2	5	4	1	1	11	5	11	2
637	768	N		1	N	N		4	1	2	1
207	241	8	N	10	11	6	2	55	23	39	10
462	384	37	11	80	24	13	N	64	18	134	7
653	620	91	25	38	25	2	5	6	5	40	6
456	703	22		67		18	5	16			..
457	303	12	1	13	3	6	1	13	1	17	1
612	441	N		1	N	1		N	N	N	
46	141	1	N	25	3	16	2	46	3	43	1
123	128	112	6	123	13	38	.	44	1	185	1
464	351	297	15	86	21	5				48	
833	372								20		..
627	461	11	6	8	8	1	N	7	1	4	1
674	762	2	N	1	2	N	N	N	N	N	N
246	80	2	1	10	7	7	1	55	2	26	1
551	148	110	13	146	21	22	1	31	N	48	1
662	585	224	88	85	42	3	N	N	N	11	1
717	706	21		95	12					..	..
650	472	10	7	8	7	N	N	6	1	4	N
691	779	2	N	1	1	N	N	N	N	N	N
257	83	3	1	12	6	1	N	56	2	28	1
554	142	100	13	163	21	13	N	26	N	45	1
679	593	204	93	90	36	1	N	N	N	10	1
712	725	21		97	13						..
391	319	21	2	2	24	10	4	15	1	8	N
447	517			N	14		N			N	..
203	51	1	N	1	20	28	7	52	4	20	1
533	230	177	5	17	35	81	8	60	N	67	1
503	483	421	26	10	123	22	1		..	12	..
1,000	334								..		..
708	735	3	4	11	16	N	N	N	N	1	N
748	866	..	N	5	9		..	..	..	N	..
230	160	N	2	44	24	N	1	6	N	5	N
566	212	33	12	217	87			4	.	10	..
616	579	145	83	65	40	.	..	1	..	1	..
825	778	..	..	48	16	31	..	.	.	..	..
721	766	2	4	12	17	N	N	N	..	N	N
753	892	.	N	5	9			..	..	..	..
272	174	N	2	54	28	N	N	2	..	2	..
534	215	28	12	266	94		..	2	..	4	..
617	576	137	85	68	41	..	..	1	..	1	N
853	790	..	..	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
395	54	7	..	..	2	1	1	9	1	8	106
546	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
46	66	..	.	..	2	..	3	23	3	10	1
832	167	72	..	..	4	..	..	24	..	60	..
588	672	353	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE

State and District and individual cities	TRU	Age-Groups	Total Non-working population		Students		Household duties	
					I		II	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	T	Total	1,000	1,000	295	192	20	219
		0—14	1,000	1,000	257	187	12	26
		15—34	1,000	1,000	707	302	39	569
		35—59	1,000	1,000	28	57	98	820
		60 +	1,000	1,000			205	513
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	210	36	9	301
	R	Total	1,000	1,000	218	131	25	168
		0—14	1,000	1,000	197	126	16	29
		15—34	1,000	1,000	622	209	69	581
		35—59	1,000	1,000	42	107	133	732
		60 +	1,000	1,000		.	335	535
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	186	30	10	313
	U	Total	1,000	1,000	502	332	6	335
		0—14	1,000	1,000	460	402	1	16
		15—34	1,000	1,000	771	381	17	559
		35—59	1,000	1,000	10		55	921
		60 +	1,000	1,000			13	455
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	417	62		250
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	T	Total	1,000	1,000	157	67	12	159
		0—14	1,000	1,000	135	78	4	27
		15—34	1,000	1,000	508	43	36	802
		35—59	1,000	1,000	28	13	227	566
		60 +	1,000	1,000			109	319
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	119	18	10	6
	R	Total	1,000	1,000	151	62	12	156
		0—14	1,000	1,000	130	73	4	27
		15—34	1,000	1,000	493	36	38	806
		35—59	1,000	1,000	28	13	230	554
		60+	1,000	1,000		.	110	319
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	119	18	10	6
	U	Total	1,000	1,000	594	309	..	347
		0—14	1,000	1,000	549	475	..	5
		15—34	1,000	1,000	828	177	..	725
		35—59	1,000	1,000	.	..	..	848
		60 +	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	333
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..
Mizo Hills	T	Total	1,000	1,000	270	203	12	133
		0—14	1,000	1,000	270	233	N	20
		15—34	1,000	1,000	511	312	5	398
		35—59	1,000	1,000	3	1	161	695
		60+	1,000	1,000			137	452
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	48	17	4	26
	R	Total	1,000	1,000	254	192	13	128
		0—14	1,000	1,000	256	221	N	21
		15—34	1,000	1,000	480	312	6	410
		35—59	1,000	1,000	4	1	180	687
		60+	1,000	1,000	.	..	141	433
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	50	18	4	27
	U	Total	1,000	1,000	532	369	..	198
		0—14	1,000	1,000	527	466	..	7
		15—34	1,000	1,000	711	315	..	351
		35—59	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	825
		60+	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	868
		A.N.S.	1,000	1,000	..	..	..	..

N.B.—'N' means 'negligible'.

11.9—*concld.*

Dependents, infants and disabled		Retired, rentiers or independent means		Beggars, vagrants, etc.		Inmates of institutions		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Unemployed but on doing work	
III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
667	584	9	3	1	1	2	N	3	1	3	N
731	787	N	N	N	N	N	..	N		N	..
198	124	2	N	2	N	8	1	24	2	20	2
570	115	180	5	22	3	20	N	11		71	..
464	427	306	55	13	5	7	.	.		5	..
772	651	..	..	..	12	9	.			..	..
750	698	4	2	1	1	N	N	N	N	2	.
787	845	N	N	N	N	N				N	..
281	208	2	1	2	N	2	N	9	1	13	..
648	155	91	3	18	2	6	1			62	..
501	417	146	43	11	3	4	.			3	..
794	642	..	..	.	15	10		..			..
445	325	24	4	2	1	4	1	9	1	8	1
539	581	.	.	N	1	.		N	..	.	..
136	51	2	N	2	1	12	1	36	4	24	3
476	69	288	7	28	3	37		24	.	82	..
408	451	545	88	16	6	11	..	.		7	..
583	688	..	..	.	..	..		.	.	..	..
821	771	3	N	1	2	N	1	5	N	1	N
861	895	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N
374	151	4	1	3	2	3	N	62	N	10	1
540	401	133	2	37	15	14	3	11		10	N
854	651	20	6	14	18	2	6	1		.	..
871	976	..	..	..	..	..	..	.		.	..
827	779	3	N	1	2	N	1	5	N	1	N
866	900	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	..	N
387	154	4	N	3	3	3	N	62	N	10	1
536	412	135	3	35	15	14	3	11	.	11	N
853	650	21	6	14	19	1	6	1			..
871	976	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		.	..
387	343	..	.	3	1	..	..	15	..	1	..
450	520	..	..	1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..
97	98	..	..		..	..		70	..	5	..
818	145	..	..	182	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
1,000	667	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	..	..	
..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	..	..	..
712	663	3	N	1	1	1	N	1	N	N	N
730	746	..	..	N	1	..	N	N	N	57	N
460	284	2	..	2	4	5	1	8	1	..	N
742	298	65	1	12	4	13	1	4	..		..
834	538	24	2	4	8	1	N	N	..	N	..
930	923	18	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
730	678	2	N	1	2	N	N	N	N	N	N
744	738	..	..	N	N	..	N	N	N	..	N
504	272	2	..	2	6	..	..	4	..	2	N
765	308	33	N	13	4	1	N	4	..	..	.
837	558	17	1	4	8	..	..	N	..	1	..
937	918	9	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
422	428	20	1	N	1	12	2	7	1	7	..
473	327	..	..	N	N	..	N	..	..	..	..
186	327	2	..	1	..	35	4	32	3	33	..
538	131	236	6	..	6	116	12	..	..	..	..
722	108	201	16	..	4	17	4	..	..	..	..
750	1,000	230	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

37. I give below table 11.10 which has been worked out only for the State, because in Assam, the pattern for the districts is more or less the same as that of the State. This table gives the distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex and type of activity of Non-Workers by different age-groups, 1961. In this table, the number of persons per 1,000 is given at the top so that the figures against the age group can be read off with reference to 1,000 persons of the total population. The percentage can be read off quite easily only by putting a decimal point before the last digit on the right hand. The eight categories of Non-Workers have been at the top both in Roman numerals as well as by abbreviation captions for easy reading.

38. It may be seen from the following table that as far as full-time students or children attending schools are concerned, by far the biggest number can be found in the age-group 0-14, the percentage for boys being 79.3 and that for girls being 86.3. The next numerous number in the category of students can be found in the age group 15-34 because it is in this age group that students in the high schools and colleges can be found. In this age-group, percentage of male students is 20.6 and it is higher than that of female students which is only 13.3. But the number of students in the next age group 35-59 is very small in respect of males and females.

39. As far as household duties are concerned, the greatest number can also be found in the age-group 0-14, the percentage for males being 58.0 per cent. while that for females is 12.8 per cent. The peculiar thing in this age-group is that the number of boys doing household duties is more than four times that of females, but this may be due to errors in recording by our enumerators. In the next age-group 15-34, the number of females doing household duties is 55.4 per cent. while that of males is 19.4. per cent. In this age-group, the recording appears to be better but even then the percentage of males doing household duties is still very big. It appears that boys and men found in the house and not doing any full-time work have been recorded as doing household duties either by our enumerators or the householders themselves might have given this kind of information. In many slips, it is found that entries in Assamese against this questionnaire is 'ঘৰ' which means household duties. So at the time of tabulation, the recorded answers by the enumerators have to be accepted. Even in the age-group 35-59, the number of males doing household duties is till very high being as much as 12.6 per cent.

40. In the categories of dependents, infants or disabled persons, the greatest proportion can be found quite naturally in the age-group 0-14 where the proposition is 92.5 per cent. for males and 87.5 per cent. for females. In the next age-group, the proportion of dependents and disabled persons is very small. In the category of retired persons, rentiers or persons of independent means, the greatest number is found in the age-group 60+ followed by the age group 0-14. It is easily understandable that at age 60+ people would have retired or be of independent means, and that only a few can afford to be rentiers. It is however surprising how those in the age-group 0-14 can retire or be of independent means. Here also there may be some mistakes in the recording by our enumerators.

41. Under the category of beggars, vagrants, etc. the greatest number can be found in the age-group 35-59 and the proportion of females is slightly more than that of males in all categories from age 15 to 60+. In the hill areas of Assam, there are practically no beggars or vagrants because one can travel the whole district and yet will not find any tribal beggar. Even in the plains of Assam the number of beggars among the indigenous persons is very very small. Most of the beggars and vagrants here have come from different parts of India or East Pakistan. Among the inmates of institutions, the greatest number is found in the age-group 15-34 followed by age-group 35-59 and then in the age-groups 60+ and 0-14. These are mostly inmates of jails or hospitals.

42. The above analysis relates only to the total population of Assam. We can now see where there are some variations in respect of Rural-Urban classification. It may be seen that among students, whether in the Rural or Urban Areas, the number of females is more than that of males in the age-group 0-14, but from age-group 15-34, the number of males becomes more than that of females. It appears that the proportion of

school-going girls in the age-group 0-14 is more, but the number dwindles down when it comes to higher age-groups. This may be due to the fact that females may have been married in the age-group 15-34. One significant point to be noted in this connection is that the percentage or number per 1,000 persons given in this table relates only to that particular sex and not to absolute numbers So although the percentage of school-going girls appears to be higher in the age-group 0-14, that does not mean more girls go to schools than boys; it only shows that more girls go to school at this age and the percentage is only in relation to the proportion of their own sex in that category.

43. From the Rural-Urban figures, it is seen that the category of retired persons or persons of independent means is negligible in the age-groups 0-14 in the Urban Areas but in the Rural Areas, the proportion is unduly high It may therefore be assumed that recording in the urban areas is very good as far as this economic question is concerned, but that in the Rural Areas appears to be bad.

Distribution of 1,000 persons of each sex and type of activity of Non-Workers among the different age-groups, 1961

TABLE 11.10

State	Total Rural Urban	Age Groups	Total Non working Population		I Full time students or children attending schools		II Household duties	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Assam	T	Total	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1,000
		0—14	857	640	793	863	580	128
		15—34	98	210	206	.33	194	554
		35—59	19	104	1	4	126	264
		60+	25	45			96	53
		A N S	1	1	N	N	4	1
	R	Total	1 000	1 000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000
		0—14	870	652	814	886	570	120
		15—34	87	199	185	111	199	541
		35—59	17	102	1	3	127	264
		60+	25	46			100	55
		A N S	1	1	N	N	4	1
	U	Total	1,000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
		0—14	724	509	664	768	692	32
		15—34	218	320	335	225	142	642
		35—59	29	126	1	6	112	280
		60+	28	38		.	55	44
		A N.S	1	1	N	1	1	N

State	Total Rural Urban	Age Groups	III Dependants, infants and disabled		IV Retired rentiers, or independent means		V Beggars, vagrants, etc.		VI Inmates of institutions		VII Persons seeking employment for the first time		VIII Unemployed but seeking work	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Assam	T	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1 000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
		0—14	925	875	326	334	164	103	129	182	107	162	86	140
		15—34	32	42	43	52	207	236	523	491	775	610	577	548
		35—59	15	36	182	205	372	396	228	189	109	171	260	213
		60+	27	46	446	408	251	264	116	137	9	47	77	93
		A N S	1	1	3	1	6	1	4	1	N	1	N	N
	R	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
		0—14	928	878	399	350	180	95	148	237	123	169	93	134
		15—34	30	41	47	51	190	237	532	308	752	604	567	538
		35—59	14	34	154	197	367	402	235	167	113	178	257	217
		60+	27	46	397	401	258	265	77	286	11	49	83	95
		A N S	1	1	3	1	5	1	8	2	1	N	..	N
	U	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
		0—14	878	821	1	1	49	177	109	136	28	11	54	[illegible]
		15—34	37	47	24	67	333	228	512	644	863	947	668	[illegible]
		35—59	32	71	306	387	413	337	220	207	89	38	282	511
		60+	32	60	668	585	194	256	158	13	.	..	47	..
		A N.S	1	1	1	.	11	2	1	..	..	4	N	..

44. I give below table 11.11 which has been prepared from Tables B-I, D-VI and C-VIII Parts A and B.

Distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex between Workers and Non-Workers in the (i) General Population (ii) Migrants (iii) Scheduled Castes and (iv) Scheduled Tribes in the state and selected districts where there are appreciable numbers of migrants and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1961

TABLE 11.11

State/District	General Population, Migrants, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes	Total Population		Total Workers		Total Non-workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assam	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	541	309	459	691
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1 000	838	254	162	746
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	558	260	442	740
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	540	486	460	514
Goalpara	(a) General population	1,000	1,000	552	225	448	775
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	779	216	221	784
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	570	201	430	799
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	519	483	481	517
Kamrup	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	522	268	478	732
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	852	107	148	893
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	541	227	459	773
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	475	394	525	606
Darrang	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	565	360	435	640
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	888	405	112	595
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	624	432	376	568
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	561	462	439	538
Lakhimpur	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	544	407	456	593
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	862	389	138	611
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	495	446	505	554
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	512	618	488	382
Nowgong	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	529	190	471	810
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	888	129	112	871
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	558	237	442	763
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	509	357	491	643
Sibsagar	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	521	420	479	580
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	832	477	168	523
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	582	406	418	594
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	517	490	483	510
Cachar	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	538	138	462	862
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	726	123	274	877
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	550	120	450	880
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	448	393	552	607
Garo Hills	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	596	533	404	467
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	865	525	135	475
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	470	319	530	681
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	671	577	329	423
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	575	408	425	592
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	826	149	174	851
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	599	235	401	765
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	568	460	432	540
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	601	518	399	482
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	817	316	183	684
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	753	188	247	812
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	531	532	469	468
Mizo Hills	(a) General Population	1,000	1,000	486	459	514	541
	(b) Migrants	1,000	1,000	859	741	141	259
	(c) Scheduled Castes	1,000	1,000	600	...	400	
	(d) Scheduled Tribes	1,000	1,000	480	460	520	540

45. In the above table, Migrants are those persons who have moved from one part of the district to another part of the district, from one district to another district within the State of Assam as well as from outside Assam to the State of Assam in search of work. It is therefore noted that the greatest number of workers, especially among the male population is found among Migrants. This is quite natural because Migrants are moving out of their original homes in search of jobs and their assiduity generally help them to obtain employment better than others. It is therefore found that among male Non-Workers, the least number is found among Migrants. As far as female Non-

Workers are concerned, the percentage of Migrant Non-Workers is as big as in any general community because of the fact that these are generally members of the family of the male workers and so are dependent on them.

46. As far as male Non-Workers are concerned, the proportion among the General population, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is more or less the same for the State as well as for all the districts of Assam It is, however, noteworthy that in the whole of Mizo Hills there are only 5 Scheduled Caste people and these can be found only in Aijal town. It is also noted that among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the proportion of female Non-Workers is generally less than that of the General Population including Migrants and Scheduled Castes.

47. The following tables have been prepared from Tables B-IX, SC-I and ST-II. Table 11 12 shows the distribution of 1,000 of the total population of each sex and educational level among Non-Workers in the Scheduled Tribes and the general population of the State, while table 11.13 shows the distribution of 1,000 of the total population of each sex and educational level among Non-Workers in the Scheduled Castes in Assam, 1961

Distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex and educational level among non-workers in (i) Scheduled Tribes and (ii) General Population in the State, 1961.

TABLE 11.12

Type of Population	Educational levels	Total Non-working Population		Full-time students and children attending school		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work		Others	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Tribes.	All levels	1 000 (485 693)	1 000 (518 542)	224 (108 905)	122 (63,018)	2 (1 124)	N (225)	2 (791)	N (177)	772 (374,373)	878 (455,122)
General Population.	All levels	1,000 (2,904 675)	1 000 (3 810 686)	306 (889 796)	119 (457 915)	7 (19 715)	2 (5,913)	5 (13 391)	1 (3,382)	682 (1,981,775)	878 (3,362,476)

N B—(1) N means negligible
(2) Absolute figures are given within brackets

Distribution of 1,000 of total population of each sex and educational level among non-workers in the Scheduled Castes in Assam, 1961

TABLE 11.13

Educational	Total Non-working Population		Full-time students and children attending school		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work		Others	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All levels	1,000	1,000	207	70	11	2	6	1	776	927
Illiterate	1,000	1,000	1	N	6	2	4	1	989	997
Literate (without educational level)	1,000	1,000	613	414	16	2	9	3	362	58[illegible]
Primary or Junior Basic	1,000	1,000	687	383	26	2	12	2	275	612
Matriculation and Higher Secondary	1,000	1,000	532	358	110	99	35	33	303	510
Above Matriculation and Higher Secondary.	1,000	1,000	221		82		81	..	616	1,000

N.B.—'N' means 'negligible.'

48. From the above tables, it may be seen that the proportion of full-time male students in the general population is 30.6 per cent. while that among the Scheduled Tribes is 23.0 per cent. and that among the Scheduled Castes 20.7 per cent. In other words, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are still lacking far behind the general population which includes themselves in terms of full-time male students. If the huge number of non-Scheduled Tribes and non-Scheduled Castes population is taken into

consideration, the lack of studentship among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes becomes much more prominent. Much has therefore to be done by way of education to bring the percentage of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes students even to the level of the percentage of students to the general population.

49. As far as female students are concerned, the Scheduled Tribes account for 12.5 per cent., while the general population account for 12.0 per cent. and the Scheduled Castes for 7.0 per cent. Here the percentage of Scheduled Tribes is slightly better than that of the general population which includes themselves, but that of Scheduled Caste female students is still rather poor.

50. In the case of table 11.12 the figures in absolute numbers are also given in brackets to facilitate the comparative study in respect of general number apart from percentage which may sometimes be slightly misleading.

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC TRENDS AND PROJECTIONS

1. In trying to study the observable economic trends of Assam, it is necessary to bear in mind its geography. Almost entirely surrounded by foreign countries, with poor communications linking it with the rest of the country, Assam stands unique in its geographical isolation from the rest of India. As already stated in Chapter I, the link of Assam with other parts of India after partition is through a very narrow corridor in West Bengal. It therefore has to depend for its communications either upon the metre gauge railway line that winds through the foothills of Northern West Bengal or upon the transit facilities accorded by East Pakistan. Even the metre gauge line is not yet very stable due to the marshy and riverine areas through which it passes, and the road link has yet to be metalled and macadamised in many places and made all-weather; and there are yet big rivers to be spanned with permanent bridges. This isolation of Assam as a consequence of the partition and its geographic location in a corner of India have a distinct bearing on the scope and process of its economic development. Within its own borders again, the State is divided into two natural divisions—the plains division and the hills division—which are virtually cut off from each other. Serious calamities of nature, such as floods and earthquakes, have also greatly affected the economy of the State. Added to these natural difficulties is the fact that Assam is almost encircled by two not very friendly countries which makes capital shy of being invested in Assam. All these factors have the cumulative effect of making the integrated development of the State very difficult, besides the fact that it has already been greatly handicapped even in the pre-partition days.

2. Before going further in an attempt to study the economic trends, it is rewarding to study how the people are working and living in Assam. The working population may be taken to be broadly belonging to the productive age-group 10-59, although nowadays, real workers may be largely found in the age-group 15-59. The working population of Assam as computed from the 1961 Census data is 5,134,755. For the age-group 15-59, the total number of people at work is 4,491,558 and 68.34 per cent. of the people at work are engaged in agriculture, while another 9.95 per cent. live by plantation and allied activities. The remaining 21.71 per cent. are engaged in other occupations. These figures do not fail to show that by and large most of the people of Assam have to depend only on the produce of the earth

3. *Agriculture*—As the economy of Assam is thus largely agrarian, agriculture programmes were assigned high priority in the first two Plans. The basic policy of Government is to attain self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and that all citizens should have enough food of the necessary nutritional value. This is the reason why agriculture always has very high priority in the planning and development of the country. In the First Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 297.43 lakhs, and in the Second Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 475.97 lakhs were spent for agriculture and allied activities. These expenditures almost reached the targets in the matter of spending, but what is more important is the assessment of the impact of this investment on the agricultural output of the State. This assessment of the progress of production must also be related to the state of consumption levels, because Government themselves admit that statistics of production programmes are not satisfactory. I give below table 12.1 showing the production, acreage and yield of foodgrains in Assam during 1951-52, 1955-56 and 1960-61 as well as table 12.2 showing the net imports into Assam of important food commodities for six financial years covered by the two Five Year Plans. The data for table 12.1 have been computed from various publications and brochures published by the Planning and Development Department or by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Assam; while the figures of imports have been collected from data given by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India. It may also be noted that as far as the publications of the Government of Assam are concerned, the figures published by the Planning and

Development Department, as given in the two Reviews of the First Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan, are slightly different from those given by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics in the later brochures. The figures in table 12.1 have, however, been taken from the Revised Estimates given by the Dirctorate of Economics and Statistics.

Statement showing the production, area and yield rates of Foodgrains and Rape and Mustard in Assam during 1951-52, 1955-56 and 1960-61

TABLE 12.1

Crop		Production 1951-52	Production 1955-56	Production 1960-61
1		2	3	4
Foodgrains	(a)	1,509,287	1,655,055	1,761,818
	(b)	4,333,507	4,450,838	4,792,018
	(c)	—	—	—
Rice	(a)	1,470,785	1,614,133	1,723,860
	(b)	4,085,766	4,209,873	4,548,858
	(c)	819	874	863
Wheat	(a)	1,674	870	3,030
	(b)	4,692	4,347	9,290
	(c)	799	448	731
Pulses	(a)	27,895	29,618	26,465
	(b)	201,620	183,535	186,804
	(c)	—	—	—
Rape and Mustard	(a)	51,356	52,344	44,479
	(b)	298,511	287,439	293,161
	(c)	385	408	340

(a) Production in tons. (b) Gross area in acres. (c) Yield in lbs. per acre.

Statement showing the net imports of important food commodities in different years into Assam

TABLE 12.2

(Figures in tons)

Year	Commodity: Rice	Pulses	Wheat and wheat flour	Rape and mustard
1	2	3	4	5
1953-54	—8,519	19,586	8,505	848
1954-55	3,730	40,556	15,913	—109
1955-56	7,046	42,258	24,839	—571
1958-59	15,091	38,930	33,004	—386
1959-60	30,554	50,687	52,420	1,159
1960-61	20,584	53,903	122,784	3,889

N.B.—Minus figures show exports.

4. From table 12.1 above, it may be seen that the total area under foodgrains has increased substantially during the period covered by the two Five Year Plans, but the yield rate has recorded very little improvement in respect of rice which is the principal food crop of Assam and accounts for 67.8 per cent. of the total area under food crops. It may also be noted that the yield rate in 1955-56 is higher than the yield rate in 1960-61, the percentage increase in 1955-56 being 6.7 for the First Five Year Plan, while the percentage increase for 1960-61 is only 5.4 in ten years of planning. The yield rate registers a fall of 11 lbs. per acre for the period 1955-56 to 1960-61. In other words, while there is a rise in the yield rate at the end of the First Five Year Plan, there is a fall in the yield rate in the Second Five Year Plan as compared to the yield rate at the end of the First Five Year Plan. The moderate increase of total production of rice and other foodgrains at the end of the Second Five Year Plan is more due to the increase in acreage

than the increase in the rate of productivity despite the fact that substantial quantities of fertilisers have been used in the Second Five Year Plan. Added to this is the fact that expenditure on agriculture during the Second Plan is about 63 per cent more than that of the First Plan. If so, the achievement in terms of foodgrains production in the Second Plan is comparatively very poor It cannot be also said whether the increase in the acreage is due entirely to the activities under the Second Plan or whether it is also partly due to the increasing pressure of population on land

5 One method of calculating the requirement of foodgrains in a certain period is by way of assessment of consumption of grains per capita per day, but that kind of calculation tends to be rather theoretical From a practical point of view, the actual level of consumption can be worked out by adding the production figures with the importation figures of foodgrains Table 12 2 above has been designed to assess the requirements of foodgrains by this method This table shows that in 1953-54 there is a net export of 8,519 tons of rice, but from 1954-55 onwards there is an import of rice in increasing quantities As the staple food of the Indian people is rice and wheat, the figures of import of rice must also be related to the figures of import of wheat and wheat products It may be seen that while in the First Five Year Plan, the import of rice and wheat (including wheat products) is just below 32,000 tons, the importation of rice, wheat and wheat products at the end of the Second Plan is a little over 143,000 tons Production figures plus importation figures of rice and wheat divided by the total population as on March 1, 1961 gives the per capita consumption of cereals at 15 ounces per head per day which is the nutritional norm for cereals. Added to the figures of import of rice, wheat and wheat products are those relating to the importation of pulses, rape and mustard which increase rapidly towards the end of the Second Five Year Plan. These figures do not fail to show that far from attaining self-sufficiency in food, Assam had to depend heavily on importation of foodstuffs at the end of the Second Plan period. Foodgrains and oilseeds occupy a lot of space in wagons and steamers, and so these imports again had to tax heavily on the available transport facilities into Assam. The increased demand of foodgrains is also largely due to the unprecedented increase in the population of Assam for the decade 1951-61. While the population has increased by 34 45 per cent. during the decade, the increase in production of rice is only 17% per cent. But planning should always take into account population increase also.

6 The percentage of land used in the plains of Assam is about 33 per cent. which is about the maximum that can be used for food crops Land in the hill areas is very sparse and hardly suitable for rice production because of the difficult terrain and the poorness of the soil

7 While virgin lands have a good growth rate for some years, most of the cultivated lands have gone down in productivity because the methods of cultivation are still old-fashioned and the small size of the holdings and fragmentation of the fields prohibit efficient production So the only solution for attaining self-sufficiency in foodgrains in Assam is by intensive cultivation—that is by increasing the yield per unit of land—and also by taking recourse to double cropping wherever this is possible. Increasing the yield implies improved methods of cultivation as well as scientific manuring, while double cropping is almost always possible only by means of irrigation How this can be achieved is a matter for experts to decide, for the farmers to implement and for the State to supplement the wherewithal.

8 Next to rice the most important produce of the earth in Assam is tea. In terms of area, tea plantation occupies only 390,910 acres or 6 3 per cent. of the total area under all crops, but in terms of economy, it contributes about 20 per cent. of the State's income The tea industry engages about 550,000 people and produces about 360,000,000 lbs. of tea. About 85 per cent. of these workers are engaged in the plantations as such, and only about 15 per cent. are engaged in the factories of the industry. Tea-growing in Assam is mostly during the summer because of its dependence upon the monsoon. Consequently, much of the employment in the tea plantations is also seasonal. During the plucking season, a big number of seasonal labour is employed and a

contract basis and such casual labour is now available in abundance because ex-tea-garden labourers have settled themselves in the cultivation of rice and other food products all around the tea-gardens.

9. Tea is grown in the plains districts only, and that also, almost entirely in the districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong and Cachar. In the Nowgong district, the area under tea is very small; and in the Cachar district, many tea estates are uneconomic. Lakhimpur alone has about 115,430 acres under tea, while Sibsagar has 106,656 acres. Not only that these two districts have the monopoly of the tea industry, but the output of tea is also very high here. The total output of tea from Lakhimpur is about 58,000 metric tons while that of Sibsagar is about 46,000 metric tons.

10. Tea estates in Assam are generally bigger than those in other parts of India, the average size of a tea estate being 489 acres against the all-India average of only 110 acres. The acreage of tea in Assam is about 50 per cent. of the all-India acreage, but the number of tea estates here is about 800 out of the all-India total of 7,144; but due to their big size, the tea estates here account for more than 55 per cent. of the all-India production.

11. Most of the tea estates in Assam are owned by the British or by owners from other parts of India; while almost all the labour force consists of tribes who have come into Assam from West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and other parts of India. These tea-garden tribes have settled here for many generations and most of them have practically become indigenous people of Assam. They have magnificiently contributed to the economy of the State by their hard labour.

12. After foodgrains and tea, jute plays a dominant role in the economy of Assam. In this Report, jute includes mesta also. The following is table 12.3 showing the production of jute and mesta in Assam for 1951-52, 1955-56 and 1960-61 together with the acreage and yield.

Production of Jute and Mesta in Assam

TABLE 12.3

Year	Production in bales of 400 lbs.	Average yield in lbs./acre	Area in acres
1	2	3	4
1951-52	753,545	966	312,046
1955-56	1,104,043	1,305	338,459
1960-61	911,982	1,078	338,486

13. I have selected the three financial years in the above table because 1951-52 is the beginning of the planned development, 1955-56 is the closing year of the First Five Year Plan and 1960-61 is the final year of the Second Five Year Plan. The figures have been collected from the revised estimates as computed by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics. It may be seen that while the acreage has increased from 312,046 acres in 1951-52 to 338,459 acres in 1955-56 and 338,486 acres in 1960-61, the yield rate rose very high from 966 lbs. per acre in 1951-52 to 1,305 in 1955-56. In 1960-61, although the acreage is more or less the same, the yield has gone down from 1,305 lbs. per acre to only 1,078. The yield rate therefore accounts for the record production in 1955-56 of 1,104,043 bales of 400 lbs. as against 911,982 bales of 400 lbs. in 1960-61. The reason given for the shortfall in output during the Second Five Year Plan is that there were heavy floods towards the end of this Plan; but there were floods during the First Five Year Plan also. In the above table, I have combined jute with mesta because of the allied nature of these two commodities, but the acreage of mesta was only 510 in 1951-52; 5,230 in 1955-56 and 13,107 acres in 1960-61. The acreage for jute alone during the above three financial years is 311,536 for 1951-52; 333,229 for 1955-56 and 325,379 during

1960-61. The yield rate of jute alone for the above three years is 967 for 1951-52; 1,313 during 1955-56 and 1,095 during 1960-61.

14. On the whole, the yield of jute in Assam is the highest in India because of the regular occurrence of the northwesters from March to May of each year when jute crops badly require water. Most of the jute is grown in the Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong districts where the plains are more low-lying and not very suitable for tea. Nowgong leads both in area and production as far as jute is concerned.

15. Although so much jute has been produced in Assam there is as yet no jute mill and all the raw jute is exported to Calcutta in bales. The only factories in Assam dealing with jute are small baling factories There has been a proposal to establish one jute mill, but up to now it has not yet materialised The economy of Assam can be greatly improved if two jute mills are set up within the State Moreover, finished products will take less space in the available transport facilities from Assam to the rest of India.

16. The other important cash crops of Assam are sugar-cane, potato, cotton, betelnuts and pan leaves, fruits and vegetables. Although natural factors appear to be very favourable for the cultivation of sugarcane in Assam, yet the yield is very low being only about 2,500 lbs. per acre in terms of raw sugar which is about half the yield in Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Madras. This low yield is said to be mainly due to poor techniques of cultivation, inadequate manuring and lack of irrigation facilities. The area under sugarcane is 58,888 acres in 1951-52; 63,325 acres in 1955-56 and 67,864 acres in 1960-61. The two main surgarcane producing districts of Assam are Sibsagar and Kamrup which have 16,675 acres and 10,431 acres under sugarcane respectively. The areas under sugarcane are scattered in various parts of the districts, and so the cost of transportation of raw sugarcane from the fields to the factory is rather high. Another difficulty with the sugar industry in Assam is the low recovery rate which is partly due to acidic soil reaction and partly due to the long time-lag between harvest and crushing, the later being due to inadequate transport facilities. These are some of the reasons why the cost of production of sugar in the mill at Baruabamungaon is rather high. This co-operative sugar factory has a daily crushing capacity of 800 tons, but almost always it is not working to full capacity due to short supply of canes and other factors. Assam has to import about 60,000 tons of sugar annually and the demand is increasing with the increase of population and the higher standard of living of a sizeable proportion of its population.

17. Cotton can be grown only in the plains areas which are above flood level and in the hill areas because it is very susceptible to floods and therefore mostly unsuited to the plains areas of Assam. Production of cotton in Assam is 13,750 bales in 1951-52; 8,484 in 1955-56 and 5,828 bales in 1960-61. Each bale of cotton weighs 392 lbs. The production target of cotton for 1960-61 was estimated to be about 9,000 bales, but the actual production was only a little above half of that target. From the above figures, it may be seen that the production of cotton has gone down during the two Five Year Plans. The Garo Hills district is noted for production of cotton, but the variety produced possesses only short staple. Moreover, the cotton yield is very low. It is possible to step up the yield, but that would need considerable effort on the part of the farmers and so it is not likely to be popular with the growers because crops like rice and jute are more remunerative. Cotton is non-perishable and a low-weight crop. It is also very easy to transport. Cotton-growing should therefore be encouraged in the hill areas.

18. Potato is grown throughout Assam, but the most extensive cultivation is in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills where the crop is raised three times a year and accounts for about a third of the total cropped area in the State. The method of growing potato in this district is unique and accounts for the high yield and better quality of the potato. According to the system of the Khasis, small shrubs, branches of trees and grass are cut and collected in beds during December-January of each year. These beds are then covered with turfs after which the beds are burnt with fire. The beds are then powdered and potato seeds are planted. After this operation, powdered earth from the sides of the

beds are put on top of each bed. As soon as the northwesters come, the potato comes out and the yield is very good. Another method used both in the hills and the plains of Assam is that ordinary beds are made in the gardens and potato seeds are planted with small quantity powdered dry cowdung or compost. Recently, the Khasis have invented the art of growing potatoes early in the wet paddy fields in the highlands. As the paddy fields of the hills are mostly dependent upon the monsoon for the water, they are generally dry during winter although they have sufficient quantity of humidity for potato cultivation during the winter. Potato is therefore grown in these paddy fields by about January of each year and it is then harvested by about May The harvesting of the potato becomes an automatic ploughing of the paddy fields and with the onset of the monsoon, paddy is planted were the potato crop has just been harvested. This gives a good yield of potato plus another crop for paddy from the same field within a year. This system has been experimented only in areas round about Shillong in the Mylliem villages, but it should be expanded to cover the hill regions of Assam. A judicious admixture of bone meal in paddy fields contributes greatly to the good crops of both potato and paddy field. The bone meal must however be sterilised. The area under potato during 1951-52, 1955-56 and 1960-61 is, 62,473 acres, 69,883 acres and 79,474 acres respectively and the production is 118,733 tons for 1951-52; 131,468 tons in 1955-56 and 151,548 tons in 1960-61. From the Khasi Hills, about 25,000 to 30,000 tons of potato are exported annually to the plains. Before partition, Shillong potato used to be exported to Calcutta.

19. Betel nuts and betel leaves are grown extensively everywhere in Assam, whether in the hills or in the plains. The people of Assam are known to be great consumers of 'pan', but in spite of that, sizeable quantities are exported to other parts of India. Some parts of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, especially those bordering the plains of Sylhet, are famous for the production of betel nuts and betel leaves. The export trade of betel nuts and betel leaves suffered a serious setback after the partition, but after the Khasis have learnt the art of converting betel nuts into 'supari' or dry betel nuts, the trade has revived to a great extent. Betel trees however suffer from blights, and the Agriculture Department has not yet been able to control this calamity. There is a great scope for greater production of these cash crops in Assam. Statistics for the production and yield of betel nuts and betel leaves are not yet available. The sooner this is done, the better for the expansion of these cash crops which have greater potentiality for contribution to the economy of the State.

20. Fruits and vegetables grow very well in Assam, especially in the hill areas and the higher portions of the plains areas. Fruits most commonly grown in the lower ranges of the hill areas of Assam are oranges, pineapples, papayas, bananas, guavas, jack fruits and lemons. In the higher regions like the Shillong Plateau, plums, pears and peaches also grow very well. Statistics are not available in regard to the total area under fruits or of the production, because fruits and vegetables are generally grown in homesteads and small farms owned by a single family. There has also been no survey about the production of fruits and vegetables. However, rough estimates give the area under fruits as about 40,000 acres giving a yield of about 5,000,000 lbs. three-fourths of which are available for sale outside the State The best oranges, pineapples and bananas are chiefly grown in the slopes of the hill ranges bordering East Pakistan, but especially in the lower foothills of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Oranges and bananas grown in this area are famous for their sweetness and good taste. Pineapples can be grown almost everywhere in the southern slopes and the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills and in the Garo Hills because the soil and climate appear to be ideal for their growth. Very little effort is needed to grow these fruits in these areas. What is more profitable is the fact that the area under fruits does not compete with the area under cereals because fruits are largely grown on the hilly slopes which are very susceptible to erosion and are not suited for cereal-growing on account of heavy rainfall. Fruit trees therefore help soil conservation besides yielding valuable fruit. There is therefore considerable scope for expansion of the area under fruits, but the products must find a ready market at reasonably profitable prices if the growers are to

have enough incentive. As the consumption in Assam is limited and fresh fruits are liable to become rotten during export, fruit preservation and canning factories are essential prerequisites.

21. Vegetables grow very well in all parts of Assam, and different varieties are grown in different kinds of soil, climate and elevation. In the higher lands, like the Shillong region, English vegetables like cauliflower, cabbages, French beans, carrots, beets, etc. grow very well throughout the year depending upon irrigation facilities; while in the plains, tomatoes, brinjals, lady's fingers, and different kinds of 'sag' vegetables grow very well. Cucumbers and pumpkins grow very well both in the hills and the plains, while squash almost grow wild in the Shillong Plateau. What is more characteristic of Assam is that certain vegetables which grow in the hill areas in summer grow in the plains in winter, and thus there can always be plentiful supply of vegetables throughout the year. Thus, tomatoes can be grown very well in the lower slopes of the Khasi Hills during summer when none can be grown in the plains; but in winter, plenty of tomatoes grow in the plains when there are none in the hills. Tomatoes therefore have a two-way traffic depending upon the season. This is true of many other varieties of vegetables also. The plantation of fruits and vegetables can be made an industry in Assam under proper technical guidance and extensive cultivation on a farm basis.

22. Pepper also grows very well in the hill areas of Assam, although at present there is rather very little production of this commodity. Pepper being a crop of high value and rather quick yield, requires less attention and there is therefore good scope for its production on a large scale. The growth of cashewnuts has also been experimented in the lower slopes of the hills up to about 2,000 feet elevation and the plantation of this crop has a great potentiality in Assam.

23. *Household Industries.*—Many of the people of Assam are also engaged in household industries besides agriculture, but practically the only household industry practised is handloom weaving. About 3,000,000 people are engaged in household industries and in the Assam Valley almost every Assamese household has a handloom. Most of the weavers produce handloom only for consumption in the family. So although they may produce only a fraction of the need of the families in respect of clothings, the economy of the State is still being affected to a great extent. Apart from handloom weaving, earthen pottery, goldsmithy, blacksmithy and paddy husking are also practised. Cane and bamboo works also contribute to the products of household industries.

24. *Factory Industries.*—As far as the industries of Assam and other than the household industries are concerned, manufacturing of tea and refining of oil contribute 80 per cent. of the total industrial output of the State. These two industries are highly specialised in character and have given rise to some subsidiary industries in the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. Tea manufacturing accounts for two-thirds of the industrial employment and forms about 64 per cent. of the net income of the industrial sector. Employment in the tea industry is here taken on a broad view to include both workers in plantations as well as workers in tea factories. The tea industry is also a substantial earner of foreign exchange for India because a large volume of tea is exported ouside the country.

25. Refining of oil is done in the Digboi refinery of the Assam Oil Company as well as in the public sector refinery at Noonmati near Gauhati. These two refineries produce on market a wide variety of products. The other factory industries of Assam are on a very small scale and many of them are still in the infant stage. Assam's few industries are heavily concentrated in Upper Assam, mostly in the Lakhimpur district, although there is also a tendency for the localisation of some small-scale industries around the Gauhati region. The Hill districts of Assam have practically no industries, and the few that exist are only small workshops which are again almost entirely located only in and around Shillong. In the whole of Assam there are only three large scale industries.

INVESTMENT AND OUTLAY IN THE STATE DURING 1951-61

26. I wish I were in a position to examine all the important co-operating factors responsible for raising the level of production

of goods and services and employment in Assam in the First and Second Five Year Plans, but as the data regarding the Private Sector are not available, I shall examine only the outlay made by Government for the two Five Year Plans. Even in respect of the State outlay, data are mostly available only for Assam as a whole, and district-wise breakdowns are available only in very few cases. To that extent, district-wise comparability is also lost.

27. I give below table 12.4 showing the plan expenditure on agriculture and rural development. The term 'rural development' may connote many things to different people, but in this context, it is taken to mean only the expenditure relating to community development projects and national extension services. Different Development Departments of Government also spent money for improvement of rural areas under the two Five Year Plans, but as the data are not available rural-urban-wise, it is not possible to show them separately. For example, the Public Works Department spent a lot of money in making roads in the rural areas, but separate accounts have not been maintained for rural areas as the Public Works Department works only in terms of certain lengths of road irrespective of whether they are in the rural or urban areas. This table therefore relates only to agriculture, animal husbandry, forest, co-operation and fisheries apart from community development projects and national extension services.

Plan expenditure on Agriculture and Rural development

TABLE 12.4

(Rupees in lakhs)

Year	Sectors					
	Agriculture	Animal Husbandry including Dairying and Milk Supply	Forest	Co-operation	Fisheries	Rural Development (Community Development Project and National Extension Service)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1951-52	42·15	1·51	6·46	..	0 81	..
1952-53	63·72	1·18	6·93	..	0·95	..
1953-54	60·21	1·94	7·11	0 22	1 85	..
1954-55	55·48	3 86	13·48	4 16	2 47	..
1955-56	57·87	13·28	17·00	15·63	4·46	..
Total First Plan Expenditure	279·43	21·77	50 98	20·01	10 54	192·87
First Plan Provision	323·53	14·82	47·43	15 31	10 53	..
1956-57	89·50	0 75	17·03	15·02	2·30	101·65
1957-58	108·30	8 14	18 76	27 74	5·63	100·45
1958-59	84·11	11·05	24·14	33·18	6·44	88·04
1959-60	94·36	22·76	21·83	46 20	7·70	94·10
1960-61	99·70	25·88	22·13	47·32	8·52	127·86
Total Second Plan Expenditure	475·97	68·58	102·89	169·46	30·59	512·10
Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Fisheries etc., of 1961 Census.						
Second Plan Provision	473·33	131·10	100·98	125·40	38·95	551·00
Third Plan Provision	902·00	140·00	140·00	230·00	50·00	*1,035·00

* Includes Rs. 200 lakhs as Home Ministry's share for M.P.C.D. blocks.

28. *Agriculture.*—This table has been prepared from data published by the Government of Assam or collected from the Directorate of Statistics. From the above table, it may be seen that the total expenditure by Government on agriculture during the First Five Year Plan is 279.43 lakhs against the plan provision of 323.53 lakhs, while the expenditure during the Second Plan is 455.97 lakhs against the plan provision of 473.33 lakhs. So even in terms of mere expenditure the outlay is less than the plan provisions

29. Comments on agriculture have already been given in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter. It may however be noted that because the rains never fail in Assam, the farmers here are comparatively better off than farmers elsewhere in India and so Assam has never suffered from famine; but scarcity conditions do exist in some part of the State, particularly in the hill areas. Most of the farmers of Assam also grow only one crop a year either because of habits or because of lack of irrigation.

30. The following comments taken from a working paper prepared by the Directorate of Statistics for consideration in the Agricultural Working Group is worth being quoted as regards the agricultural system in Assam:—

31. 'For centuries our agricultural system has been a bare form of subsistence and the tilling multitudes, through ignorance, poverty and economic and social exploitation, have progressively denuded agricultural land of its basic fertility through outmoded methods of cultivation. Faulty land tenure system, indiscriminate fragmentation of holdings and economic exploitation, often assisted by hostile weather have sapped the energy and enthusiasm of the man behind the plough. He is not assured of a sure crop and is too poor to keep his seed. He is still familiar with the local seed. Improved seeds, tools and cultural practices do not catch his imagination. In short, he is orthodox but by no means stupid. This barrier has to be broken because the success of the agricultural programmes ultimately depends on the will of the individual farmers to produce more. For this purpose the farmer's outlook has to be changed slowly but persistently. He has to be convinced of the positive advantages of improved tools, improved seeds, chemical fertilisers, green manuring, improved practices, crop planning, proper use of irrigation etc.

32. Cultivators in different parts of the State vary greatly in their attitudes and way of life Even in the same district there are found cultivators of widely varying standards of efficiency Among some of the cultivators, money awareness is far greater than others. Temperamentally some as a group are prone to take things easy, while others as a group are industrious and keep on improving their lot. It is clear that if we are to induce the farmers to develop into efficient cultivators, anxious to adopt the latest methods of cultivation and to make use of the results of proved research, we shall have to make careful study of each of the principal types of cultivators and make available to each of them such inducements and arguments as may persuade them to put forward their maximum effort

33 Agriculture has been the most unsystematic of all occupations. Our agriculture lacks in organisation and leadership. It has never offered phenomenal prosperity like industry or any other business enterprises. The philosophy attached to it as a way of life retarded the entry of talent into its fold. There is no national crop planning, and efficiency is always subordinated to local interests. Further no proper localised crop patterns have been evolved nor laws enacted for minimum productivity.

34. Agriculture in its present form signifies a lower social status. Generally one from the family who is not considered fit for other walks of life is left to look after agriculture. Thus primitive practices and techniques are persistently in vogue.

35. Agricultural research plays an important role in helping to increase production. The farmer is also generally interested in adopting the latest methods. But the bulk of the latest results of scientific and agricultural research do not reach the farmer in a manner that he can understand and adopt it. Even all that reaches him may not be the solution to his specific problems which vary from place to place.

36. In the sixteen years since freedom, research has in many cases reached only general conclusion and has not obtained precise answers to the problems of the farmers in every part of the country. Very often research results are not in a useable form. Extension is confined to individual good practices, and no complete pattern of farming has been advocated. There are too many gaps in the technical know-how on all the crops to answer the questions of all the intelligent cultivators.

37. Research and extension workers trained at great expense have acquired knowledge by study or observation, but have not developed skill through working on land. Skill has remained with the low paid and illiterate worker. This failure to get skill and knowledge combined in the people engaged in production or directing has left our agriculture stagnant.

38. Agriculture today is not a dividend yielding proposition and therefore does not attract capital. It is left in the hands of only those who do not find any other employment. A better placed farmer is interested only in crops that bring ready cash and pay well for his investment. The large majority of the small cultivators do not get loan as and when they want it. The disbursement of co-operative loans still depends upon a few influential persons in villages. As a result, the cultivators still go to the indigenous money lenders and pay high rates of interest

39. One of the biggest hurdles in extending scientific agriculture is the farmer's illiteracy. A whole world of new ideas must reach him through a mass education programme, which is one of the most important levers of agricultural production. So far no educational effort has been made to impart improved skill to the farmers.

40. Weather, vagaries of monsoon, natural enemies, fluctuating prices, outmoded tools and implements, bad rural living conditions, harassment by village factions and many other things of this nature have made agriculture and rural living unattractive to the talented and resourceful youth. Year after year promising young people migrate into urban occupations leaving the village poorer.

41. This erosion of talent from agriculture and the countryside in each generation every year considerably reduces the capacity of the farming community to compete and progress. Agriculture has not been able to claim its due share of national talent.

42. To the extent the various problems have been tackled, progress in production has been recorded but this is insufficient to promote the economic growth and welfare we contemplate. It should be remembered that agriculture is a complex subject. To increase production we have to tackle all the important problems simultaneously and in an integrated manner. Isolated activities in one field or the other will not only be unfruitful but may result in lowering the long range productivity of our land'.

43. *Animal Husbandry including Dairying and Milk Supply.*—The expenditure under this head during the First Five Year Plan is 21.77 lakhs against the plan provision of only 14.82 lakhs; while the expenditure for the Second Five Year Plan is 68.58 lakhs against the plan provision of 131.10 lakhs of rupees. The cattle population excluding buffaloes in 1951 was 5,107,297 while that in 1956 was 5,222,621 and that in 1961 was 6,488,487. There was thus an increase in the cattle population also in Assam. But according to the Techno-Economic Survey made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, the average cattle here is small and poor and is not strong enough to draw the heavier type of improved plough nor to pull the heavier cart. The yield of milk is also very low being only about 140 lbs. per cow and 315 lbs. per buffalo, while that of the all-India yield is 413 lbs. per cow and 1,101 lbs. per buffalo. The per capita availability of milk per day is only 1.2 ounces against 10 ounces as required according to the approved nutritional standard. The poor productivity in Assam is largely due to malnutrition, diseases and poor breed. In the plains of Assam, emaciated cattle can be seen everywhere. As more land is being

put to the plough to grow rice and jute, grazing reserves have gradually disappeared resulting in inadequate supply of fodder for cattle. Moreover, the fodder grown in Assam lacks adequate mineral contents, especially of calcium and phosphate. The cattle in Assam do not come under any recognised breed and they are also liable to heavy incidence of diseases. The expenditure incurred under the two Five Year Plans do not appear to have been adequate to cope with the problem.

44. It may be noted that while the human population was 11,872,772 on March 1, 1961, the cattle population on or about that date had also risen to 6,488,487 The scanty resources of Assam have therefore been strained by the presence of too many cattle most of which are not useful. Not only do these cattle compete with the human population for food, but they also prevent the use of large tracts of land for cultivation. Rethinking therefore is necessary whether surplus and useless cattle will help in the matter of increasing food production. The working paper of the Directorate of Economics and Statistics suggests that a bold decision is necessary in this respect—a decision which the nation must take to save itself.

45. *Forests.*—The expenditure for forests in the First Five Year Plan is 50.98 lakhs against the plan provision of 70.40 lakhs while that in the Second Plan is 103.89 lakhs against the plan provision of 100.98. So far as forests are concerned, the expenditure is more than the plan outlay during the Second Plan period. There are five classes of forests in Assam, namely Reserve Forests, Protected Forests, Unclassified State Forests, ex-Zamindary Forests and Private Forests, but only Reserve Forests are intensively managed by the Forest Department of the Government of Assam. Reserve Forests constitute 11.7 per cent. of the area of Assam as against 20 per cent. or more in countries with a proper forest sense such as in the Scandinavian countries or Japan. Most of the expenditures under the two Five Year Plans have been made only in the Reserve Forests with the object of obtaining a sustained yield of timber and minor forest produce. Some amount of money was also spent for soil conservation in areas other than the Reserve Forests while some amount has also been spent on wild life for the preservation of game in the sanctuaries.

46. According to the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, the outturn of forest produce in Assam in 1958-59 is 7,266,000 cft. of timber, 7,453,000 cft of fuel and Rs. 116,000 worth of minor produce I cannot collect the total money income from the Reserve Forests during the last decade. Nevertheless, according to the data given in the Techno-Economic Survey of Assam, revenue from the forests of Assam is worth Rs. 67 lakhs in 1954 and Rs. 109 lakhs in 1958. The Techno-Economic Survey also indicates that the average productivity of Assam's forests is strikingly low in comparison with other States Its gross revenue per square mile is the lowest among the major States in India other than Andhra Pradesh The per capita revenue of forests was Rs 344 in Assam against Rs 6,345 in Kerala, Rs. 3,000 in Himachal Pradesh and Rs 2,773 in Uttar Pradesh It is said in the Report that although Assam has large volumes of timber and forest products, inefficient techniques and wasteful conversion practices limit the yield of forests This is largely due to jhuming method of cultivation in the Unclassified State Forests and Private Forests.

47. *Co-operation.*—The expenditure during the First Five Year Plan under the head 'Cooperation' was 20.01 lakhs against the plan provision of 15.31 lakhs and the expenditure during the Second Plan period was 169 49 lakhs against the plan provision of 125 40 lakhs. In terms of sheer expenditure, the outlay on cooperation exceeded the provisions of the Plans.

48 I give below tables 12.5, 12.6 and 12.7 which will help in assessing the role played by cooperative societies in Assam. Table 12.5 shows the number of Primary Agricultural Credit Societies in the State for the year 1951-52; 1955-56 and 1960-61 as well as for each district of Assam for the years 1951-52 and 1960-61 together with membership and the short-term loans advanced. Table 12.6 shows the supply of long-term credit by Cooperative Banks, while table 12.7 shows the progress in Cooperative Marketing.

Primary Agriculture Credit Societies

TABLE 12.5

State/District	Year	No. of Societies	No. of Members	Short-term loans advanced
1	2	3	4	5
ASSAM	(i) 1951-52	662	17,019	1·17 lakhs
	(ii) 1955-56	1,973	43,087	30·82 ,,
	(iii) 1960-61	5,236	266,803	41.90 ,,
1. Goalpara	(i) 1951-52	85	1,376	0·06 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	703	30,850	4·01 ,,
2. Kamrup	(i) 1951-52	127	3,597	0·16 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	1,173	61,528	10·50 ,,
3. Darrang	(i) 1951-52	71	2,657	0·10 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	656	28,522	6·34 ,,
4. Lakhimpur	(i) 1951-52	52	1,110	0 26 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	402	19,017	4·24 ,,
5. Nowgong	(i) 1951-52	45	1,530	0·10 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	694	32,345	8·11 ,,
6. Sibsagar	(i) 1951-52	94	4,932	0 ,48 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	438	23,342	3·68 ,,
7. Cachar	(i) 1951-52	188	1,817	0·01 ,,
	(ii) 1960-61	828	61,430	3·55 ,,
8. Garo Hills	(i) 1951-52	..	..	..
	(ii) 1960-61	91	2,546	0·04 ,,
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	(i) 1951-52	..	..	..
	(ii) 1960-61	72	2,059	0.33 ,,
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	(i) 1951-52	..	..	..
	(ii) 1960-61	130	3,727	0·67 ,,
11. Mizo Hills	(i) 1951-52	..	..	..
	(ii) 1960-61	49	1,437	0·43 ,,

Supply of long-term credit by Co-operative Banks

TABLE 12.6

State/District	Year	Number of Banks		Long-term loan supplied (Rs. in lakhs)
		Central Land Mortgage Banks	Primary Land Mortgage Banks	
1	2	3	4	5
ASSAM	(i) 1951-52	Nil	2	0·24
	(ii) 1955-56	Nil	2	0·05
	(iii) 1960-61	1	5	1·82
1. Kamrup	(i) 1951-52	Nil	1	0·15
	(ii) 1960-61	1	2	0·25
2. Nowgong	(i) 1951-52	Nil	1	0·09
	(ii) 1960-61	Nil	1	0·07
3. Sibsagar	(i) 1951-52	Nil	Nil	Nil
	(ii) 1960-61	Nil	2	1·50

Progress in Co-operative Marketing

TABLE 12.7

State District	Number of Primary Marketing Societies			Number of Primary Agricultural Credit Societies affiliated during	Number of members served			Volume of agricultural business conducted (Rupees in lakhs)			No. of godowns at Mufadi Centres		No. of Rural godowns		
	1951	1956	1961	1955-56 to 1960-61	1951	1956	1961	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan (Target)		1951	1956	1961	1951	1956
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ASSAM	Nil	Nil	176	2 473	Nil	Nil	Societies 2 473 Individual 17 802	Nil	520 49	*880 00		6	98			
1. Goalpara			14	151			1 174		17 46			1	7	Nil	Nil	Nil
2 Kamrup			22	436			3 757		38 92			2	18	Nil	Nil	Nil
3 Darrang			30	418			3 678		102 98			1	23	Nil	Nil	Nil
4 Lakhimpur			13	271			2 627		48 51			1	10	Nil	Nil	Nil
5 Nowgong			19	324			3 370		177 12				15	Nil	Nil	Nil
6 Sibsagar			15	261			1,230		23 71			1	7	Nil	Nil	Nil
7 Cachar			13	503			1 910		27 86				12	Nil	Nil	Nil
8 Garo Hills			11	11			480		1 89				3	Nil	Nil	Nil
9 United Khasi-Jaintia Hills			28	21			1,184		35 36				1	Nil	Nil	Nil
10 United Mikir and North Cachar Hills			6	43			501		45 89					Nil	Nil	Nil
11 Mizo Hills			5	34			364		0 79			..	2	Nil	Nil	Nil

49. The number of Agricultural Credit Societies in 1960-61 was 5,236 with a membership of 266,803. Thus each society consist of about 51 member. The working capital of these societies has increased from Rs. 876,000 in 1950-51 to Rs 25,319,000 in 1961-62. The loans advanced by these Rural Credit Societies have increased from Rs. 117,000 in 1951-52 to Rs 4,190,000 in 1960-61. But overdues on June 30, 1961, have reached the figure of Rs 14,703,000 Table 12.5 also shows that most of the short-term loans advanced go to the plains districts The very high figure of overdues gives one the apprehension whether these dues can ever be realised and whether the Primary Agricultural Credit Societies can be termed to be a success in Assam. Otherwise, how can short-term loans stand at such a high figure at the end of the Second Five Year Plan ?

50. Table 12.6 shows that the Co-operative Banks which supply long-term credit exist only in the districts of Kamrup, Nowgong and Sibsagar. The loans given by these Co-operative Banks in the whole of Assam in 1951-52 was only Rs 24,000; only Rs 5,000 in 1955-56, but it rose to Rs. 182,000 in 1960-61. The working capital of the Central Mortgage Bank in 1962 is Rs. 1,786,000 and the loans advanced during 1961-62 amounted to Rs. 183,000. The number of Primary Land Mortgage Banks was 5 in 1960-61 against only 2 in 1951-52 of which two are situated in Kamrup, one in Nowgong and two in Sibsagar. The Central Land Mortgage Bank is situated in Gauhati. By 1962, the number of Primary Land Mortgage Banks rose to 12 with a membership of 2,294.

51 Table 12.7 shows the number of Primary Marketing Societies for the State as a whole as well as for each district of Assam together with the number of Primary Agricultural Credit Societies affiliated to these Marketing Societies, the number of members served and the volume of agricultural business conducted. It may be noted that most of the figures in this table relate to the year

1961. It may also be noted that at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, only 2,463 Primary Agricultural Credit Societies were affiliated to Marketing Societies against the total number of 5,236 of such credit societies. In other words, it appears that many Primary Agricultural Credit Societies did not market their produce through the Primary Marketing Societies. It is also not known whether the affiliated Credit Societies sent all their produce to the Marketing Societies. These figures together with the outstanding loans appear to suggest that all has not been well with co-operation in Assam.

52. The Development Commissioner of Assam remarked that 'The co-operative movement in Assam passed through considerable stresses and strains, and before the First Plan, the movement was in a moribund condition. The First Plan of Assam, therefore, aimed at revitalising the movement. The Second Plan was reoriented according to the decisions taken by the National Development Council in 1958. Notable achievements during the Second Plan period was the establishment of 3,263 service co-operatives. These service co-operatives were entrusted with the task not only of disbursing credit but also with such other responsibilities as distribution of fertilisers and establishment of effective links between credit and marketing. Over the period of the Second Five Year Plan, the number of Primary Agricultural Credit Societies (including service co-operatives) registered a rise from 1,973 in 1955-56 to 5,236 in 1960-61 with a corresponding rise in the membership from 43,087 to 2,66,803. The total amount of loan advanced had also risen from Rs. 42 lakhs during the First Plan period to Rs. 452 lakhs during the Second Plan period. Thirty-seven co-operative unions were formed in the hill districts besides one co-operative cotton ginning mill, one co-operative rice mill and 200 large sized co-operatives were also established. The number of co-operative farming societies increased from 105 to 157. A co-operative sugar mill was established which went into production during 1958-59. A State Warehousing Corporation, 3 processing societies and 3 marketing societies (with an apex institution to serve as a federation of these marketing societies) were also organised during the period'.

53. According to the brochure 'Economic Survey, Assam, 1963' issued by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, the following remark is given in respect of co-operation in agriculture:—

> 'The Co-operatives have not yet been able to play a dominant role in rural credits. According to a survey conducted in a few selected jute-growing areas in the districts of Nowgong, Darrang, Kamrup and Goalpara during September-October, 1963, only 17.5 per cent. of the total debt was met out by the co-operatives'.

54. *Fisheries.*—The expenditure for fisheries under the First Plan was Rs. 10.54 lakhs against the plan provision of Rs. 10.40 lakhs while in the Second Plan, the expenditure was Rs. 30.59 lakhs against the provision of Rs. 38.95 lakhs. Fishery statistics are very scarce and so no assessment of the impact of these expenditures can be made.

55. As far as fresh water fish is concerned, Assam is one of the major fish-producing States in India. The main sources of fish production are the natural fisheries of the rivers and their tributaries, ponds, tanks and 'beels'. These natural fisheries which number more than 730 are owned by Government in the Revenue Department. The right to collect fish from these natural fisheries is sold by Government on an annual basis and the revenue fetched is about 22 lakhs per year. The Fisheries Department of the Government of Assam estimated that the total annual production is about 500,000 maunds or about 18,000 metric tons. About 7,000 tons of fish are estimated to be imported from East Pakistan to Assam, but the figures of import are mostly guesses because the legitimate trade is restricted by Pakistan giving rise to smuggling across the border. About 2,000 tons of fresh fish and some quantities of dry fish used to be exported to the northern districts of West Bengal and some quantities are also exported to Manipur and NEFA. The balance of import over export is estimated to be about 120,000 maunds. In Assam almost everybody eats fish and the per capita consumption is about 6.20 lbs. per annum against the all-India figure of 9.5 lbs. The per capita consumption suggests that fish production is still much below demand in Assam. More-

over, the price of fish is so high that poor people cannot afford to buy it even if they have the craving to eat it.

56. During the decade 1951-61, the Fisheries Department established 13 fish farms and 27 seed collecting centres which include 6 induced breeding operation centres. About 1,100 acres of water area were also developed by the Fisheries Department during the decade.

57. *Rural Development.*—As already stated, rural development here includes only Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Blocks. There was no provision in the First Five Year Plan in Assam, but a sum of Rs. 192.87 lakhs was spent for this purpose in 1951-56. In the Second Plan period, a sum of Rs. 512.10 lakhs was spent against the plan provision of 551 lakhs. The State Government also spent Rs. 102.58 lakhs for village panchayats during 1951-56 and another Rs. 141.27 lakhs during the period 1956-61. It is not possible to assess the impact of these expenditures on the economy of the rural areas of Assam.

58. The following are tables 12.8 and 12.9 showing the number of villages and population served by Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Blocks and the development expenditure in NES Blocks and Community Development Projects.

Number of villages and population served by Community Development Projects and National Extension Services as in the First Plan and the Second Plan

TABLE 12.8

State/District	Number of Blocks		Number of Villages		Population (,000)	
	1st Plan	2nd Plan	1st Plan	2nd Plan	1st Plan	2nd Plan
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assam	27	57	4,973	9,293	1,576	2,837
1. Goalpara	2	9	535	1,901	160	458
2. Kamrup	3	10	435	1,222	158	569
3. Darrang	3	4	685	678	211	310
4. Lakhimpur	3	5	460	983	172	311
5. Nowgong	2	5	317	664	139	332
6. Sibsagar	4	4	700	562	301	234
7. Cachar	4	4	606	519	295	268
8. Garo Hills	2	3	395	749	44	68
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	1	6	273	890	28	143
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	2	3	505	888	44	60
11. Mizo Hills	1	4	52	237	24	84

Note.—The blocks that were started in the First Five Year Plan were afterwards, *i.e.* (in the Second Plan) converted from Community Development Projects to National Extension Serivces along with the new blocks of the Second Plan period.

Development Expenditure in National Extension Service Blocks and Community Projects Blocks

TABLE 12.9

Serial No.	Items	Total expenditure (Rs. in lakhs)	
		First Five Year Plan	Second Five Year Plan
1	2	3	4
1.	Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Reclamation	55·32	96·24
2.	Irrigation	2.68	91.76
3.	Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries	8·94	36·65
4.	Health Services and Rural Sanitation	24·04	60·98
5.	Education (including Social Education)	22·95	73·68
6.	Rural Housing	13·78	48·18
7.	State and Project Headquarters	72·23	243·38
8.	Miscellaneous	28·53	60·51
	Total	228·47	711·38

59. Table 12.8 shows only the number of blocks established under the two Plans, the number of villages and the population served by the blocks. Table 12.9 shows the development expenditure in Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Blocks during the First Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan. The total population served during the First Five Year Plan was 15.7 lakhs and the expenditure per capita of population served was Rs. 14.55 only. During the Second Five Year Plan, the total poulation served was 28.3 lakhs and the expenditure per capita of population was Rs. 25.13 only.

60. The basic object of the community development movement is to evoke popular initiative in the field of development so that people themselves may assume responsibility for planning of the respective areas and carry out the implementation of the plan schemes. The movement was designed to usher in an era of hope and prosperity in contrast to the age-long state of poverty and semi-starvation in the rural areas. As a step towards these objectives, blocks were formed through which development efforts were to be channelled. At the end of the Second Plan, there were 84 blocks in Assam covering an area of 64,000 square kilometres and a population of 4,413,000. There are now 20 post Stage II blocks, 44 Stage II blocks, 61 Stage I blocks and 35 pre-extension blocks covering between them the entire rural areas of the State.

61. The principal extension functions entrusted to the community development programme are in the fields of agriculture, co-operation, rural industries and provision of the basic amenities like communication and water supply. No data are available regarding the impact of these schemes and expenditures on the economy of the areas covered by the development blocks. But according to an appraisal given in the Social Welfare, a Central Government publication, "the Community Development Programme has brought the administration nearer to the people. It has created an awareness among the rural people that the government is interested in helping them. Many schools in the rural areas have been built because of the Community Development Programme. The primary health centre is a part of Community Development block set-up.

62. Nevertheless, a hard look at the programme is necessary. The indications are that the enthusiasm among the villagers for the programme has waned. The expectations raised among the villagers were too high with regard to the potentiality of the programme. The village people have not become as involved as was anticipated. Actually one wonders whether a national programme could become a people's movement. Further the blocks administration was so obsessed with achieving the targets that it has had little time to cultivate and educate people, Such process is a time consuming one.....The Community Development Programme was essentially an educative process and as such the services they provided were secondary and incidental. However the Community Development Programme does not seem to have helped the expectations of the people to rise. Kusum Nair has indicated that by and large the aspirations of the rural people are still low. Their horizons have not broadened nor have they become more positive in their expectations. The Panchayati Raj was introduced to get the involvement of the people but at present it seems to have created more confusion rather than adding to the solution of the rural problems."

VILLAGE AND HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES.

63. In the First Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 9.64 lakhs was spent for the improvement of village and household industries, and all the expenditures were incurred only for sericulture and weaving and small scale industries. More money was spent for the promotion of the silk and sericulture industries than for the small scale industries. The actual expenditure was Rs. 5.17 lakhs for silk and sericulture and Rs. 4.47 lakhs for small scale industries. In both cases, the expenditures in these two categories started only in 1953-54 and the progress of expenditure was continuously rising for the remaining three financial years of the First Plan. The con-

tinuously rising expenditure suggests that during the First Plan there was an increasing force of workers in this field who were provided with continuous work thereby ensuring a degree of stability in village life. As far as silk and sericulture are concerned, these are traditional industries of Assam and so their growth was quite natural and the extra expenditure must have given a fillip to the growth of this industry.

64. Under the category of small scale industries, money was spent in the First Plan for the Cottage Industry Training Institute at Gauhati. Grants were also given to 39 non-official organisations to open 'ghani' or oil-pressing units. There was no provision for the opening of small scale industries in the First Five Year Plan of Assam.

65. In the Second Five Year Plan, the outlay under this head was Rs. 300.77 lakhs out of which Rs. 54.49 lakhs was spent for handloom, Rs. 28.54 lakhs for khadi and ambar charka, Rs. 73.79 lakhs for silk and sericulture and Rs. 143.95 lakhs was spent for small scale industries. It is thus seen that the expenditure under this head in the Second Five Year Plan is more than ten times the expenditure in the First Plan.

66. The following extract taken from the Review of Progress of the Second Five Year Plan shows how this money was utilised:—

"The small scale and cottage industries programme undertaken in the Second Plan related mainly to provision of training, technical advice and assistance, supply of improved tools, creating marketing facilities, and loans and subsidies to individuals and organisations for encouragement of small scale and village industries. Among the important schemes undertaken during the Second Plan period were the setting up of a Small Scale Industries Development Corporation and a Marketing Corporation to ensure better marketing and management of productive units, and establishment of 2 Industrial Estates at Gauhati and Dhekiajuli. A Central Workshop at Gauhati, 2 mobile vans fitted with modern tools and equipment, 32 emporia, 12 training-cum-production centres, a cane and bamboo mill and one store-cum-emporium were also established. At the end of the Second Plan there were 12 sericultural farms, 4 reeling units, 2 chowki-rearing centres, 13 concentration centres, 8 eri seed grainages, 3 muga farms, 1 community reeling centre, 1 tussar farm, and 3 cocoon marketing centres under the Sericulture and Weaving Department The Sericultural Research Station which was established under the First Plan at Titabar was further strengthened. One hundred and forty sericultural demonstration units rendered technical help to the sericulturists of the State. The Weaving Institute at Gauhati was upgraded to a full-fledged Textile Institute

67 Under the Village Industries programme, one hand-made paper unit was established at Gauhati and 15 khadi production centres and 12 khadi bhandars were set up in the different parts of the State. Schemes like village oil industry, cottage match industry, hand-pounding of rice and bee-keeping were also implemented. A Saranjam Karyalaya at Gauhati, one Ambar Cidyalaya at Raha, 7 Parishramalayas, 1 production-cum-training centre for encouragement of palm-gur industries and 9 centres for development of village leather industries were opened. Soap making, pottery, carpentry and blacksmithy, etc., were encouraged. The programme under Handloom Co-operatives followed by pattern approved by the All-India Handloom Board and contained schemes for formation of weavers' co-operatives and grant of share capital and working capital, supply of tools and accessories, propaganda and publicity, award of prizes, provision of sales depots, rebates on sales of handloom cloth, subsidy for transport, etc."

68. There is no regional break-up of expenditure under this head, but from the above statement of the Planning and Development Department, it appears that most of the expenditures went to the plains districts, particularly the Kamrup district.

69. I give below table 12.10 which shows the progress of expenditures under the two Five Year Plans in respect of village and household industries together with the provision in the Third Five Year Plan.

Plan Expenditure in village and household industries in Assam (Rs. in lakhs)

TABLE 12.10

Sector	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	First Plan Total	Percentage break-down	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	Second Plan Total	Percentage break-down	(Expenditure per capita of all workers returned under category IV of 1961 Census).	Third Plan provision	Percentage break-down
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Village and Household Industries	—	—	0 35	2 61	6 68	9 64	100.00	39 53	62 16	51·42	61 72	85 95	300 77	100 00	Rs. 110 72 only	440 00	100·00
(a) Khadi and Ambar charkha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 57	4 87	1 70	9 40	12·00	28 54	9·49		30 00	6 82
(b) Silk and Sericulture and Handloom	—	—	0 15	0·2	2 95	5 1	53 63	21 44	28 96	23 79	24·40	29 69	128 28	42 65		—	31 82
(c) Handicrafts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		10 00	2 27
(d) Coir	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—
(e) Other Village Industries	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—
(f) Small-scale Industries	—	—	0 20	0 54	3 73	4 47	46 37	17 52	28 32	25 93	27 92	44 26	143 95	47 86		195·00	44 32
(g) Industrial Estate (Cottage Industries)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		65·00	14 77

Note.— means there is no provision in the plan and therefore no expenditure.

70. *Power.*—Assam has great potential resources for power development from rivers, coal, oil and gas. As far as hydro-electric potential is concerned, Assam commands one-fourth of the 40 million kW estimated for the whole of India. But in spite of its potentiality, Assam is the most backward among Indian States in regard to power generation and consumption. The *per capita* consumption of electricity in 1960-61 in Assam was 3.56 kWh as against 41.49 kWh in Bihar 42.80 kWh in Orissa, 83.39 kWh in West Bengal and 38.12 kWh for all-India. It is said that the progress of any country or region can be judged by the amount of electricity consumed; if so, Assam is really the most backward region of India.

71. Before Independence, only a few towns of Assam had electricity, and all the power was produced by private companies through small generators. It was only in Shillong that a small Hydro-Electric Project was installed, but its capacity is so limited that power has to be augmented from generators. It was only under the Five Year Plans that serious thought was given to the problem as a result of which some development has taken place. In the First Five Year Plan, the Umtru Hydel Project was the

first biggish project undertaken in the State with an installed capacity of 8400 kW. But even this project is really only a baby compared to projects in other parts of India. What is more, even this modest project has not yet been able to produce the power expected of it. Many districts and subdivisional headquarters had no electricity even at the end of the First Five Year Plan. The *per capita* consumption at the end of the First Five Year Plan was only 0.91 kWh against 28 kWh for all-India. The target *per capita* consumption at the end of the Second Plan was 5.63 kWh but the achievement was only 3.56 kWh.

72. In 1950-51, the first year of planning, the generating capacity was only 3,343 kW; it rose to 5,280 kW in 1956 and by the end of the Second Plan it had risen to over 20,000 kW. Two other power projects, namely the Umiam Hydel Project with a capacity of 36,000 kW in the first stage, and the Naharkatiya Station with a capacity of 67,000 kW were taken up in the Second Plan, but they have not yet been completed even at the end of 1963. The total expenditure for power under the First Plan was 120.75 lakhs and that for the Second Plan was Rs. 585.28 lakhs.

73. I give below table 12.11 showing the break-up of the plan expenditure on power development projects during 1951-61 :—

Plan Expenditure on Power Development Projects 1951-61

TABLE 12.11

Year	Expenditure and Provision (Rs. in lakhs)
1951-52	—
1952-53	0·27
1953-54	8,41
1954-55	30·89
1955-56	81·18
Total for First Five Year Plan	120·75
First Plan Provision	157,59
1956-57	104,42
1957-58	61·62
1958-59	53,41
1959-60	105·83
1960-61	200·00
Total for Second Five Year Plan	585,28
Second Plan Provision	380·00
Third Plan Provision	2,750·00

74. From the above table it may be seen that the expenditure during the Second Plan is more than fourfold that of the First Plan. By 1957, the generating capacity was 17,500 kW and by the end of the Second Plan it was 20,000 kW. Just before the start of the First Five Year Plan, about 74 per cent. of the total consumption of electricity in Assam was accounted only for domestic and commercial purposes, and only 25 per cent. was consumed by industry and public lighting; but by 1961-62 domestic and commercial consumption accounted for 44.4 per cent., industries consumed 46.5 per cent., public lighting consumed 7.2 per cent. and 1.9 per cent. was used for other purposes. These figures show that electrical energy is now in increasing demand for industrial purposes. The demand for power has now increased enormously in Assam, but the supply position is so poor that demand cannot meet even the most essential requirements for light and domestic purposes.

75. Power generated by diesel oil plants cost between 30 and 165 nP. per unit, but that produced by hydel sources is only 6.3 nP. per unit according to information received from the Assam State Electricity Board. At the moment, the only sources of hydel power are the Umtru Hydel Project

which cannot produce the rated capacity and the Shillong Hydro Electric which can produce only a part of the demand. So until hydel power is available, Assam's industrial progress is considerably hindered by the non-availability of cheap power. It is not yet known what would be the cost of production per unit if natural gas available from Naharkatiya oil fields is used for the production of electricity.

INDUSTRIES AND MINING

76. It is a paradox that in spite of abundance of raw materials in Assam, the development of Factory Industries has been very poor. Much of its mineral wealth and material resources still remain untapped. Excepting for the manufacture of tea, the refining of oil and a few forest-based industries, Assam still lags far behind the other States of India in the field of industrialisation. Even in the case of oil and forest-based industries, the industrialisation has been rather poor in proportion to the resources at its command. The Digboi Refinery has a capacity of about 0.55 million tonnes, while the Noonmati Refinery has a capacity of 0.75 million tonnes. The Barauni Plant which will refine crude oil from Assam has a proposed capacity of 2 million tonnes of oil. Oil prospecting in Assam is still going on and many wells drilled have been found to be oil-bearing. Similarly, with the huge forest resources at its disposal, the number of forest-based industries is rather poor. There are only a few plywood factories and a number of saw mills, but there is not a single paper mill although raw materials for the purpose are available in plenty.

77. The number of registered factories in 1951 were only 842, but in 1962 the number has increased to 1,362. Employment in these factories increased from 65,094 in 1951 to 77,988 in 1962. But despite all that, Assam's industries supported less than 100 people per thousand square miles in comparison to 100 to 1000 person in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh for the same given area. Assam has only 2 per cent. of India's total registered factories in comparison to 22 per cent. in Madhya Pradesh and 16 per cent. in Bombay. In terms of factory employment, Assam's position is even weaker. Its factories accounted for only 0.5 per cent. of the country's total factory labour in comparison to 27 per cent. in West Bengal, 31 per cent. in Bombay, 19 per cent. in Madras and 7 per cent. in Bihar. Its contribution to India's total industrial capital is 0.5 per cent., while Bombay contributes 27 per cent., West Bengal 21 per cent., Bihar 13 per cent. and Madras 7 per cent. If, however, tea and petroleum manufacturing are included, the position improves somewhat; for, on this basis about 8.8 per cent. of the total number of factories and 3.4 per cent. of the total industrial employment in India are found in Assam.

78. I give below table 12.12 showing the plan expenditure of Assam in Industries and Mining for the decade 1951-61.

Plan Expenditure in Industries and Mining

TABLE 12.12

(Rupees in lakhs)

Sector	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	Total First Plan Period	First Plan Target
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Industry and Power—							
1. Factory Industries 2. Mining	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Small-scale Industries	—	—	2·20	5·54	3·73	4·47	5·63

Sector	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	Total Second Plan Period	Second Plan Target	Third Plan Target
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Industry and Power—								
1. Factory Industries 2. Mining	18·00	31·16	16·74	20·76	55·16	141·82	133·00	535·00
3. Small-scale Industries	17·52	28·32	25·93	27·92	44·26	143·95	190·00	195·00

79. From the above table it may be seen that no expenditure was incurred for Factory Industries and Mining during the First Plan, and even for Small Scale Industries, some expenditure was incurred only from 1953-54 culminating in a total of Rs. 4.47 lakhs only at the end of the First Five Year Plan against the target of 5.63 lakhs. In the Second Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 141.82 lakhs was spent against the target of Rs. 133 lakhs only for Factory Industries and Mining. For Small Scale Industries, a total expenditure for the Second Plan was Rs. 143.95 lakhs against the target of Rs. 190 lakhs. The industrialisation of Assam was seriously taken into consideration only late in the Second Plan and a Techno-Economic Survey was conducted to assess the resources and potentialities in the State. Two Industrial Estates and some Industrial Establishments were started during the Second Plan, and the existing capacities were expanded The new industries taken up during the decade were the co-operative sugar mill, the bicycle factory, the spun-silk mill and the cotton ginning mill among a few others. The Third Plan envisages greater expansion in the field of industries on the existing as well as new lines--both in the Public and the Private Sectors. The Chinese aggression gave a severe set-back to the pace of progress especially in the sphere of the Private Sector.

80. According to the Techno-Economic Survey of Assam, its industries can be classified into four groups according to the basic raw materials processed : (i) Agro-based industry, (ii) Mineral-based industry, (iii) Forest-based industry, and (iv) Miscellaneous. The first group can again be sub-divided into (a) Tea manufacturing, (b) Food processing and sugar and (c) Textiles; while the second group can be sub-divided into (a) Metallic industry, (b) Non-metallic industry and (c) Chemical industry.

81. *Agro-based industry.*—The tea industry is the most organised industry of Assam, and actually it is the only major industry of Assam apart from production of crude oil and its refining. It accounts for employment of two-thirds of industrial labour and forms nearly 64 per cent. of the net income of the industrial sector. The income from the tea industry is so high in Assam that the income of the State itself is largely influenced by the boom and slum of the tea industry. It has often been said that the tea industry is the economic barometer of Assam. Indeed, the Tea industry has a special place even in the economy of India because tea is a substantial earner of foreign exchange. The Central Government also collected various taxes from tea such as excise duty, export duty and cess under the Tea Act As already stated earlier, most of the tea production is concentrated in Upper Assam and many tea gardens in Cachar district have now become uneconomic

82 The food processing industries of Assam consist largely of rice, oil and flour mills along with a few bakery, fruit-canning and dairy units. Altogether they absorb about 3.8 per cent of the industrial workers of Assam Rice mills accounted for about two-thirds of the total value of output and nearly three-fourths of the employment in the Agro-group excluding tea plantation in 1956. Rice mills are largely concentrated in Nowgong and Kamrup districts because of their proximity to the rice growing centres with easy means of transport. Hojai town of Nowgong is largely a rice mill town because as many as 10 rice mills are concentrated in this town only Most of the rice mills are also combined with oil mills. Four medium-sized modern flour mills have been established in Assam, two of which are situated in Kamrup, one in Sibsagar and one in Tezpur. Preparation of gur and khandsari is largely undertaken on a household basis, and there is only one sugar mill in the Sibsagar district in Assam.

83. The textile industry of Assam consists only of cotton ginning and baling centres, weaving institutes and knitting mills. In spite of the traditional skill in handloom products, the industry is perhaps the least developed in Assam. Most of the yarns used in weaving is imported, and most of the products are only for consumption in the family. With increase in literacy and education, imported mill-made cotton fabrics and nylons have put a severe strain on the handloom industry.

84. *Mineral-based industry.*—The mineral-based industry comprises of engineering works, railway workshops, motor vehicle repairing works, etc. Steel mills of moderate

sizes have been established in Gauhati, Tezpur and Tinsukia and a bicycle factory has also been established at Gauhati. A steel re-rolling mill has also been established at Gauhati. Smaller mineral-based industries have also been established in the Industrial Estates at Gauhati and Dhekiajuli. Among the non-metallic mineral-based industries, refining of oil at Digboi and Noonmati is the most pre-eminent. Prospecting and production of crude oil has been done on an extensive scale in Assam especially in the Naharkatiya and Moran region. A Thermal Power Plan is being set up in Namrup in Lakhimpur district and a Cement Factory with a capacity of 400 tons a day is being set up at Cherrapunji. Sillimanite is being quarried from Sonapur in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district. Regarding chemical industry, the most important is the manufacture of matches which is being carried on in two factories, one at Dhubri in Goalpara and another in Cachar district. The Assam Match Factory at Dhubri is by far the biggest match factory of Assam; it employs about 800 employees on a constant basis.

85. *Forest-based industry.*—The forest-based industries of Assam consist of saw mills and the plywood industry. In 1954-55 there were only 59 saw mills employing about 2,000 workers and utilising approximately 1.6 million cu. ft. of timber annually. By 1959-60, the number of saw mills had increased to 106 with 2,208 workers and the mills were utilising about 3 million cu. ft. of timber. The plywood industry of Assam began only from 1952-53 and that also only in the private sector. The industry, however, expanded very rapidly and by 1956-57, there were 17 factories consuming about 22 million cu. ft. of timber, manufacturing about 2 million tea chests, which was only 50 per cent. of the total demand. The remaining 2 million of tea chests used to be imported from Calcutta where the cost of production is lower than that of Assam despite the fact that raw materials are available within the State itself and very near the factories. Greater efficiency, better techniques of production and cheaper fuel and chemicals give Calcutta an advantage over Assam.

86. *Miscellaneous industries.*—The miscellaneous industries consist of small factories like printing presses, manufacturing of bricks and tiles, manufacturing of ice, distilleries etc. Of these, the most important is the printing press industry.

87. *Transport and Communications.*—The transport system of Assam consists of Railways, Roads Waterways and Airways. The Railways are operated by the Railway Board, Government of India; Waterways are operated by a private company and the Airways are operated by the Indian Airlines Corporation. Roads are made and maintained by the Goverment of Assam either from its own resources or with financial assistance from the Central Government. In the First Five Year Plan, expenditure was incurred only for roads; and in the Second Five Year Plan also, most of the expenditure was incurred for roads although some amount was also incurred for a ropeway survey and inland water transport. I give below table 12.13 showing the development expenditure in transport and communications in the State for the period 1951-61 :—

Development Expenditure in Transport and Communications in the State

TABLE 12.13

(Rs. in lakhs)

Sector	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	First Plan Total	First Plan Provision
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Transport . . .	11·33	26·32	71·78	88·61	152·14	349·18	327·12
Roads . . .	11·33	26·32	71·78	89·61	152·14	349·18	327·12
Port & Harbour .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Transport .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 12·13—*concld*

Sector	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	Total Second Plan	Second Plan Provision	Third Plan Provision
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Transport . . .	146·24	168 67	112 17	119·95	108 35	655 33	769 50	1,015·00
Roads	146 08	167 99	111 50	115 34	103 11	644·02	769·50	875·00
Ports and Harbours .	..				.	..	..	..
Other transport . .	0 16	0 68	0 67	4 61	5·24	11·31	..	140·00

Number of workers returned in Category VIII in 1961 Census—75,612

88. *Railways.*—The length of railway in Assam at the end of 1960-61 was 1750 kilometres. Recently the north bank rail line was extended further with the completion of the bridge over the Subansiri. Priority has been accorded to extension of the line to Murkongselek and extension of the broad gauge line up to Jogighopa on which works have already been undertaken. After completion of the broad gauge line from Siliguri to Bongaigaon, work on which was in progress, and the installation of the projected centralized traffic control on the Bongaigaon-Gauhati section, it should be possible to meet all demands and do away completely with quota restrictions on this route.

89. *Ropeway.*—There was a proposal for the construction of a ropeway from Shella (on the border of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district with East Pakistan) to Shillong *via* Cherrapunji and thence to Pandu in the Kamrup district. In the Second Plan a sum of Rs. 1.79 lakhs was spent for the preliminary survey and preparation of the project report for this ropeway. Consultation with foreign enterprises has been made and tenders have been called for the construction of this ropeway.

90. *Waterways.*—The internal waterways of Assam extended to over 9,600 kilometres. Approximately, 500 kilometres are negotiable by steam boats and another 1,100 kilometres by large country boats. The rest of the length could be negotiated only by rafts and small country boats. During the dry seasons, navigability is appreciably reduced.

91. The waterways play a very important role in maintaining communication between Assam and the rest of India. At present, the annual traffic to and from Assam carried by steamer companies amounts to 8/9 lakh tonnes each way.

92 The third plan for inland water transport has been formulated by the Centre in the light of the recommendations of the Inland Water Transport Committee. The schemes for the Assam river services include the following:—

(i) loan assistance to the Joint Steamer Companies;

(ii) construction of an inland port at Pandu;

(iii) purchase of launches and dredgers for the Brahmaputra; and

(iv) improvement of the foreshores at Gauhati.

93 In the State Government sector, a Directorate of Inland Water Transport has been created to look after the problems arising in connection with inland water transport.

94 *Roads.*—Road development in Assam has special difficulties on account of the existence of numerous ranges of hills of varying heights, rivers and streams which have been changing courses requiring considerable extent of bridging, circuiting of roads in the hill section, traversing of marshy areas and other difficulties. The Assam Valley is criss-crossed by the Brahmaputra and its tributaries at so many points that the efficiency of the road system requires the maintenance of a large number of ferries. Road construction is easier in the South Bank; and in the North Bank, it is very difficult to make roads between Tezpur and the extreme north-eastern point of the Brahma-

putra Valley because of the existence of many rivers which rush headlong from the Himalayas to the Brahmaputra. The construction of the Brahmaputra bridge has greatly revolutionized the road system of Assam, although one or two more bridges of this type are required if the State is to have a really efficient road transport system. Otherwise, road and rail transport between the South Bank and the North Bank is extremely difficult.

95. By the end of the Second Plan, the length of roads in Assam under the Public Works Department was 14,859 kilometres including 1,188 kilometres under National Highways.

96. According to the Nagpur Plan, Assam is to be served by a network of roads with a total length of 35,200 kilometres by about 1,980. The length of roads in Assam increased from 9,759 kilometres in 1950-51 to 14,859 kilometres in 1960-61. Under the Third Plan, it was proposed to construct 1,040 kilometres of new roads. In the first three years of the Third Plan, roughly 550 kilometres have been completed.

97. The distribution of roads among the districts at the beginning of the Third Plan was as under:—

TABLE 12.14

District	Kilometres	Kilometres of roads per Sq. Km.	Kilometres of roads per '000 population
1	2	3	4
1. Goalpara	1,543	0 15	1 00
2. Kamrup	2,267	0 23	1·10
3. Darrang	1,381	0·16	1·07
4. Lakhimpur	1,458	0·11	0·97
5. Nowgong	1,093	0 19	0·70
6. Sibsagar	1,872	0 21	1·55
7. Cachar	1,126	0·16	0·82
8. Garo Hills	523	0·06	1·68
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	1,423	0·10	3·09
10. United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	776	0 05	2·77
11. Mizo Hills	1,397	0·07	5·17
Total	14,859	0·12	1·25

98. The Five Year Plans also envisage the upgrading of sub-standard roads and bridging of a number of river crossing including major bridges over the Barak, Dikhow, Jhanji, Dhansiri, Buroi, Kopili, Longai, etc. Up to the end of the Second Plan, nine major bridges including those over the Disang, Jhanji, Dhansiri, Kopili and Longai were completed and in June 1962 the longest road bridge in Assam over the Jia-Bharali was also completed. Also, 2,264 kilometres of road were metalled or blacktopped during the Second Plan period and another 800 kilometres were gravelled.

99. From table 12.14 it may be seen that the distribution of roads in the various districts of Assam has been given in terms of total kilometres for the whole district as well as in kilometres of road per sq. kilometre of area and per 1000 population. As the hill districts of Assam have a very sparse population due to the difficult terrain and the lack of sufficient food, so in terms of 1000 population, it would appear as if the hill districts have a big share of roads. When it comes to total kilometres in the districts as well as in mileage per sq. kilometre of area, it may be seen that road development in the Garo Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills has yet been very poor. Apart from the lengths of road, the quality of roads has also to be taken into consideration. Mere figures show that there are 1,397 kilometres of road within the Mizo Hills, but these are mostly earthworks which are at best suitable only for jeeps and that also mostly during the fair weather. As soon as rain falls, many of these roads in the hills become waterlogged or boggy with mud that no ve-

hicle, not even a jeep, can pass until the ground is more or less dry again. If roads are really to be useable, they must be covered with soling stones and gravels, and whereover possible, they must also be macadamized. In the hill areas, bridges are also very essential because of the heavy rain in summer and the fact that hill streams and rivers rush in torrents during the rainy reason and no boats can ply. In the plains, ferries can be used even if there are no bridges. Another fact is that in the plains, there are railways and waterways apart from roads, and carriage of passengers and goods by railways and boats is always cheaper than road transport. In the hill districts, there are no railways or waterways. Only the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills can claim to have some good roads although many parts of this district also are not yet accessible due to lack of roads. The crying need of Assam, and especially of the hill areas, is for more roads, good roads and all-weather roads with bridges. One of the most spectacular achievements of the first Two Plans is the construction of roads in many areas where ten years ago people never saw what a motor vehicle is. Assam as a whole suffers from serious shortage of transport facilities within its borders; but more so in its link with the rest of India. Lack of communications and transport facilities is the main reason for the industrial backwardness of the State.

100. *Transport.*—I give below table 12.15 showing the progress of transport in Assam for the decade 1951-61 as well as for the trends for 1961-66. This table shows that no new lines for the railways have been added to the existing 1205 miles: but immediately after this decade a new line has been constructed from Rangapara in the North Bank to Murkongselek, and another small line from Kalkalighat to Dharmanagar. I also give below a statement in table 12.16 which has been prepared for me by the Chief Engineer, Northeast Frontier Railway.

Progress of Transport in the State

TABLE 12.15

Transport Unit	1950-51		1955 56		1960-61		1965-66 Target	
	Actual	Index	Actual	Index	Actual	Index	Actual	Index
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A. Railways (in miles New lines added)	..	..	.	.	Nil	.	234·42	..
B. Roads (in miles) . . .	..	..	..					
1. New surfaced roads including National Highways	950	100	1,047	110 21	1,480	155·78	225	23·68
2. Unsurfaced . . .	3,051	100	5,156	168·99	6,660	218·28	1,600	52·44
3. Improvement of existing roads	..	.	Not known	.	653	..	500	..
C. Road Transport . . .	..	..	..					
1. Commercial Vehicles on road	226	100	308	136·28	573	253·53	750	332·85

TABLE 12·16

Section	Length		Opened to traffic		Remarks
	Mile	Km.	Goods	Passenger	
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Rangapara—Dhalaibil . .	15·74	25.35	..	10-3-62	
2 Dhalaibil—North Lakimpur .	91·68	147·51	10-6-62	15.1-63	
3 Brahmaputra Bridge . .	9·68 (Double line)	15.58	31-10-62	16-1-63	
4 North Lakhimpur-Gogamukh	28·16	45·32 (Approx)	..	..	This section is proposed to be opened for traffic (goods) by April 1964.
5 Gogamukh—Silapathar .	29·68	47.765	..	..	Probable date for opening of this section for goods is November 1964 and passengers December 1964.
6 Silapathar—Murkongselek .	40·00	64·374	..	..	Probable date for opening of this section for goods is March 1965 and for passengers December 1965.
7 Kalkalighat—Dharmanagar .	19·48	31·34	..	..	Proposed to be opened for goods and passenger traffic on or about 1-4-64.
	234·42				

101. From table 12.15 it may be seen that at the beginning of the First Five Year Plan, there were only 950 miles of surface roads including national highways and 305 miles of unsurfaced roads; but at the end of the Second Plan, there were 1,480 miles of surfaced roads and 6,660 miles of unsurfaced roads showing an increase of 55.78 per cent. in respect of surfaced roads over that of 1950-51 which is taken as the basis here and another increase of 118.28 per cent. in respect of unsurfaced roads.

102. It may also be seen that at the beginning of the First Five Year Plan, there were only 226 commercial vehicles on the road; but up to 31st March 1961 there were 573 such vehicles.

SOCIAL SERVICES.

103. Under the heading 'Social Services', the following items of plan expenditure are included—Education, Medical and Public Health, Housing, Labour and Labour Welfare, Welfare of Backward Classes and Miscellaneous items such as Statistics, Publicity, Aid to Local Bodies, Urban Development and Expansion of Public Works Department Organisations. In table 12.17 below I give the plan expenditure on such social services in Assam for the decade 1951-61 as well as for provisions in the Third Five Year Plan.

Plan Expenditure on Social Services in the State

TABLE 12.17

(*Rs. in lakhs*)

Sectors	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	First Plan Tota	First Plan Provision
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Social Services—							
1. Education	6·99	6 39	21·27	31·64	47·58	113·58	111·10
2. Medical 3. Public Health	30·33	31·72	31·15	28·44	71·77	193·41	186·71
4 Housing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Labour and Labour Welfare	—	—	—	—	2·60	2·60	2·60
6. Welfare of Backward Classes	18·28	36·36	61·08	125·44	195·14	436·30	441·80
7. Miscellaneous—							
(a) Statistic.	—		—	—	—	—	—
(b) Publicity	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(c) Aid to Local Bodies	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(d) Urban Development	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(e) Expansion of Public Works Department Organisations.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	Second Plan Total	Second Plan Provision	Third Plan Provision
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
107·12	111·27	124·65	283·89	233·89	748·32	714·71	1,674·00
29·47	65·69	76·54	93·52	86·13	351·35	495·86	865·00
0·98	3.91	5·82	12·56	15·15	38·42	35·88	159·00
0·98	3·91	5·82	12·56	15·15	38·42	35·88	100·00
119·55	119·91	125·20	180·93	209·40	754·99	9·20	1,030·00
1·45	2·70	3·9	4·50	4·74	17·36	19·61	22·00
3·62	1·36	4·85	4·00	7·00	21·83	23·75	34·00
5·79	6·75	2·77	1·50	1·15	17·96	47·00	25·00
1·81	2·37	2·82	(2·38	13·58	23·96	22·00	116·00
13·29	21·19	18·94	12·73	6·62	72·67	95.00	50.00

104. *Education.*—In a developing economy, education has a determining influence on the rate of economic progress. Economic development makes growing demands on human resources and calls for values and attitude in the building up of which the quality and quantity of education is an important element. It is the system of education which, if properly modelled and directed, keeps the wheels of economic development forging ahead. By and large, it has been generally stated that the old system of education requires re-orientation to make it fit in with the era of planning and development. Great emphasis was laid on basic education, diversification of secondary education, improvement of the standard of collegiate and university education, expansion of facilities for technical and vocational education and implementation of programes of social education and cultural development. But whatever may be the system of education, the ultimate goal is the acquisition of learning and proficiency in the arts, sciences and technology. In a democratic set-up with adult franchise, literacy is the most indispensable ingredient of progress. There is also the great need for giving education to under-developed communities who lacked opportunities in the past.

105. With the above objects in view, a sum of Rs. 113.58 lakhs was spent in the First Five Year Plan against the provision of Rs. 111.15 lakhs, and in the Second Plan a sum of Rs. 748.32 lakhs was spent against the provision of Rs. 714.71 lakhs for education. The provision in the Third Plan has reached a record figure of Rs. 1674.00 lakhs which is more than double the expenditure in the Second Plan. The large provision in the Third Plan is said to be mainly due to the proposed introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all children in the age group 6-11 years. Data regarding the achievements under this head have already been given in my chapter on Literacy and Education.

106. *Medical and Public Health.*—From the above table it may be seen that a sum of Rs. 193.41 lakhs was spent in the First Plan against the provision of Rs. 186.71 lakhs, and a sum of Rs. 351.35 lakhs was spent at the end of the Second Plan against the provision of Rs 495.86 lakhs. Thus in the First Plan there is an excess, and in the Second Plan there is a shortfall of expenditure. The general aim of health programmes is to expand facilities for health services to cover as large a population as possible and to promote a progressive improvement in the level of health. The programme covered by these expenditures related to the establishment of institutional facilities, development of technical man-power resources through appropriate training programme and employment of persons trained, control of communicable diseases, improvement of environmental hygiene and sanitation, family planning and other supporting programmes including ayurvedic and homeopathic systems of medicines. During the First Plan, the health activities were generally confined to urban areas of the State in continuation and extension of the schemes already initiated during the post-war period. Apart from the Assam Medical College which was finished and equipped during the last decade, many hospitals and dispensaries were also established in many parts of the State. The National Malaria Eradication Programme has been such a success that malaria is no longer a great killer. Many communicable diseases like cholera, small pox and kala-azar, which used to sweep off a large population in previous decades, have been controlled to a very great extent.

107. The net result of all these health activities is that the death rate has been brought down to a very great extent while the birth rate has either remained constant or has shown some improvement. The result is a big increase in population as is given by the 1961 Census.

108. The following is table 12.18 showing the number of hospitals and dispensaries in the State as well as in all the districts of Assam. The figures in the table speak for themselves and do not appear to call for any comments.

Number of Hospitals and Dispensaries in the State and the Districts

TABLE 12.18

(*Base* : 1950-51 = 100)

Region	1950-51		1955-56		1960-61		1965-66 (Target)	
	Actual	Index	Actual	Index	Actual	Index	Actual	Index
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
State—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries .	221	100	361	163·34	704	318 55	620	280·54
(ii) Beds	2,485	100	2,801	112 71	3,490	140·44	5,597	225·23
(iii) Primary Health Units .	2	100	17	850·00	32	1,600·00	N.A.	
Districts—								
1. Goalpara—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	18	100	44	244·44	97	538·88	94	522 22
(ii) Beds	94	100	139	147·87	151	160·63	236	251·06
(iii) Primary Health Units .	..	..	..	..	..	..	N.A.	
2. Kamrup—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	34	100	60	176·47	137	402·94	128	376·47
(ii) Beds	177	100	274	154·80	329	185·87	1,095	618·64
(iii) Primary Health Unit .	.		7		10		N.A.	
3. Darrang—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	18	100	31	172 22	65	361·11	65	361·11
(ii) Beds	875	100	879	100 45	969	110 74	1,068	122·05
(iii) Primary Health Unit .	..		2		6		N.A.	
4. Nowgong—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries	25	100	35	140	69	216	67	268
(ii) Beds	67	100	76	133·43	67	100	114	170·14
(iii) Primary Health Units .	..		..		5		N.A.	
5. Sibsagar—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	38	100	57	150	81	213·15	76	200
(ii) Beds	207	100	209	100 96	209	100·96	302	145·89
(iii) Primary Health Units .	N.A.		N.A.		N.A.		N.A.	
6. Lakhimpur—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	19	100	28	147·36	50	263·15	47	247·36
(ii) Beds	487	100	530	108 82	757	155·44	850	174·53
(iii) Primary Health Units .	2	100	2	100	4	200	N.A.	
7. Cachar—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries	14	100	31	221·42	49	350	48	342·85
(ii) Beds	125	100	125	100	182	145·60	836	688·80
(iii) Primary Health Units .	..		..		..		N.A.	
8. Garo Hills—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	13	100	18	138·46	41	315·38	27	207·69
(ii) Beds	111	100	132	118·91	182	163·96	220	198·19
(iii) Primary Health Units .	..		1		2		N.A.	

TABLE 12·18—*concld.* (*Base* . 1950-51=100)

Region	1950-51		1955 56		1960-61		1965-66 (Target)	
	Actual	Index	Actual	Index	Actual	Index	Actual	Index
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. United Khasi-Jaintia Hills—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	17	100	24	141 17	46	270 58	29	170·58
(ii) Beds	191	100	269	140 83	412	215 70	559	292·67
(iii) Primary Health Units .								
10. UnitedMikir & North Cachar Hills—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	10	100	15	150	35	350	21	210
(ii) Beds	27	100	34	125 92	86	318 51	120	444·44
(iii) Primary Health Units .	..		..		..		N.A.	
11. Mizo Hills—								
(i) Hospital and Dispensaries.	15	100	18	120	34	226·66	18	120
(ii) Beds	124	100	134	108 06	146	117·74	197	158·87
(iii) Primary Health Units .	..		5		5		N.A.	

Note :—1960-61 figures include dispensaries maintained by Local Bodies.
N.A. means " data not available ".

109. *Housing.*—Under the various housing schemes, it was possible, during the Second Plan period, to complete the construction of 900 houses under the low income group housing scheme, 279 tenements under the industrial housing scheme, and 28 houses under the plantation labour housing scheme. Under the slum clearance scheme and the middle income group housing scheme, 362 tenements and 14 houses respectively were under various stages of construction. Under the rural housing scheme, 42 villages were selected for implementation of the scheme. The progress under the plantation labour housing scheme was slow mainly due to difficulty of the planters to offer adequate security against loans admissible under the scheme.

110. *Welfare of Backward Classes.*—The description "backward classes" is commonly applied to the following four sections of the population:—

(1) Scheduled tribes living in the hills and plains,

(2) Scheduled castes,

(3) Communities formerly described as "criminal tribes",

(4) Other socially and educationally backward classes.

111. In Assam there is no community falling under the category of 'criminal tribes'. Of the remaining groups, the scheduled tribes constitute the largest group among the backward classes. The great majority of this population live in the autonomous hill districts of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Mikir Hills, North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills covering an area of 22,732 square miles against 47,257 square miles comprising the total area of the State. They are popularly known as the hill tribals. 953,310 scheduled tribes, according to the 1961 Census, live in the plains either in pockets or mixed with the other population of the State. They are known as the plains tribals. There are 732,756 scheduled castes population, according to the 1961 Census, who live interspersed with the general population of the State. The other backward classes are actually part and parcel of the general population. While the hills tribals are concentrated

in the five autonomous hills districts of the State, the plains tribals, scheduled castes and other backward classes form part of the total population of the plains districts.

112. The problem of the backward classes vary from one section to another section, each section having its own special problems. During the pre-independence period these sections of the population were left to their own devices and it was only after independence that a comprehensive programme for the development of all these under-developed and backward people was taken up. One of the directive principles of State policy laid down by the Constitution is that the State shall promote with special care the educational, social and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and exploitation. To give effect to the aforesaid directive, Article 275 of the Constitution has provided for grants-in-aid out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the cost of schemes of development undertaken to promote the welfare of such tribes and to raise the level of administration in the tribal areas to that of the other areas of the State. Accordingly welfare measures initiated under the general plan are being supplemented by special programmes under Article 275 of the Constitution for these classes of the population. The development programmes under Article 275 of the Constitution may be broadly grouped under four heads—

(a) Communications,
(b) Education and culture,
(c) Development of tribal economy, and
(d) Health and water supply.

113. The First Five Year Plan aimed at meeting the inescapable, and by far the most special, needs of these sections of the population. The Second Five Year Plan broadly followed the lines of those adopted under the First Plan. The Third Plan substantially retains the same approach with this difference that economic development *per se* is sought to be given a somewhat higher emphasis in terms of implementation of the programmes.

114. The allocations for these sections of the population under the three plan periods are as follows:

(*Rs. in lakhs*)

	First Plan		Second Plan		Third Plan
	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation	Expenditure	Allocation
1	2	3	4	5	6
Scheduled Tribes—					
(*a*) Hills	343 54	313 02	703 00	540 25	710·00
(*b*) Plains	121 00	104 58	199 50	178·56	225·00
Scheduled Castes	8 00	7 80	47·50	37·18	60·00
Other Backward Classes	..	..	..	..	35·00
TOTAL	472·54	425·40	950·00	755·99	1,030·00

115. During the Second Plan period the Government of India appointed a Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission under the Chairmanship of Shri U. N. Dhebar. The financial provisions for scheduled tribes under the annual plans may be reviewed according to the recommendations of the Commission.

116. The following are some of the development works carried out in the first Two Plans for the Welfare of the Backward Classes.

117. *Communications.*—The major problems in the hill areas are communications. These areas are sparsely populated, they have heavy rainfall, they abound in forests and the communications are very difficult and limited to allow for the basic amenities to reach the people. The partition of the country had greatly disrupted the economy of the Garo Hills, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills

and the Mizo district, because the produce of these districts used to be exported to the adjoining districts of East Bengal. Perishable products like oranges, pineapples, pan leaves and forest produce like bamboo, bay leaves and timber used to find a ready market in East Bengal, and such produce could conveniently be transported to East Bengal markets through the various rivers and streams flowing from the hills to the plains. The trade across the borders had suffered in varying degrees since the partition of the country and the people of the borders had lost their purchasing power. A long-term solution for the restoration of the economy of these areas lies in the construction of roads to link the border areas with the important marketing centres in Assam. In the First Five Year Plan, 15 roads were constructed with a total mileage of about 350 miles entailing an expenditure of Rs. 163 24 lakhs. During the Second Plan, 25 roads with a total mileage of 600 miles were taken up at an estimated cost of Rs. 377.36 lakhs out of which only Rs. 234.41 lakhs had actually been incurred till 31st March 1961. The progress on these roads was rather slow and most of them may be completed only till the end of the Third Plan. In the plains tribal areas, there is not much difficulty regarding communications because plains tribals live along with other plains people. However, 10 big road projects and 60 small village roads had been constructed at an estimated expenditure of Rs. 83.04 lakhs.

118. *Education and Culture.*—No data are available regarding the expenditure on education for the Welfare of the Backward Classes for the First Five Year Plan, but the expenditure for the Second Five Year Plan was Rs. 117.21 lakhs. The most spectacular help for the education of tribals was the liberal grant of scholarships to all tribal students for college education. In the First Plan about 1,000 scholarships, and in the Second Plan about 6,755 scholarships, were given under the scheme. A good deal of money was also spent for grants-in-aid to primary, middle and high schools in the tribal areas and a number of Government schools was also established in these areas. These expenditures have greatly helped the spread of literacy and education in the hill areas.

119. *Economic Uplift.*—The main activity under this head related to the attempt to help in replacing shifting cultivation by a more settled system of cultivation. Some cottage industries centres had also been established for encouraging subsidiary industries like bee-keeping, basket-making, sericulture, spinning and weaving and the manufacture of palm gur. How far the expenditures for helping the tribal people in the sphere of agriculture and industry have been a real benefit to the people cannot be gauged. All that the departments concerned have been able to supply is a number of schemes undertaken and the expenditures incurred, but no evaluation or socio-economic survey has been undertaken to assess the real impacts of these expenditures on the economy of the tribal areas. To the layman, it however appears that the lot of the cultivators, especially the tribal ones, has not improved

120. *Health and Water Supply.*—In the sphere of health, 25 dispensaries were started during the First Plan; and during the Second Plan, 22 more dispensaries and 6 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres were taken up besides those taken up during the First Five Year Plan. Grants-in-aid for constructing drinking water projects were given and 5 sizeable projects had also been provided. In the sphere of health, some tangible benefits have accrued to the tribal people.

121. *Other Schemes.*—Various development schemes were taken up under Social Welfare, Labour Welfare, Statistics, Publicity and Aid to Local Bodies. Under the Social Welfare programme, 3 State Homes and 4 District Shelter Centres were opened for the benefit of ex-convicts. Construction was also under way for the establishment of a Borstall Institute and a Vagrant Home. Twentytwo Welfare Extension Projects were opened for the benefit of women and children, of which 10 were converted into the co-ordinated pattern. These projects were opened through the State Social Welfare Board. Grants-in-aid to 420 voluntary organisations, engaged in social welfare work, were given. Ten candidates were sent for training in the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. Under the Labour Welfare Schemes, one training centre for the training of female workers and another for training of male workers were functioning at

Mezenga and Rowria respectively. Nine community centres for plantation workers and one centre for industrial workers also started functioning. Grants-in-aid were given to the Assam Seva Samity for running 10 welfare centres for craft-training and blacksmithy. Under the employment service programme, there were 8 employment exchanges, 12 units for collection of employment market information, 1 unit for occupational research and analysis and 2 units for vocational guidance and counselling functioning at the end of the quinquennium. The Directorate of Statistics and the Directorate of Information and Public Relation were strengthened and district offices were opened. Loan assistance was continued to the Local Bodies for improvement of water supply and improvement of hats and bazars.

INCOME, INVESTMENT, SAVINGS AND CONSUMPTION.

122. As the decade covered by the 1961 Census coincided with the first two Five Year Plans, the Registrar General decided that an attempt should be made to appraise the impact of these two Plans on the economy of the State. In this chapter as well as in some previous chapters, indications have been given about the impact of these two Plans. For example, the impact of expenditure on education has already been fully dealt with in the chapter on Literacy and Education. In Chapter I—Introducing the State—various indications and evaluations have also been given regarding the achievements. In many cases in this chapter, it has been stated that apart from showing the plan expenditures, no assessment could be made regarding the impact of these investments. But the assessment of the impact of the two Five Year Plans can, to some extent, be done with the help of suitable selected economic indicators like the State income, the per capita income and indices of production of various agricultural and industrial commodities during the last decade. Production in the sphere of agricultural and industrial sectors have already been discussed, because it is easier to assess the impact of the plan expenditures on agriculture and industry by taking the figures of production as well as of importation of foodgrains etc. As regards the State income, investment, savings and consumption, I think I should reproduce what has been said by the Department of Economics and Statistics in this respect as the subject has already been comprehensively dealt with by this department by way of appraisal. The following is a reproduction of their appraisal:—

123. National income estimates provide the most comprehensive single indicator of the level of development of a country or a part thereof. Strictly speaking, the estimates of national income of India and the State income of different States as these are now compiled are not comparable. The former relates to income accruing to the nationals of the country while the latter relates to income originating within the respective geographical boundaries of the States. Nevertheless the rates of growth of the national income and State income provide a fair basis for comparing the relative growth of the economies.

124. Assam accounts for 2.5 per cent. of India's national income as against 2.7 per cent. of its population.

Estimates of per capita income (in Rupees)

TABLE 12.19

Years	At 1948-49 prices		At current prices	
	Assam	India	Assam	India
1	2	3	4	5
1950-51	255·5	247·5	291·6	266·5
1955-56	268·0	267·8	274·1	255·0
1956-57	261·7	275·6	294·3	283·3
1957-58	253·6	267·3	290·4	279·6
1958-59	257·4	280·1	309·5	303·3
1959-60	247·3	279·2	305·3	304·8
1960-61	253·9	293·7	311·4	326·2
1961-62	260·4	293·4	319·1	329·7
1962-63*	253·4	294·2	319·6	..

*Provisional estimates.

125. *India and Assam Comparison.*—In 1950-51, according to the estimates of income, the per capita income in Assam, in terms of 1948-49 prices, was Rs. 255.5, while that of India was Rs. 247.5. At the end of the First Plan, the level was Rs. 268.0 in Assam and Rs. 267.8 in India; and by the end of the Second Plan, the *per capita* income in India has gone up to Rs. 293.7, while in the case of Assam it has gone down to Rs. 253.9, a level even lower than in 1950-51. At current prices also, the movement of per capita income has not been very much different. These are indicated below:

126. The State income of Assam, that is the income within the geographical boundary of Assam, rose by 7 7 per cent in the First Plan. In terms of constant prices the rise was 19.8 per cent.

127. In the Second Plan, the State income at current prices increased by another 32.8 per cent. But in terms of constant prices the rise was less spectacular being only 10.7 per cent.

128. In 1961-62 and 1962-63, the State income at current prices, increased by 5.9 per cent. and 2 9 per cent, respectively. At constant prices, the State income rose by 6.0 per cent. in 1961-62 but declined by 0.1 per cent. in 1962-63

129. *Trends in Assam.*—At both current and constant prices, the rise in the per capita income has not been continuous. Whenever the increase in income was less than the projected increase of population, the level of per capita income went down In terms of constant prices, such falls occurred in the years 1951-52, 1953-54, 1956-57, 1957-58 and in terms of current prices falls in per capita income were recorded in 1952-53, 1953-54, 1955-56, 1957-58, and 1959-60. According to preliminary estimates for 1962-63 in terms of current price, the per capita income increased by a nominal amount while in terms of constant prices it fell appreciably.

The trends of State income over the past decade are shown below

TABLE 12.20

Years	Total income (Rs incrores)		Per capita income (Rs.)	
	At current price	At 1948-49 price	At current price	At 1948-49 price
1	2	3	4	5
1950-51	254 4	223 6	291 6	255.5
1955-56	274 0	267 9	274 1	268·0
1956-57	303 2	269 6	294 3	261·7
1957-58	308 4	269 3	290 4	253·6
1958-59	339 1	282 0	309·5	257·4
1959-60	345 2	279 6	305·3	247·3
1960-61	363 8	296 6	311 4	253·9
1961-62*	385.2	314.3	319,1	26[illegible]
1962-63*	396.2	314.1	319.6	253.4

*Provisional Estimates.

130. *Sectoral distribution of income.*—In 1950-51 both at current and constant prices, agriculture and allied pursuits accounted for more than 55 per cent. of the total income. The transformation of Assam from an agrarian to a diversified economy has been slow. In 1960-61, the share of agriculture and allied enterprises has come down to just over 45 per cent. With intensified efforts in the third and the succeeding plans the process of

transformation will perhaps be quickened. The composition of the State income and the changes that have taken place over the decade can be seen from the table below:

Distribution of national income by industrial origin (in per entage)

TABLE 12.21

Sectors	At Current prices					At 1948-49 Price				
	1950 -51	1955 -56	1960 -61	1961 -62	1962 -63	1950 -51	1955 -56	1960 -61	1961 -62	1962 -63
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
AGRICULTURE—										
1. Agriculture . . .	51·4	41·9	38·7	38·5	35·3	51·9	49·3	40·5	39·9	36·2
2. Livestock . . .	2·3	4·1	4·0	4·1	4·1	2·6	4·0	5·3	5·2	4·5
3. Forestry . . .	0·7	0·9	1·9	2·0	2·0	1·0	1·2	1·7	1·6	2·0
4. Fishery	1·0	0·9	0·8	0·9	0·9	1·0	0·8	0·7	0·6	0·7
TOTAL—[(1) to (4)] .	55·4	47·8	45·4	45·5	42·3	56·5	55·3	48·2	47·3	43·4
MINING AND MANUFACTURING—										
5. Mining	1·1	1·6	1·6	1·6	2·3	1·3	0·9	1·0	1·1	1·4
6. Tea*	18·4	18·9	15·4	15·2	16·0	14·2	12·4	11·5	12·6	11·9
7. Factory establishment .	2·1	2·5	2·4	2·3	2·6	2·5	2·9	3 2	3·2	4·1
8. Small enterprise . .	6·2	7·0	7·7	7·7	7·8	6 8	7·8	8·5	8·3	8·3
TOTAL—[(5) to (8)] .	27·8	30·0	27·1	26·8	28·7	24·8	24·0	24·2	25·2	25·7
COMMERCE, TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION—										
9. Banking, insurance and other financial business.	0·1	0·1	0·2	0·3	0·3	0·1	0·1	0 3	0·3	0·3
10. Railways and State Transport.	1·0	1·2	2·3	2·5	2·8	1·1	1·2	2·8	3·1	4·0
11. Other commerce and transport.	8·4	10·2	11·9	11·9	12·1	9·3	9·4	10·1	9·9	10·1
12. Communication . .	0·2	0·2	0·3	0·3	0·3	0·2	0·2	0·3	0·3	0·4
TOTAL—[(9) to (12)] .	9·7	11·7	14·7	15·0	15·5	10·7	10·9	13·5	13·6	14·8
OTHER SERVICES —										
13. Profession & liberal arts.	1·9	2·5	3·8	3·7	3·8	2·1	2·1	3·9	3·[illegible]	5·9
14. Public administration .	2·0	4·2	4·9	4·9	5·5	2·3	4·3	6·0	6·0	6·2
15. Domestic & other services	2·6	3·2	3·3	3·3	3·4	3·0	2·8	3·3	3·3	3·0
16. House property .	0·6	0 6	0·8	0·8	0·8	0·6	0·6	0·9	0·9	1·0
TOTAL—[(13) to (16)] .	7·1	10·5	12·8	12·7	13·5	8·0	9·8	14·1	13·9	16·1
TOTAL—Income .	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

*Tea sector covers both plantation and manufacturing.

131. *Share of districts in State income.*— District-wise distribution of the provisional State income estimate for the year 1960-61 was worked out by the method of allocation for obtaining an idea of the relative position of the districts. It will be seen from the table below that Lakhimpur contributed the highest share to the State income followed

closely by Kamrup and Sibsagar. It will also be seen that Mizo, Garo, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills contributed the least with less than 2 per cent. each.

132. Of the districts, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar are the most industrialised, the share of the mining and manufacturing sector in total income in these districts was 51 and 33 per cent. respectively. In Mizo, the share of the industry sector was less than one per cent.

133. From the point of view of per capita income, Lakhimpur district again tops the list with a per capita income of Rs. 417 followed by Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Rs. 373 and Sibsagar with Rs. 346. The per capita income was found to be lowest in the Garo Hills with only Rs. 192. The tables below give an idea of the relative position of the districts:

District-wise allocation of State income for 1960-61

TABLE 12.22

District 1	Total income (Rs millions) 2	Percentage to State income 3	Per capita income Rs. 4
Cachar	401·3	11·2	295
Goalpara	355 9	10·0	236
Kamrup	612 7	17·1	302
Darrang	396 2	11·1	312
Nowgong	310·0	8·7	261
Sibsagar	515 9	14·4	346
Lakhimpur	639 8	17·9	417
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	169 9	4·7	373
Garo Hills	58 5	1·6	192
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	64 0	1 8	234
Mizo Hills	53·6	1·5	206
TOTAL	3577·8	100·0	307

Sectoral percentage distribution of district income for 1960-61

TABLE 12.23

District 1	Agriculture and allied activities 2	Tea Industry 3	Other mining and manufacturing 4	Commerce transport and communication 5	Public services 6	Other services 7	Total (2) to (7) 8
Cachar	43·2	13·5	10·3	15·9	4·5	12·6	100·0
Goalpara	62·9	1·4	14·6	9·0	3·5	8·6	100·0
Kamrup	51·9	0·5	14 8	19 5	4·6	8 7	100·0
Darrang	54·9	20·0	6·1	8 7	3·5	6·8	100·0
Nowgong	62 5	4 2	9 3	13·7	3·5	6·8	100·0
Sibsagar	41·4	26·4	6 4	15·1	4·3	6·9	100·0
Lakhimpur	26·4	33·2	18·2	14 2	2·4	5·6	100·0
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	46·0	..	9·7	11·8	20·4	12·1	100·0
Garo Hills	78·3	..	1·7	7·5	8·7	3·8	100·0
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills.	71·5	3·0	1·7	9·3	10·6	3·9	100·0
Mizo Hills	76·9	..	0 9	5·6	12·9	3·7	100·0
TOTAL ASSAM	48·1	14·1	11·4	13·8	4·9	7·7	100·0

CAPITAL FORMATION

134. According to estimates recently worked out by the Department of Economics and Statistics, the annual net capital formation in Assam has gone up from Rs. 110 millions in 1950-51 to Rs. 239 millions in 1955-56 and further to Rs. 525 millions in the final year of the Second Plan. The total net capital formation in the First and Second Plan periods aggregated Rs. 689 millions and Rs. 1504 millions respectively.

135. An analysis of capital formation by type shows that construction accounted for a large part of asset formation in the State and has been absorbing increasing amounts of

capital outlay almost throughout the period of the first Two Plans. The share of construction in gross fixed asset formation has gone up from 69.9 per cent. in 1950-51 to 79.7 per cent. in 1955-56 and 82.0 per cent. in 1960-61. Though in absolute terms, investment in machinery and equipment has been increasing the relative share has gone on declining from 30.1 per cent to 18.0 per cent. over the ten-year period.

136. Over the decade 1950-51 to 1960-61, capital formation in both the private and public sectors had increased appreciably, but the increase in the public sector has been more spectacular. Gross capital formation in the private sector increased from Rs. 112 millions in 1950-51 to Rs. 148 millions in 1955-56 and Rs. 337 millions in 1960-61. In the public sector the increase was from Rs. 64 millions to Rs. 367 millions over the ten-year period.

137. The share of the public sector in gross capital formation as well as in the fixed asset formation has been consistently rising. In gross capital formation, the share of the public sector has risen from 36.4 per cent. in 1950-51 to an average of 45.4 per cent. in the First Plan period (1951-56) and to 52.4 per cent. in the Second Plan period. In fixed asset formation, the share of the public sector has gone up from 30.8 per cent. in 1950-51 to 48.2 per cent. during 1951-56 and to 55.9 per cent. during 1956-61. The shares of the private sectors have correspondingly declined. But during the decade (1951-61), the private sector has put in as much as the public sector.

138. In relation to the State (national) income also, the net capital formation has been steadily rising over the decade 1951-61. From 4.3 per cent. of the net State income in 1950-51, the net capital formation has gone up to 8.7 per cent. in 1955-56 and 14.44 per cent. in 1960-61. During the period 1951-59, the rise was moderate, but the proportion went up to 9.5 per cent. in 1959-60 and then jumped further to 14.4 per cent. in 1960-61. The sudden stride in the last two years of the Second Plan was due to heavy capital outlays on construction works in connection with the Saraighat Bridge, the Noonmati Refinery and the Pipe Line Project of Oil India Limited. The table below summarises the position of capital formation in the State.

(In million rupees when not otherwise stated)

TABLE 12.24

Items 1	1950-51 2	1955-56 3	Total First Plan 4	1960-61 5	Total Second Plan 6	Total First and Second Plans 7
1. Gross fixed asset formation	146	310	1,041	677	2,034	3,075
(a) Construction	102	247	791	555	1,650	2,441
(b) Machinery and equipment	44	63	250	122	384	634
2. Increase in stocks	30	24	59	27	139	198
3. Gross Capital formation	176	331	110	704	2,173	3,273
4. Depreciation	66	95	411	179	669	1,080
5. Net capital formation	110	239	689	325	1,504	2,193
6. Share of public sector in gross capital formation.	64	186	499	367	1,138	1,637
(a) fixed assets	45	179	502	387	1,136	1,638
(b) inventory	19	7	(—)3	(—)2	2	(—)1
7. Share of private sector on gross capital formation.	112	148	601	337	1,035	1,636
(a) fixed assets	101	131	539	290	898	1,437
(b) inventory	11	17	62	47	137	199
8. Index of growth (1950-51=100) fixed capital formation.	100·0	212·3	..	463·7	..	..
(a) construction	100·0	242.2	..	544·1	..	..
(b) machinery and equipment	100·0	143·2	..	277·3	..	..

N.B.—Public Sector in this study includes Central, State and local government, departmental commercial enterprises' government commercial undertaking run through boards and companies with majority of shares under Government.

139. *Joint Stock Companies.*—Nineteen companies were registered in Assam in 1962-63 as against fifteen in the previous year. Registration of new companies in Assam over the past few years was as below:—

Registration of Joint Stock Companies in Assam

TABLE 12.25

Years	No of Companies			Authorised capital (Rs. '000)		
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1956-57	1	8	9	1,000	2,620	3,620
1957-58 . .	1	20	21	50,000	5,910	55,910
1958-59	..	17	17		505,935	505,935
1959-60	2	12	14	15,000	14,430	29,430
1960-61	1	4	5	500	1,150	1,650
1961-62	2	13	15	25,000	28,370	53,370
1962-63	6	13	19	13,550	5,290	18,840

The growth of Joint Stock Companies in Assam can be seen from Table below :

TABLE 12.26

Years	No of Companies at work			Authorised capital (Rs millions)			Capital paid-up (Rs. millions)		
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1956-57 . . .	109	260	369	267 2	86 8	354 0	15·3	34 8	50·1
1957-58 . .	105	260	365	206 7	89 3	296·0	17 8	36·4	54·2
1958-59 . .	95	256	351	204 9	593 9	798 8	18 2	37·6	55·8
1959-50 . . .	94	264	358	205 2	606 7	811·9	19·8	220·0	239·8
1960-61 . . .	92	261	353	209 6	594 3	803·9	22·3	252·5	274·8
1961-62 . . . (Provisional).	93	271	364	210 2	594·9	805·1	55·3	253·1	308·4
1962-63 . . . (Provisional).	95	276	371	210·2	595·5	805·7	59·5	258·0	317·5

140. *Bank Deposit.*—Deposits with 61 branches of nine banking institutions doing business in Assam at the end of 1960 were estimated at Rs. 146 millions as against Rs. 93 millions in 1958. Nearly three-fifths fell into the demand category, about one-fourth were time deposits and the rest savings deposits.

141. Fifty two per cent. of the current deposits in 1960 belonged to business and 53 per cent. of time deposits were credited to Government and semi-Government accounts. Personal deposits accounted for 29 per cent. of demand deposits, 34 per cent. of time deposits and 81 per cent. of savings deposits idea of the relative position of the district:

Deposits with banks in Assam by type of ownership

TABLE 12.27

(*In million rupees*)

	1958	1959	1960
A. Demand Deposits—			
1. Business	25·7 (45·9)	31·6 (48·1)	45·9 (52·0)
2. Personal	20·3 (36·3)	22·3 (34·0)	25·6 (29·0)
3. Government and *semi*-Government	5·0 (8·9)	6·2 (9·5)	8·1 (9·3)
4. Other and unclassified	4·9 (8·9)	5·4 (8·3)	8·6 (9·7)
TOTAL	55·9 (100·0)	65·5 (100·0)	88·2 (100·0)
B. Time Deposits—			
1. Business	2·3 (13·3)	2·0 (11·5)	3·2 (9·3)
2. Personal	9·0 (52·6)	11·4 (44·2)	12·0 (34·4)
3. Government, etc.	4·1 (23·7)	10·3 (40·2)	18·6 (53·3)
4. Others, etc.	1·7 (10·4)	1·0 (4·2)	1·0 (3·0)
TOTAL	17·1 (100·0)	25·7 (100·0)	34·8 (100·0)
C. Savings Deposits—			
1. Personal	14·8 (74·9)	16·5 (74·4)	19·2 (81·4)
2. Others	4·9 (25·1)	5·7 (25·6)	4·4 (18·6)
TOTAL	19·7 (100·0)	22·2 (100·0)	23·6 (100·0)

Figures in brackets are percentages to totals.

141. According to an unofficial study, bank deposits in Assam have increased by 340 per cent. between 1951 and 1962 from Rs. 44 millions to Rs. 193.5 millions. On the credit side, bank advance has increased by 437 per cent. from Rs. 10 millions to 53.7 millions over the same period.

142. A further analysis of bank credit also reveals an interesting situation. The following table gives the distribution of bank advances by type of security.

TABLE 12.28

Security	In per cent
Food articles	13
Industrial raw materials	18
Plantation products	4
Manufacturers and minerals	50
Others	15
	100

143. *Small Savings.*—In the matter of mobilization of small savings, Assam occupied the fifth place among the States of India. Gross collections increased from Rs. 85 2 millions in 1959-60 to Rs. 107.0 millions in 1961-62 and Rs. 109.7 millions in 1962-63. Small Savings collections over and past years were as below:—

TABLE 12.29

(*In thousand rupees*)

Years	Gross	Net
1959-60	85,219	25,354
1960-61	95,178	35,045
1961-62	1,06,972	42,669
1962-63	1,09,676	38,423
1963-64 (up to December, 1963).	77,970	30,962

144. Among the districts, Khasi and Jaintia Hills heads the list in both gross and net collection and accounted for about one-third of the gross collections and more than half of the net collections in Assam in 1962-63 District-wise collections since 1959-60 are shown below:

TABLE 12.30

(*In thousand rupees*)

District	1959-60		1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64 (up to December 1963)	
	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Goalpara	5,673	765	6,987	1,528	5,331	516	10,381	925	4,844	875
Kamrup	12,308	2,021	16,131	3,699	15,849	3,345	16,970	1,638	9,655	1,666
Darrang	5,160	958	5,932	1,577	7,276	1,927	8,153	630	5,548	1,287
Nowgong	6,543	1,132	8,025	2,448	8,096	1,071	8,156	480	5,863	592
Sibsagar	16,789	1,327	12,302	1,923	13,269	1,342	12,914	1,923	7,945	1,857
Lakhimpur	9,044	2,011	9,631	2,539	10,394	3,113	9,120	1,556	[illegible]	3,151
Cachar	9,866	1,204	11,095	2,414	12,728	4,076	11,185	640	9,713	2,302
United Khasi-Jaintia Hills	18,299	14,060	23,431	18,592	31,789	26,847	35,669	29,759	22,997	18,886
Garo Hills	707	221	550	162	994	149	1,704	49	1,308	285
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills.	219	52	373	80	286	89	367	10	300	72
Mizo Hills	610	103	721	82	959	195	809	85	739	[illegible]
TOTAL	85,220	23,854	95,178	35,045	106,972	42,669	109,676	38,423	77,970	30,962

TABLE 12.31

The preference of the investors amongst the different types of securities is indicated below :—

(In thousand of rupees)

Securities (1)	1960-61 Gross (2)	1960-61 Net (3)	1961-62 Gross (4)	1961-62 Net (5)	1962-63 Gross (6)	1962-63 Net (7)	1963-64 (up to December 1963) Gross (8)	1963-64 (up to December 1963) Net (9)
1. National Plan Savings Certificates.	27,102 (28·5)	20.475 (58·5)	33,378 (31·2)	28,936 (67·7)	22,255 (20·3)	17,009 (44·2)	..	(—)4,728 (—)(15·3)
2. Post Office Savings Bank	67,599 (71·0)	14,093 (40·2)	71,384 (66·7)	11,524 (27·0)-	70,528 (64·3)	4,534 (11·7)	50,126 (64·3)	7,556 (24·4)
3. Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates.	173 (0·2)	173 (0·5)	1,678 (1·6)	1,678 (4.0)	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
4. Annuity Certificates . .	..	..	150 (0·1)	150 (0·4)	3 (—)	3 (—)	..	..
5. Cummulative Time Deposit .	305 (0·3)	305 (0·8)	382 (0·4)	381 (0·9)	597 (0·5)	584 (1·6)	691 (0·8)	581 (1·9)
6. N.D.C. & D.C.C. . .	..	..	..	..	16,293 (14·9)	16,293 (42·5)	27,153 (34·9)	27,553 (89·0)
TOTAL .	95,178 (100·0)	35,045 (100·0)	1,06,972 (100·0)	42,669 (100·0)	109,676 (100·0)	38,423 (100·0)	77,970 (100·0)	30,962 (100·0)

145. *Personal Consumption Expenditure.*—An idea of the living standard can be obtained from the data on the household consumption expenditure collected in the National Sample Surveys. The monthly per capita expenditure in the rural areas of Assam works out at Rs. 22.42 according to the National Sample Survey—State Sample—14th to 16th rounds (1959-60 to 1961-62). The percentage of the expenditure on food items was 71.3, on clothing 9.2, on fuel and light 5.3, and on the rest 14.2.

146. According to the same survey 0.02 per cent. of the population in the rural areas had a consumption expenditure of Rs. 8 or less per head per month, 46.43 per cent. spent between Rs. 8 and Rs. 21 per month, 48.53 per cent. spent between Rs. 21 and Rs. 55 and 1.50 per cent. spent Rs. 55 or more. The average expenditure for the lowest group comes to 7.14 and that for the highest Rs. 106.28.

147. It would have been interesting to compare the pattern of expenditure in the urban and rural areas from a unified survey covering all sections of the population. But the urban sample size of the NSS does not permit such a comparison. A survey of urban middle class consumption was conducted by the Department of Economics and Statistics during 1960-61. The broad pattern of rural consumption expenditure as revealed by NSS-State Sample 14th to 16th rounds (1959-60 to 1961-62) and the urban consumer

expenditure survey can be seen from the classes is as below :—

Per Capita Consumer expenditure per month

TABLE 12.32

(*In rupees*)

Item group	Rural families NSS 14th to 16th rounds		Urban middle class	
	Expenditure	Per cent	Expenditure	Per cent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Foodgrains	9·98	44 5	8 70	20·8
2. Milk and milk products	0·76	3·4	2·95	7·1
3. Meat, fish and eggs	1·31	5·8	3·57	8·5
4. Edible oils	0·76	3·4	1·62	3·9
5. Sugar and gur	0·58	2·6	1·30	3·1
6. Vegetables, etc.	2·59	11·6	3·98	9·5
Total-food	15·98	71·3	22·12	52·9
7. Liquor, tobacco, etc.	1·24	5·5	1·71	4·1
8. Fuel and light	1·17	5·3	2·49	6·0
9. Clothing	2·07	9·2	2·18	7·1
10. Others	1·96	8·7	13·29	29·9
Total-non-food	6·44	28·7	19·67	47·1
Total	22·42	100·0	41·79	100.0

148. The distribution of the population according to monthly per capita expenditure classes is as below :—

TABLE 12.33

Monthly per capita expenditure (Rs.)	Rural families N.S.S. 16th round		Urban middle class	
	Per cent	Cumulatives Per cent	Per cent	Cumulative per cent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
0—8	0·02	0·02	.	..
8—11	3·47	3·49	..	..
11—13	4·72	8·21	1·54	1·54
13—15	7·80	16·01	1·90	3·44
15—18	14·67	30·68	4·39	7·83
18—21	19·24	49·92	6·59	14·42
21—24	11·53	61·45	6·73	21·15
24—28	13·82	75·27	12·01	33·16
28—34	9·29	84·56	19·69	52·85
34—43	13·79	98·35	16·18	69·03
43—55	0·15	98·50	14·64	83·67
55 and above	1·50	100·00	16·33	100·00
All classes	100·00	..	100·00	..

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS AND INVESTMENT

149. According to the All-India Rural Debt and Investment Survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, the aggregate value of assets per rural household in Assam as on 31st December, 1961 works out at Rs. 3,115. Fixed capital formation per rural household during the period July, 1961 to June, 1962, averaged Rs. 18 in farm business and Re. 1 in non-farm business. Major alteration, additions and new construction of residential houses amounted to Rs. 7 per household during the same period.

150. The amount borrowed during July, 1961—June, 1962 was Rs. 163 per borrowing rural household and average Rs. 33 per household for all rural households. Repayment per involved household during the same period amounted to Rs. 131 and per rural household it averaged Rs. 26.

151. *Value of Assets and outstanding Debt.*—The survey revealed that the proportion of household reporting outstanding loans (at the end of June, 1962) was more than 50 per cent. in all the States except Assam and Orissa.

152. The position regarding outstanding debt can be seen from the following table:—

Value of Assets and Outstanding Debt

TABLE 12.34

Items (1)	Outstanding Debt: Proportion of household reporting (per cent) (2)	Outstanding Debt: Amount per reporting household Rs. (3)	Outstanding Debt: Amount per household Rs. (4)	Value of Assets per household Rs. (5)
Cultivators	41 8	330	138	3,596
Non-cultivators	32 3	409	132	1,646
All rural households	39·5	346	137	3,115

153. The proportion of households reporting outstanding loans was 39.5 per cent. in Assam against the all-India percentage of 62.1.

154. *Borrowing and Repayment.*—The proportion of households reporting, average per household in respect of borrowings and repayments in Assam is given in the table below:—

Borrowings and Repayments

TABLE 12.35

Items (1)	Borrowings: Proportion of household reporting (per cent) (2)	Borrowings: Average per reporting household Rs. (3)	Borrowings: Average per household Rs. (4)	Repayments: Proportion of household reporting (per cent) (5)	Repayments: Average reporting household Rs. (6)	Repayments: Average per household Rs. (7)
Cultivators	20·5	174	36	21·5	132	28
Non-cultivators	18·8	124	23	16·1	126	20
All rural households	29·1	163	33	20·2	131	26

155. In Assam 20.1 per cent. of the rural households reported borrowings during the period covered by the survey as against 49.1 per cent. for all-India. The average amount borrowed per rural household was Rs. 33—the averages for cultivators and non-cultivators being Rs. 36 and Rs. 23 in Assam as against the corresponding all-India averages of Rs. 180, Rs. 205, and Rs. 111 respectively.

PRICE LEVEL AND CONSUMPTION.

156. Assam has already been a high price region for a long time and any price increase in other parts of India, especially in the eastern region, always has the effect of shooting up prices in Assam much more than in other parts of India. Along with the rest of the country, Assam has been experiencing an increasing pressure of prices since the beginning of the Second Plan, and prices are still shooting up in a spiral ever since. I give below table 12.34 showing the Index of Wholesale Prices in Assam from 1954 to 1962 with 1953 as the base = 100.

Index of Wholesale Prices in Assam
(Base 1953 – 100)

TABLE 12.36

Year 1	Food 2	Non-Food 3	General 4
1954 . . .	116·9	114·1	115·9
1955 . . .	101·2	107·7	103·8
1956 . . .	117·9	117·3	117·7
1957 . . .	133·6	128·0	131·8
1958 . . .	130·5	116·7	124·4
1959 . . .	129 2	116·8	123·7
1960 . . .	128·8	136·1	131·2
1961 . . .	130·9	144·8	135·4
1962 . . .	136·2	135·3	135·9

157. In the above table, I have given the index of wholesale prices for Food, Non-Food and General. It may be seen that the wholesale prices in Assam went down from 1954 to 1955, but since 1956 they have been rising steadily. Prices of food affect all people, but more especially in the case of the common man.

158. The index of wholesale price for India (1952-53 = 100) rose by 28.5 per cent. from 99.2 in 1955-56 to 127.5 in 1960-61. For about the same period, the wholesale price index for Assam (base 1953 = 100) was 103.1 in 1955 and 131.2 in 1960, that is an increase of 26.4 per cent. But since Assam was already a high price region, equal rates of increase meant that in absolute terms the different had become wider.

159. In the first year of the Third Plan, the wholesale price index for India went down by 3.6 per cent ; in the case of Assam it went up by 3.2 per cent In the second year, the all-India index went up by 3.6 per cent. and the Assam index practically remained constant. In 1963 the all-India index gained nearly 10 points between January and October, but the Assam index gained nearly twice as much during the same period.

160. Although the general trend was a rising one, prices remained stagnant in some sectors and some other prices were even falling. Indeed, the behaviour of prices in Assam in the recent past was quite confusing. Usually, the price levels in the States follow the all-India trend. But in Assam, transport bottlenecks and unscrupulous trade practices in the case of many commodities, have tended to affect the course of prices giving rise to more erratic fluctuations. In the first three years of the Third Plan, prices have been still going up all the time, particularly in respect of food articles.

POPULATION PROJECTION.

161. In Chapter XII, the main intention is to discuss about economic trends and projections, but as economic development and planning depend upon the size of the population, an attempt has to be made of the likely growth of population for 1971 during which time the next count will be taken. How the population growth can affect economic development can be substantiated by one or two glaring instances. For example, the per capita income for Assam at the end of the First Five Year Plan was estimated to be Rs. 275.5 but, after the publication of the 1961 Census results, it was found to have dwindled down to Rs. 268.0. It has also been estimated in the first two Plans that Assam would be self-sufficient in respect of

foodgrains because of large investments in the field of agriculture, but it was found that towards the end of the Second Five Year Plan, over 143,000 tons of foodgrains had to be imported to feed the population of Assam despite some increase in production due to extensive cultivation. These two examples alone are perhaps sufficient to show that economic planning and development cannot be made without a correct estimate of the size of the population.

162. An attempt to project the growth of population is however fraught with much difficulties and hazards of inaccuracies. Population projection can be much easier if we have the most reliable vital statistics and population data ; but in India as a whole, and in Assam in particular, the registration of vital statistics has gone down from bad to worse from decade to decade. Shri S. P. Jain, the Census Actuary and Deputy Registrar General, observed that 'It is a sad commentary on our present planning that a system of registration which was efficient in some States like Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh and not too deficient in other States like Orissa, Bombay and Madras, even in the early part of the century, should have in these years of development, deteriorated so much that it is of little use'. If the above statement is true of other parts of India which used to have more or less efficient system of registration during the early part of this century, it is perhaps more true of Assam which historically never had any reliable system of registration, and the system has greatly deteriorated during the years of planning. It is said that of all countries in the world, Great Britain has perhaps the largest assemblage of the most reliable population data, extending in a systematic time-series over the longest period in the past. But in spite of those reliable population data, the Royal Commission on Population admitted that of all the jobs that it has to do, the forecasting of the growth of population was the most difficult. So the hazards of projection of population growth are too much for me: nevertheless an attempt has to be made.

163. As vital statistics of Assam are practically of no value, I have to make the forecast on the basis of observed population growths during the last 60 years. At the instance of the Registrar General, a sample fertility survey was made soon after the enumeration of 1961, and the data collected were forwarded to Shri S. P. Jain, Deputy Registrar General, who made a highly commendable study of population growth in the eastern border States of India. My estimate of population growth in Assam for 1971 will therefore be largely based on his observations and analyses of the Census and other data.

164. According to the analyses made by Shri S. P. Jain, the birth rate in Assam is 49.3 for the decade 1951-60 against 46.7 during the decade 1941-50. In both cases, the birth rate in Assam is the highest in India. The general fertility rate in Assam is 253.8 which again is the highest in India. But the death rate in Assam is also the highest in India, it being 26.9 for the decade 1951-60. In 1941-50, the death rate in Assam was 31.8 which is next only to 38.5 of Madhya Pradesh. In 1951-60, the natural increase or excess of births over deaths in Assam is 22.4 (49.3-26.9). Had there been no migration, the population of Assam would have increased only by 22.4 per cent. during the decade, but in Assam there is another big factor which makes all population projections unpredictable. That factor is migration from other neighbouring States, especially from East Pakistan or East Bengal, from where, history has proved, that migration has been continuing from the beginning of the 20th century. In Chapter V, I have reproduced a note of Shri S. P. Jain which scientifically proves that the net migration rate into Assam during the decade 1951-60 is 7.95. Prior to 1961, the migration into Assam per 1,000 population was 3.40 in 1901-10, 8.15 in 1911-20, 4.10 in 1921-30 and 0.68 in 1941-50. These figures prove the unpredictability of the migration figures. But that is quite understandable keeping in mind that it is not possible to predict human behaviour in the urge to migrate.

165. On the basis of the above observed facts and assumption, an attempt will now be made to project the population that is likely to be in Assam on March 1, 1971 when the next Census will be taken. According to present trends and indications, the birth rate in Assam is likely to remain at the same level of 49.3 per thousand, but it may also increase

slightly over this already high rate. The assumption that the birth rate may slightly increase is based on the fact that in 1961, 47.2 per cent. of the female population and 42.7 per cent. of the male population of Assam are below 15 years of age, whereas in 1951, the corresponding percentage for females and males were 43.5 and 40.5 respectively. This extended pyramid base portends a greater increase the number of potential mothers, and therefore in the still higher increase of birth rate. I think I can fairly assume that the birth rate for the decade 1961-70 will be of the order of 50 per thousand.

166. While the birth rate may remain constant, or may even slightly increase, the death rate is likely to decline still further due to better health facilities. It has already been stated that the death rate in Assam was 31.8 in 1941-50 and that it has declined to only 26.9 in the next decade 1951-60. In other words, during the ten years of planning in 1951-60, the death rate has declined by 4.9 per thousand. In the next decade 1961-70, the death rate may further decline to about 22 per thousand. If so, the net neutral increase for 1961-70 will be as high as 28 per thousand. On this assumption, the population will amount of 15,197,148 or 152 lakhs in round figures by March 1, 1971.

167 But in addition to the above natural increase, migration is also a factor which is likely to continue in Assam. People from other parts of India still come to Assam although their numbers may not be big enough to substantially tilt up the scale of population. But migration from East Pakistan has been and is still continuing. It has also been shown by scientific calculation of the population in the Eastern Zone of the sub-continent—that is the Zone consisting of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, West Bengal, East Pakistan and four districts of Bihar—that migration from East Pakistan used to continue in all the bordering States of India. What is amazing is that the exodus of the population from East Pakistan consists not only of non-Muslims but also of a large Muslim population. This exodus is perhaps mainly dictated by economic conditions in Pakistan where the density of population in 1961 is already 979 persons per square mile of land excluding the rivers and lakes. Moreover, the economy of Pakistan is almost entirely agrarian and therefore it has no capacity for sustaining a very big population. It is therefore not surprising that even the Muslim population of East Pakistan are seeking outlets in neighbouring States of India and Burma. But apart from this purely economic consideration, the non-Muslim population of Pakistan are still coming as displaced persons or refugees in large numbers from East Pakistan The non-Muslims are leaving Pakistan because of insecurity of life and property, if not actual prosecution. Even at the time of dictating his report, about one lakh refugees, mostly Tribals and Christians, have already entered Assam between January and March 1964, and there is as yet no sign of any relaxation of the influx. But apart from non-Muslim refugees or migrants, Muslims also have the uncanny ability to surreptitiously enter Assam all along its borders, some of which are jungles, while some are wide riverine areas, through which the Muslims can still come by country boats. Even in the areas where there are neither jungles nor rivers, Muslims can still come by simply crossing the border and then immediately mix with the Muslim population on the Indian side of the border without being detected because there is nothing to differentiate them from Indian Muslims. At the most liberal estimate, there were about 224,000 Muslim infiltrants into Assam during the decade 1951-60, and these are now being evicted. It has already been shown from the note of the Census Actuary in the chapter on Migration that about 719,000 Hindus and Muslims have migrated into Assam during the decade 1951-60 of whom 495,000 are Hindus and 224,000 are Muslims. Even if Pakistani Muslims will no longer come into Assam, the same number of about 500,000 non-Muslims may come into Assam in 1961-70. But unless the present state of insecurity in East Pakistan considerably improves immediately, the number of non-Muslim migrants into Assam may further go up. With their uncanny tactics for infiltration, there is also every possibility that a sizeable number of Muslims may also still come to Assam during 1961-70.

168. On the basis of the above assumptions, the population of Assam on March 1, 1971 will probably be between 15.8 millions

and 16 millions showing a percentage decade variation of 33 per cent. to 35 per cent. This forecast assumes that all non-Muslim migrants from East Pakistan will not go back to Pakistan and that they will also settle within Assam. If, however, a substantial number goes back to Pakistan, or if they are rehabilitated in other parts of India, the percentage may go down correspondingly.

169. Natural increase may be controlled to some extent by family planning and late marriage, but at present, it appears that efforts to control the population by family planning, even on a governmental basis, will be able to touch only the fringe of the problem. Even among the educated persons, family planning has yet shown no sign of perceptible success. There are also no likely signs that the situation will appreciably improve within 1971. Social customs, ignorance, indifference and fatalism still largely control the minds of the people of India, and so improvident maternity is still likely to continue.

170. Had Malthus been alive, he would have shrugged his shoulders at this gloomy picture of people multiplying in geometrical progression and foodgrains multiplying in arithmetical progression. Even a dead Malthus may be turning in his grave at this explosive rate of population growth, but Malthus may also be right in saying that if people do not control their population, nature will do it. Plague, famine and pestilence, the forces of nature such as earthquakes and floods, and man-made calamities like wars may yet reduce the explosive population of India or of Asia as a whole. In that case my prediction will prove untrue.

171. The last point to be considered in this chapter is what impact will this large population have on the economy of the State. In order of priority, the first need of man is food. In some previous paragraphs, I have shown that just at the end of the Second Five Year Plan in 1960-61, the production of cereals, *i.e.*, rice and wheat, in Assam was 1,723,860 tons and 3,030 tons respectively; but in the same year 1960-61, we imported 20,584 tons of rice and 122,784 tons of wheat. We consumed what we have produced plus what we have imported. In other words, we consumed 1,870,258 tons of rice and wheat in 1960-61 when we have a population of 11,872,772. On the basis of the above projection of population by 1971, we shall need between 2,414,000 tons and 2,444,000 tons of rice and wheat by 1971. This calculation is based on the need of 15 ounces of cereals per head per day. Assam is essentially a rice-eating State and the figures of 1961 show that our consumption of cereals consists of 93 per cent. of rice and 7 per cent. of wheat. In the same proportion, we shall need between 2,245,000 tons and 2,273,000 tons of rice and between 169,000 tons and 171,000 tons of wheat by 1971. Will Assam be able to produce this quantity of cereals? According to figures of production given by the Director of Statistics, we produced 17.5 lakh tons of rice in 1960-61; our production during 1961-62 was 17.7 lakh tons, but our production during 1962-63 went down to only 15.7 lakh tons. The production of wheat remained constant at 3,000 tons only during the same period. So unless production of rice and wheat goes up considerably during the remaining years of the decade 1961-70, we shall have to import a huge quantity of rice and wheat, and that means that the resources of the State will be largely spent on the purchase of foodgrains. It has also been shown in the preceding paragraphs that almost all the usable lands in the plains of Assam have already been utilised for rice production. In the hill areas of Assam, increase of rice production will not amount to much because of the terrain and the lack or irrigational facilities. If so, an increase in the production of rice will have to be mostly made by the increase of yield per unit of land. I have already shown that during the 10-year period 1951-60, our yield rate has practically remained constant. The increase in production by an increase of yield is therefore a problem which the State has to face. There is still some scope for extensive cultivation, but that would largely be at the cost of forests and grazing reserves, and the cattle population which is already the most unproductive in India will suffer all the more.

172. Apart from wheat and rice, we had to import almost the entire quantity of our requirements of pulses. The need of pulses and edible oil will also increase with the in-

crease of population. More production is therefore necessary in respect of pulses, rape and mustard also. A balanced diet does not consist of cereals and pulses only, but it should also contain proteins and fats. There is therefore need to produce more vegetables, more milk and more fruits. We also have to change our food habits if there has to be a reduction in the consumption of cereals. Fish is eaten with relish by all in Assam. Fish production, it appears, has been far less than the proportionate increase in population. After food, man also needs clothing. Our requirements of cloths also will increase directly in proportion to the size of the population. The third priority in the list of man's needs is shelter. We will therefore need more houses for the increasing population of the State In the modern age, man's needs increase with the standard of literacy and education A big quantity of consumers' goods will also be necessary for the increase in population This projected population of Assam with all its needs will therefore have a direct effect on the planning and development of Assam, and it will also pose many problems to the State These are hard facts. But they have to be faced.

APPENDIX I

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS

The 1961 Census count will relate to the sunrise of 1st March, 1961. The count will be spread over a period of 19 days, beginning on the 10th February and ending on the 28th February, 1961. During this period you should visit every household in your block for enumeration. On the night of 28th February you will have to go round your enumeration block and enumerate all persons who are houseless. (In large cities the enumeration of houseless persons will have to be undertaken in a different manner for which more elaborate arrangements will be made.) During the period 1st March to 3rd March you will have to pay a revisional round to every household and verify that your earlier work of enumeration has been completed in every respect. If during this revisional round you find that a birth has taken place in any household between the time of your first visit and the sunrise of 1st March, 1961 you will have to fill up a new slip for this birth; if there has been a death in any household during the same period you will have to cancel the slip of the dead person; if there is a visitor in any household who has come to stay during the same period and has not been enumerated elsewhere, you will have to fill up a new slip for this visitor. But you will not have to take notice of any birth or death or visit occurring after sunrise of 1st March, 1961.

You will have been supplied by your Supervisor household schedule forms in books of 50 or 25 each for recording information relating to the household as a whole and enumeration pads consisting of 100 or 25 slips each to record information of individuals living in the household. Instructions for filling up the household schedule and the individual slips are given in this booklet. You should carefully observe them when filling each household. You can fill up the household schedule first or the enumeration slips first but for every household you should fill up both before you leave the household and also fill up the Census Population Record at the back of the household schedule.

A.—Instructions for filling up the Household Schedule

At the top of the Schedule you will find the Location Code. You will have to write the Location Code of the household here. Your supervisor will give you the Code numbers representing your district, tehsil/thana/town, village/ward/block. You should take care to write these three numbers connected together by oblique strokes in between on every household schedule.

When you are visiting each household for enumeration you should write the code number of the household also on the Household Schedule. For purposes of the census a Census House has been defined as a structure or a part of structure, a dwelling, a shop, workshop, factory or place of business, or shop-*cum*-dwelling giving on the road or a common staircase or a common courtyard leading to a main gate or enjoying a separate entrance. A household means the entire group of persons who commonly live together in the same census house and take their meals from a common mess unless the exigencies of work prevent them from doing so. In some census houses there may be more than one group of persons, each group with a common mess. In such cases, each group should be regarded as a separate household for purposes of the census and a separate household schedule should be prepared. You should write the household number from the extracts of the Household given to you by your supervisor. If, in any case, you find a census house or a household satisfying the definitions given above has not been numbered you should bring it to the notice of your supervisor and have a separate number given to the house or household and enumerate the household.

At the right hand corner of the Location Code you will find a question "Is this an Institution?" with a rectangle below it. If you are enumerating any penal, charitable or mental institution, hostel, hotel, hospital, boarding house, etc., you should write the nature of the institution within the rectangle like jail, hospital, etc.

Below the Location Code you will find a column for recording the full name of the Head of the household. The Head of the household for census purposes is a person on whom falls the chief responsibility for the maintenance of the household. Thus the Head of the household need not necessarily be the eldest male member but may even be a female or a younger member of either sex. You need not, however, make any elaborate enquiry about this and should record as Head of household the name of the person who is actually acknowledged as such.

Institutions like boarding houses, messes and chummeries should also be regarded as census households but of 'un-related persons living together'. In such a Household the manager or superintendent or the person who has administrative responsibilities or who by common consent is regarded as the Head, should be recorded as Head of the household. If in an Institution separate families are also living, each such family should be treated as a census household and a separate household schedule should be filled. In such cases the full name of the recognised Head of the household should be written.

If the Head of the household is a person who spends the week-days in town and spends the week-ends at home, he should be recorded as Head of Household and entered for enumeration at his home. If he should be away for a fairly long time which covers the entire enumeration period than the person who is incharge in his absence should be recorded as the Head of the household.

"If the Head of the Household is a member of the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe obtaining in your District you should write the name of the particular Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe to

which the Head of the Household belongs within the parallelogram."

You should then fill up the part of the household schedule relating to Cultivation and Household Industry. Sub-part 'A' relates to Cultivation; sub-part 'B' to Household Industry and sub-part 'C' to Workers at Cultivation or Household Industry.

Sub-part 'A' relating to Cultivation will have to be filled in only where the household cultivates land. (Land includes all land normally used for cultivation purposes including temporary fallows) Three categories of land are given in items 1(*i*), 1(*ii*) and 2. Items 1(*i*) and 1(*ii*) relate to land actually cultivated by the household. Item 2 relates to land which is not cultivated by the household but has been given by it to private persons for cultivation for payment in money, kind or share. In each of the three cases the total of separate plots or parcels of land in different places, owned or held, or taken or given should be made and entered. A number of lines has been provided for this purpose in 1(*i*) and 1(*ii*) to account for separate plots or parcels of land held or owned or taken under different recognised local rights. If the household (*a*) cultivates land owned or held from Government or taken from private persons or institutions or (*b*) has given land to private persons for cultivation purposes you should ascertain the local name of the right on such land and record in the column relating to 'local name of right on land'. Category 1(*i*) land owned or held from Government, will include the total of all pieces of land owned or held in owner-like possession, *e.g.*, land held directly from Government under a grant, lease or assignment, (*i*) with rights of permanent, heritable and transferable possession, (*ii*) with rights of permanent and heritable possession, but without the right of transfer and (*iii*) temporary or conditional leases of any kind with the Government. Category 1(*ii*) land taken from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share, will include land (*i*) with rights of permanent, heritable and transferable possession, (*ii*) with rights of permanent and heritable possession but without right of transfer; (*iii*) held in a variety of tenancies or tenures which may be broadly classified as follows:—

(*a*) tenants holding land with permanent and heritable rights whose land cannot be resumed by the owner on grounds of personal cultivation (such tenants may in some cases have the right of transfer also);

(*b*) tenants who have been given permanent rights subject to the right of resumption by the owner (in some cases the tenant has the right to acquired ownership of the non-resumable area. In other cases he does not possess the right);

(*c*) tenants holding land in areas where interim measures have been enacted for stay of ejectment or for continuing the leases for a specified period;

(*d*) tenants holding land on temporary leases who are liable to ejectment; and

(*e*) areas held on conditions of rendering service either to a village community or to Government. (This also includes cases where labourers on plantations are given some land for cultivation with permanent rights); and

(*iv*) the following:—

(*a*) land taken for a fixed amount of money,
(*b*) land taken for a fixed amount of produce,
(*c*) land taken for share of the produce,
(*d*) land for which money is paid partly in one and partly in any other form mentioned above, and

(*e*) land held free of consideration.

Category 2 Land given to private persons for cultivation for payment in money, kind or share will include the classifications mentioned in category 1(*ii*).

Categories 1(*i*) and 1(*ii*) will include only those plots or parcels of land which are cultivated by the household itself, that is, lands which lie within the village, or in adjacent villages, or within such a distance as enables the household to work on the land or actively supervise the cultivation. They will not include land owned or held in distant places where distance itself is a bar to active cultivation, constant supervision or direction. But Category 2 will include land in any part of the country whatsoever. You should ascertain the extent of land in each category of local right in acres and record in the column relating to 'Area in acres'. You should write the total of separate plots or parcels of land under the same right if they are situated in different places. If it is not possible to ascertain the extent of land in acres you should, if possible, make a conversion from the local measure given to you. Even if this is not possible write the area in local measure giving invariably the name of the measure adopted.

After ascertaining the various categories of land under the sub-head cultivation from the Household, these area figures should be given in acres rounded up to the first place of decimal. In other words, the rounding up should be to the nearest tenth of an acre and not to the nearest acre.

This sub-part will not apply to households which do not possess any land. Thus, it will not apply to households which consist of only agricultural labourers without any land. In such cases put an 'X' in all the spaces provided in the right hand side and put a bold cross on this sub-part.

Land under any of the items in sub-part 'A' includes rent-free land, lands enjoyed in permissive possession or gifts without encumbrance or consideration. A household which is a member of a co-operative farm will record only that amount of land in the co-operative farm which had belonged to it before and under right enter 'co-operative farm'. Labour hired by such a co-operative farm should not be entered for this household.

Sub-part 'B' relates to Household Industry. This part will be filled up only where there is a Household Industry conducted by the Head of the household himself and/or mainly by members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas and only at home in urban areas.

The industry should not be on the scale of a registered factory. The participation of the Head of the household and/or members of the household is an essential feature of the Household Industry. In a rural area the Household Industry can be located either at home or within the village. But in an urban area the Household Industry or at least the major part of its work must be located only at home. A Household Industry should relate to production, processing, servicing or repairing and includes makers and sellers of goods.

The test for a Household Industry is mainly threefold:—

(a) Household Industry should embrace manufacture, processing or servicing and may include sale but should not be confined simply to buying and selling. At least part of the goods offered for sale from the household should be manufactured or processed by members of the household.

(b) Household Industry should be on the household scale where the workers mainly will be the Head of the household himself and members of the household, the role of hired workers from outside being of secondary importance. Thus, in any Household Industry, members of the household should be in a position to lend a hand in the industry whenever they find the time in the course of their daily chores. Household Industry cannot, therefore, be on the scale of a registered factory but can use machinery and employ power like steam engine or oil engine or electricity to drive the machinery

(c) Location also is important, for proximity decides participation by members of the household. In a village this participation is possible if the Household Industry is located at home or within the village, because village organisation is such as makes it possible for members of the household to move about freely in the village to look after their work. In urban areas such a free movement is not possible and, therefore, for Household Industry in urban areas we should consider only those industries which are located at home Where, however, part of the work is done outside the house, *e.g.*, preparing and dyeing the yarn for weaving or winding into warp and wool or cleaning metal surfaces before electroplating in baths, it should still be considered a Household Industry, even in urban areas, as the main operation of weaving or of electroplating is conducted within the house and only one or two operations are conducted outside.

The following activities should also be regarded as illustrative of Household Industry. Birimakers who either alone or with help of members of the family roll biris at home, for wages at piece rates, while the contractor supplies the materials. Certain processes like buttoning and handsewing of tailored cloths, dyeing and printing of cloth, are carried out at home by members of the household both at residence and at 'place of work' or where womenfolk of the household fill in at home with lac gold ornaments prepared at the shop by male members of the household.

Ascertain from the Head of the household whether ther are any Household Industries and write the nature of the industry(ies) in the column provided, if there are any Then ascertain for how many months in a year roughly they are conducted and put down the number of months in the appropriate column. If the industry is conducted throughout the year write '12'. If there is no Household Industry of any sort put an 'X' in each of the places in the right hand corner where the answers will be written and put a bold cross on this sub-part

Sub part 'C' relates to Workers in Cultivation or Household industry

In the case of households which are engaged only in Cultivation if the Head of the household is working write 1 under the column 'Head' and ascertain how many other male and female members of the family are working. Write the numbers in the respective columns. Write the total number of family workers including the Head, if he is working, in the column relating to 'Total'. Then ascertain whether any hired workers are employed and, if so, write the number of such workers in the column allotted for it. The hired workers should have been in wholetime employment during last working season or should be in wholetime employment during current working season

Similarly in the case of households engaged in Household Industry only, if the head of the household is working write 1 in the column relating to the 'Head', and also ascertain how many male members and female members of the family are working and write the numbers in the respective columns Write the total number of family workers including the Head, if he is working, in the column relating to 'Total' and then ascertain the number of hired workers if any and then write the number of hired workers in the appropriate column

If a household is engaged both in Cultivation and Household Industry ascertain whether the Head is working and write 1 under the column relating to the Head and also ascertain how many male and female members of the family are working both at Cultivation and the Household Industry and write the numbers in the respective columns. Write the total number of family workers in the column relating to Total. Ascertain the number of hired workers engaged by the family both for Cultivation and Household Industry and write the number in the appropriate column. In a Household engaged both in Household Cultivation and Household Industry, you need not ascertain how many are engaged in Household Cultivation and Household Industry separately.

Even if any of the members of the family working or hired labourers are absent during the period of the census count they should be counted for the purposes of the Household Schedule.

In the case of households engaged in Cultivation only, put 'X' in the columns relating to 'Household Industry only' and 'Both in Household Cultivation and Household Industry'. Similarly, in the case of Households engaged in Household Industry put 'X' in the columns relating to

Household Cultivation only, and 'Both in Household Cultivation and Household Industry'. If a household is engaged both in Household Cultivation and Household Industry put 'X' in the columns relating to 'Household Cultivation only' and 'Household Industry only'. If a Household is not engaged in either Household Cultivation or Household Industry or both put 'X' in all the columns and a bold 'X' on this sub-part.

The test for a worker is whether a person is actually working in Cultivation or Household Industry or supervising or directing work thereon.

B.—Instructions for enumerating individual members of households.

I. GENERAL—

1. Enumerate all persons who are normally resident in the household, *i.e.*, those who live in the household and also those who have recently become members of the household through marriage or birth or other vital social or domestic ties and present at the time of your visit.

2. Enumerate also all persons who are normal residents in the household even if they are absent at the time of your visit, provided they left the household on or after the 10th February, 1961, or if they had left earlier than 10th February, 1961, are likely to return before the sunrise of 1st March, 1961.

3. Enumerate a visitor, a boarder, or a guest found in the household at the time of your visit, *if he had not been enumerated before and if he will be away from his household between the 10th and 28th February, 1961*, and warn him not to permit any other enumerator to enumerate him even if he goes back by 1st March, 1961.

4. Do not enumerate pavement dwellers or others who do not form part of the household, when you are enumerating the households. These along with persons who do not normally reside in houses, *i.e.*, members of wandering tribes, tramps, sadhus, etc., would be separately enumerated on the night of the 28th February and on the 1st and 2nd March, 1961.

5. Each individual has to be enumerated in one slip. Before commencing enumeration of an individual make sure to fill the Location Code in each case. The Location Code in the slips will be the same as in the household schedule to which the individuals relate.

6. The questions have been briefly printed in the slips, *but only briefly*, and you should study the detailed question forms and instructions for answering them without which you will be liable to miss some of the range and implications of the questions. You should ask the questions *in the order in which they are given in the slips* and proceed to record the answers in their given order. You should make use of the abbreviations recommended in these instructions for recording the answers to the various questions. All abbreviations required to be entered within the geometric designs should be written well within the designs.

7. Make repeated enquiries about new born babies and very young children for they are liable to be missed because they neither talk nor walk and no meals are usually cooked for them.

8. Before leaving one household for the next make doubly sure that all the persons that are to be enumerated in the household have been enumerated. As soon as you have completed the enumeration of the household fill up the Population Record at the back of the Household schedule for that household before you proceed to the next household. Strike the total for the number of males and females in the household and check it with the number of enumeration slips used before you sign the Population Record.

9. You should re-visit every household in your block during the period of final check (1st to 3rd March) when you should enumerate every birth that has taken place in the household since your visit but before sunrise of 1st March. You should cancel the slip for any death that might have taken place since your last visit but before sunrise of 1st March by drawing a bold line diagonally across the slip and write DEATH along the diagonal line. You should enumerate any visitor who may have arrived to stay since your last visit and who says he has not been enumerated anywhere else. But you should not take notice of any birth or death or visit occurring after sunrise of 1st March, 1961. After your revisit if you have added any new slip or cancelled any slip already prepared you should make corresponding changes in the Census Population Record at the back of the Household Schedule.

10. As soon as you have completed a pad, you should fill up the enumerator's abstract on the cover of the pad. After you have completed the enumeration of your block and filled up all the abstracts in the pads, you should total up your figures and prepare your abstract for your entire block and hand it over to your supervisor along with your pads.

11. Under the Census Act, every person is legally bound to furnish you with the information you need for recording your answers. You must not ask information on any matters not necessary for the purposes of the census, for example, the amount of any person's income. Nor must you disclose to any unauthorised person any information given to you or the results of the enumeration. All census entries are confidential and cannot be admitted as evidence in any civil proceeding whatever or in any criminal proceeding other than a prosecution for a census offence.

II. INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING UP THE SLIPS—

In each household you should first enumerate the Head of the household followed by other members of the household in the most convenient order and see that none of the persons in the household are left out. Please make repeated enquiries about infants and very young children, for they are liable to be left out of count. Count near relatives first, such as wife, son, daughter-in-law, daughter, son-in-law, grand-children then distant relations and then domestic servants or other employees living in the household, boarders, visitors etc.

Location Code.—Write the Location Code of the household in each slip. For instructions please see Section A above.

Q. 1(a) *Name.*—Write the name of the person enumerated. If a woman's name is not given out describe her as 'so-and-so's mother, wife or daughter'. If a woman does not take the name of a person's husband and that husband's particulars have to be recorded write 'so-and-so's husband'.

For newly born infants who have not yet been given a name write 'Baby' and write 'father's or mother's name'.

Q. 1(b) *Relationship to the Head of the household.*—In the case of the Head of the household write 'Head'. The person who should be treated as the 'Head of the Household' has been fully explained in Part A. All relationships in this question should be recorded in respect of that person. In the case of relations write the relationship in full. Do not use words like nephew, niece or uncle, but state whether brother's or sister's son or daughter (for nephew or niece) or father's or mother's brother (uncle). 'Son' will include 'adopted son' or 'step son'; similarly for a daughter. In the case of visitors, boarders or employees write 'boarder', or 'employee', as the case may be.

If on the check or revisional round between the 1st and 3rd March the Head of the household as recorded previously is found to have died the person in the household who succeeds him by common consent as Head should be recorded as Head and the relationships in all other slips will have to be suitably corrected. The slip of the dead Head of household will, of course, be cancelled.

In the case of places like messes, boarding houses, chummeries, etc., where people live together with no ties of relationship, the manager or superintendent or the person who by common consent is regarded as the Head should be recorded as Head of the household. Other members should be recorded as 'unrelated' in this question.

Q. 2. *Age in completed years last birthday.*—Write age in years completed last birthday. For infants below one year of age, write 'O'. You will find many persons who cannot state their age correctly. You should assist them to state the correct age. If you are not able to elicit correct age directly, you should stimulate their memory by referring to historical incidents or religious events, etc. You may use any local calendar of such events that may have been prepared for the purpose.

Q. 3. *Marital Status.*

For never married . .	write	NM
Married	write	M
Widowed . . .	write	W
Separated or Divorced .	write	S

For a person who has never been married write 'NM'. For a person married, whether for the first or another time, write 'M'. Write 'M' also for persons who are recognised by custom or society as married and for persons in *stable de facto* union. Even if a married is disputed in the locality write 'M' if the person concerned says that he or she is married or in *stable de facto* union. For a widowed person whose husband or wife is dead, and who has not been married, write 'W'. For a person who has been divorced in a lawful manner, either by decree of a law court or by a regular social or religious custom but who has not remarried, or a person who has been separated from wife or husband and is living apart with no apparent intention of living together again, write 'S'. For a prostitute return her marital status as declared by her.

Q. 4(a) *Birth place*—

1. If born in village or town in which enumerated.	write	PL
2. If born in another village or town of district in which enumerated.	write	D
3 If born in another district in the State of enumeration.	write name of district.	
4 If born in another State in India.	write name of district and State if name of district is known; otherwise write name of State.	
5. If born in a country outside India *e.g.*, *Pakistan* or any other country.	write name of country.	
6. Persons born at sea or in air or in railway carriage or on road transport *e.g.*, buses etc., should be entered as such.		

Q. 4(b) *Whether born in Village or Town*—

1. If born in a village . .	write	R
2. If born in a town which is considered a town at the present time even if it was not so considered at the time of birth.	write	U
3. If the person enumerated is not in a position to say whether the place of birth is a village or town, write the name of the place of birth as returned by him.		

Q. 4(c) *Duration of Residence*—

1. For a person born in village or town or city in which enumerated.	write	X
2. For a person born in another village or town or city of district of enumeration or who was not born in the district of enumeration.	write the number of completed years this person has been in the village/town/city of enumeration. *(Do not take into account periods of temporary absence on leave or holiday or tour or business.)*	

3. If the duration of residence is less than one year.	write	O
4. If the duration of residence is one year or over.	write the actual number of completed years of residence.	

Q. 5(a) Nationality—

1. For Indian nationals . .	write	I
2. For other nationals . .	write the nationality in full.	

Q. 5(b) Religion—

For Hindu . . .	write	H
Muslim . . .	write	M
Christian . . .	write	C
Jain	write	J
Buddhist . . .	write	B
Sikh	write	S

For others write the answers actually returned.

Q. 5(c) Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes—

The answer to this question will be recorded only if a person belongs to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe. If the person belongs to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe obtaining in your State, or in your district write the name of the caste or tribe to which he belongs. For all others, write 'X' in this column. A list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes obtaining in your State or in your district is given elsewhere in these instructions.

If the person belonging to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe returns his caste by a synonym or a generic name of a caste or tribe as given in your list, write the name as returned and the name of the relevant caste or tribe, as per printed list, within brackets.

Do not write the names of Scheduled Castes in general terms as 'Harijan', 'Achhut'. You should ascertain the name of the caste when it is returned and write it. If a person is negligent and insists on calling himself merely 'Harijan' tell him that this description will not earn the person any benefits under the Constitution permissible to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This may persuade him to give out the correct name.

Scheduled Castes can belong only to the Hindu or Sikh religions. If a person belongs to a Scheduled Caste, there will be either 'H' or 'S' in the answer to question 5(b). Scheduled Tribes may belong to any religion.

I. ILLITERATE OR LITERATE—

Q. 6. Literacy and Education—

For a person—

1. Who can neither read nor write or can merely read but cannot write in any language.	write	O
2. Who can both read and write.	write	L

The test for reading is ability to read any simple letter either in print or in manuscript *i.e.*, if the person can read one of the examples in the Enumerator's Handbook with felicity he may be taken to have passed the test for reading. The test for writing is ability to write a simple letter. The test for literacy is satisfied if the person can with understanding both read and write.

II. STANDARD OF EDUCATION—

If the person can both read and write and has also passed a written examination or extminations as proof of an educational standard attained, write the highest examination passed instead of L.

Q. 7(a) Mother Tongue.

Write the mother tongue in full including dialect as returned by the person enumerated. Mother tongue is language spoken in childhood by the person's mother to the person or mainly spoken in the household. If the mother died in infancy write the language mostly spoken in the person's home in childhood. In the case of infants and deaf mutes give the language usually spoken by the mother.

Q. 7(b) Any other Language(s)—

After recording the mother tongue enquire whether the person knows any other language(s), Indian or foreign, and write the language(s) returned by him against this question. In case he does not know any other language put 'X'.

The number of languages recorded against this question should not be more than two. These languages should be other than his mother tongue which he speaks and understands best and can use with felicity in communicating with others. Such language or languages will exclude dialects of the same language.

Q. 8 to 11 Working—

These questions apply only to workers. A person who is working may be working as a Cultivator, as an Agricultural Labourer, at a Household Industry or may be doing any other work. You have to record the answer in questions 8, 9, 10 and 11 according as the person is working as a Cultivator or as an Agricultural Labourer or at Household Industry or doing any other work. He may be engaged in only one of the above four categories or in more than one. Thus a person can be working both as a Cultivator and an Agricultural Labourer, in which case he should be entered both in Q. 8 and Q. 9. Or, he may be working both as Cultivator and at Household Industry, in which case he will be entered in Q. 8 and Q. 10. Or, he may be a working in any possible combination of 8, 10 and 11, in which case he will be entered in the appropriate places. Or, he may be doing just one kind of work, in which case he will be entered in only one of the four Questions 8 to 11.

Detailed instructions as to how the answers should be recorded in the individual questions are given against those question below. You should carefully study them before recording the answers. For an undertrial prisoner enumerated in a Jail he should be recorded for the work or kinds of work he was doing before he was apprehended. Similarly, for a person temporarily in a hospital or similar institution he should be recorded for

the kind of work he was doing before he was admitted into hospital or institution. But for a convict in a prison or for long term inmates of penal or charitable or mental institutions, the person's previous work should not be recorded but 'I' should be recorded in Q. 12 below.

The basis of work will be satisfied in the case of seasonal work like cultivation, livestock, dairying, household industry, etc., if the person has had some regular work of more than one hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season. In the case of regular employment in any trade, profession, service, business or commerce the basis of work will be satisfied if the person was employed during any of the fifteen days preceding the day on which you visited the household. If on the check or revisional round such a person is found to be unemployed no change in the original entry should be made A person who is working but was absent from his work during the fifteen days preceding the day on which enumerated or even exceeding the period of fifteen days due to illness or other causes should be treated as *worker*. A person who has been offered work but has not actually joined should be treated as *non-worker*. *Work includes not only actual work but effective supervision and direction of work.*

Persons under training as apprentices with or without stipend or wages will be regarded as working.

An adult woman who is engaged in household duties but doing no other productive work to augment the family's resources should not be considered as working for puposes of this question. If, however, in addition to her household work she engages herself in work such as rice pounding for sale or wages, or in domestic services for wages for others or minding cattle or selling firewood or making and selling cowdunk cakes or grass, etc., or any such work she should be treated as a worker.

Persons like beggars, pensioners, agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or divided receivers, who may be earning an income but who are not participating in any productive work should not be treated as working unless they also work in cultivation, industry, trade, profession, business or commerce.

A public or social service worker who is actively engaged in public service activity or a political worker who is also actively engaged in furthering the political activity of his party will be regarded as a worker and entered fully in Q. 11.

After you have filled up the answers to questions 8 to 11, if you find that in the case of any person more than one productive activity has been recorded *i.e.*, more than one of the questions 8, 9, 10 or 11 has been filled up by some work, you should ask him which one of the activities that has been recorded from him is his principal work. The principal work is the one on which the person devotes most of his time. Put a ring round the number of the question 8, 9, 10 or 11, according to the work on which the person says he spends most time. You should invariably ask for the principal work where more than one work is recorded and put a ring round the question relating to the principal work.

It may be that in a few cases you find that you have recorded more than two productive activities in questions 8 to 11, i.e., more than two of the questions, 8 to 11, would have been filled up by some work In such cases you should first ascertain the principal work i.e., the one on which the person spends most time and put a ring round the number of the question You should then ascertain the work which is the next in importance to his principal work, i.e., the work after his principal work which occupies most time. You should put a tick against the question number of that work on the right hand side of the question number The ring and the tick should be put clearly so that any difficulty will not be felt to recognise them clearly.

Q. 8. Working as Cultivator—

For a person working as cultivator write C. For a person not working as cultivator and for a person not working at all put X.

For purposes of the census a person is working as cultivator if he or she is engaged either as employer, single worker or family worker in (a) cultivation of land or supervision or direction of cultivation of land owned or held from Government and (b) cultivation of land or supervision or direction of cultivation of land held from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share

Cultivation involves ploughing, sowing and harvesting and does not include fruitgrowing or keeping orchards or groves or working for plantations like tea, coffee, rubber, cinchona and other medicinal plantations Persons engaged in fruit growing or orchardry or plantations like tea, coffee, rubber, cinchona and other medicinal plantations should be entered in Q. 11.

EXAMPLES OF CULTIVATION :—

1. Production of cereal crops (including Bengal gram), such as rice, wheat, jowar, bajra, maize ; roots and tubers like potato, yam, beet etc. ; sugarcane etc.
2. Production of pulses, such as arhar, moong, masur, urd, khesari, other gram.
3. Production of raw jute and kindred fibre crops.
4. Production of raw cotton and kindred fibre crops.

A person who has given out his land to another person or persons for cultivation for money, kind or share of crop and who does not even supervise or direct cultivation of land, will not be treated as working as cultivator. Similarly, a person working in another person's land for wages in cash, kind or share such as share of the produce (agricultural labourer) will not be treated as cultivator in this question.

Q. 9. Working as Agricultural Labourer—

Write AL for a person working as agricultural labourer, *i.e.*, a person who works in another per-

son's land only as a labourer without exercising any supervision or direction in cultivation, for wages in cash, kind or share such as share of produce. For others put X. The labourer should have no right to lease or contract on land on which he works, nor should he be responsible for taking decisions as to which crops to sow and when, or taking the risks of cultivation. A share of the produce goes to him only as wages. He should have been working as Agricultural Labourer in the last or current cultivating season.

Qs. 10(a) & 10(b) Household Industry—

If a person is working in a Household Industry write (1) the nature of work done by him in the Household Industry against question 10(a) and (2) the nature of the Household Industry against 10(b). Otherwise put X in both questions 10(a) and 10(b). A Household Industry is defined as an industry conducted by the Head of the household himself and/or mainly by the members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas and only at home in urban areas. The industry should not be run on the scale of a registered factory. Thus the main criterion for a Household Industry is the participation of one or more members of a household in rural areas. In the urban areas the industry should be confined to the house. You should carefully keep in mind the definition of Household Industry in the rural area if you are enumerating a rural area and the definition in the urban area if you are enumerating an urban area.

A Household Industry should relate to production, processing, servicing, prepairing or making and selling of goods. It does not include professions such as pleader or doctor or barber or waterman or astrologer.

A person though he may not be working in his own Household Industry may be working as a paid employee in another Household Industry. You should, therefore, enquire whether the person who is not working in his own Household Industry is working in any other Household Industry and if so, write the nature of the work done by him against question 10(a) and the nature of the Household Industry against 10(b).

Q. 10(c) If Employee in Household industry—

This question will be filled up only for a person who is working as a paid employee in another person's Household Industry. In his or her case write E.E. For all others put X.

The following examples will illustrate how questions 10(*a*) to 10(*c*) should be filled up for persons working at Household Industry:—

Q. 10—Working at Household Industry

(*a*) Nature of work	(b) Nature of Household Industry	(c) If employee
1. Spinning yarn .	Spinning yarn in Ambar Charkha	X
2. Dyeing and printing yarn.	Handloom weaving	X
3. Threshing and cleaning grain.	Flour making *chakki*.	X
4. Labourer employed for crushing oil.	Oil ghani . . .	E.E.
5. Tempering and polishing implements.	Blacksmithy polishing agricultural implements.	X
6. Labourer employed for making and firing kiln.	Earthenware pottery.	E.E.
7. Throwing and Turning pottery.	Earthenware pottery.	X
8. Making wooden doors and windows.	Carpentry . .	X
9. Filling gold ornaments with lac.	Goldsmithy . .	X
10. Labourer working in hosiery machine.	Hosiery . .	E.E.
11. Keeping accounts.		
12. Polishing and Scraping metal.	Electroplating .	X
13. Labourer employed for putting iron hoop on cartwheels.	Cartwheelwright .	E.E.
14. Repairing of guns.	Gunsmithy . .	X
15. Bee Keeping .	Production of honey	X
16. Tending cattle .	Livestock raising .	X

Q. 11. Doing Working other than 8, 9 or 10—

If a worker is not working as a cultivator or as an agricultural labourer or at any Household Industry write the actual work he is doing. If a person is working as a cultivator or as an agricultural labourer or at Household Industry and also does some work (including dairying or livestock raising, orchard or plantation, etc., as distinct from cultivation of crops) which does not relate to any of the above categories, write the other work he does in this question. If he is engaged in more than one work and neither of them relates to any of the three categories mentioned above write here the work on which he devotes more time.

Q. 11(a) Nature of Work—

In the case of person not working or who work *only* as cultivator or as agricultural labourer or at Household Industry, put 'X'.

Describe fully the nature of the work done by the person himself. Full and precise information as to the nature of work done by the person should be given either in the vernacular or in English or in vernacular transliteration of English. At previous censuses much trouble has been caused by inadequate answers, and if you do not succeed in obtaining satisfactory information on the individual slips, you will be required to make a further visit for that purpose.

Q. 11(b) *Industry, Business, Trade, Profession or Service*—

In the case of a person who is working and the nature of whose own work has been recorded in Question 11(*a*), you should write here the nature of industry, business, trade, profession or service in which the person works.

As in the case of Question 11(*a*), you should describe in detail the nature of industry, business, trade, profession or service in which the person works Vague answers should be avoided. In the case of industries, the articles which are produced or serviced or repaired, should be given. If more than one article is produced the chief article produced or serviced or repaired should be given. In the case of business or trade the principal article of trade should be described. In the case of service describe the nature of the service to which the person's work belongs. The description should be such that it would be possible to classify the establishment in which the person is working for purposes of industrial classication of the population. The description should be either in the vernacular or in English or in vernacular transliteration of English.

In the case of a person for whom an X is put in Question 11(*a*), put an X in this question also.

Important points to remember in Questions 11(a) and 11(b).

1. Women or children who help with work, such as rice pounding or doing domestic service for wages or minding cattle or selling firewood or making and selling cowdung cakes, grass, etc., should be described fully even if they work part-time. *In the case of married or grown-up women who do any of the work mentioned above in addition to the usual household duties such work should be fully described and HW written in brackets after the full description.*

2. If a person makes the articles he sells, he should be entered as maker and seller of them.

3. Wherever convenient, for complete description, the work should be expressed by the vernacular name by which it is known.

4. The following are too vague and must not be used by themselves:—

Scientist, technician, civil servant, clerk, engineer, inspector, checker, foreman, overseer, supervisor, labourer, machinist, assistant, contractor, polisher.

5. *Labourers*—For an unskilled labourer usually employed on one sort of work alone, give also the sort of work done, *e.g.*, railway porter, market or bazar porter, labourer employed on road digging, bricklayer's labourer. If accustomed to work on various jobs, write general labourer.

6. *Machine Operators*—Always state the kind of machine giving its recognized name, if any.

7. *Shop-keepers, Retail Dealers, Shop Assistants*—If wholly or mainly engaged in selling, write, 'Dealer' (if principal) or, Shop Assistant or Salesman (if assisting) and state whether the business is wholesale or retail or both. For shop assistants and salesman in stores with several departments, state the particular department in which engaged (*e.g.*, Ship and Railway Parts, Fans and Sewing Machines, Grocers and Confectioners).

8. *Transport Workers*—Describe fully the nature of the transport, *e.g.*, air transport, rail transport, transport by motor car or motor cycle, or vehicles drawn by horse, etc.

9 *Services*—For person engaged in the Defence Services write 'Service of Central Government'.

10. If the job is known in the trade or industry by a special name use that name. Manager, Foreman, etc., should be given the department/branch wherever applicable, *e.g.*, Sales Manager or a Manager of Hardware Department, Machine Shop Foreman or Boiler Room Foreman, etc. The following terms are insufficient by themselves:—

Manufacturer, merchant, agent, broker, refractor, dealer, engineer and iron workers, etc.

11 *Domestic services*—In the case of any private servant, *e.g.*, a cook or domestic servant, write only 'private cook or domestic servant'. There is no industry in his case but in the case of persons employed in hostels, restaurants, boarding houses, institutions, etc., the words hotel, restaurant, etc, should be added.

For persons in the employ of Firms carrying on two or more businesses, if the businesses are carried on in separate premises then the business carried on at the premises in which the persons is employed should be given. If the businesses are carried on the same premises but each has a separate organisation, (*i.e.*, they have separate records of employment, production, etc.) then the appropriate business should be quoted. If, however, the two activities are carried on side by side then the major activity of the firm or establishment should be given.

12. *Commerce*—Special care should be taken to see that the distinction between retail and wholesale business is clear. As in industries, the goods handled should be clearly indicated.

Q. 11(c) *Class or Worker*—

For a person who is:—

1. an *Employer*, that is, who hires one or more persons in his work described in Q. 11(a).	write	MR
2. an *Employee*, that is, who does his work described in Q. 11(*a*) under others for wages or salary in cash or kind.	write	EE
3. a *Single Worker*, that is, who is doing his work described in Q. 11(*a*) without employing others, except casually and without the help of other members of the family except casually. This will include workers working as members of co-operatives.	write	SW
4. a *Family Workers, that is*, who is doing his work described in Q. 11(*a*) in own family without wages or salary in cash or kind.	write	FW

For a person for whom an 'X' is put in Qs. 11(*a*) and 11(*b*) put an X in this question also.

Explanation :—

(*i*) An *Employer* is a person who has to employ other persons in order to perform the work entered in Q. 11(*a*). That is to say, such a person is not only responsible for his own personal work but also for giving work to others in the business mentioned in Q. 11(*a*). But a person who employs domestic servants for household duties or has subordinates under him in an office where he is employed by others, is not an employer, even if he has the power to employ another person in his office on behalf of his own employer or employers.

(*ii*) An *Employee* is a person who usually works under some other person for salary or wages in cash or kind. There may be persons who are employed as managers, superintendents, agents, etc., and in that capacity employ or control other workers on behalf of their own employers. Such persons are only employees, as explained above, and should not be regarded as employers.

(*iii*) A *Single Worker* for the purpose of Q. 11(*c*) is a person who works by himself but not as Head of household in a Household Industry. He is not employed by any one else and in his turn does not employ anybody else not even members of his household except casually. This definition of a *Single Worker* will include a person who work in joint partnership with one or several persons hiring no employees, and also a member of a producers' co-operative. Each one of the partners or members of such producers' co-operatives should be recorded as 'Single Worker'.

(*iv*) A *Family Worker* is a member who works, without receiving wages in cash or kind, in an industry, business or trade conducted mainly by members of the family and ordinarily does at least one hour of work every day during the working season. For the purpose of the entire Q. 11. such an industry should be on a scale larger than what has been covered in 'Household Industry' in Q. 10 whether run at home or away from home in town or village and even away from village in rural area and should ordinarily be in the nature of a recognised partnership, joint stock company or registered factory. For the purpose of this definition members of a family may be drawn from beyond the limits of the household by ties of blood or marriage. The family worker may not be entitled to a share of the profits in the work of the business carried on either by the person or head of the household or other relative.

Members of the household who help solely in household duties should not be treated as family workers.

Q. 11(d) Name of Establishment—

Describe in detail the name of the factory, workshop, business house, company, shop, etc. If a person has no fixed place of work, write 'No fixed place of work'.

For a person for whom an X is put in Qs. 11(*a*), 11(b), and 11(*c*) put an X in this question also.

The following examples will illustrate how Qs. 11(*a*) to 11(*d*) should be filled up for person doing work other than 8, 9 or 10.

Q. 11—Doing Work other than 8, 9 or 10

	Q. 11(*a*) Nature of Work	Q. 11(b) Nature of Industry, Profession, Trade or Service	Q. 11(*c*) Class of Workers	Q. 11(*d*) Name of Establishment
1.	Cutting trees in forests	Logging in forests	EE	Forest Department of Government.
2.	Hunting for fur	Hunting	SW	No fixed place of work.
3.	Gardener in mango orchard.	Fruit growing	EE	Muthuswamy Coffee Estate.
4.	Paid farm labourer	Coffee plantation	EE	Muthusfamy Coffee Estate.
5.	Travelling Ticket Inspector.	Northern Railway	EE	Northern Railway.
6.	Senior Scientific Officer	Indian Ceramic Institute	EE	Indian Ceramic Institute.
7.	Foreman	Kiln room in Ceramic Institute	EE	Indian Ceramic Institute.
8.	Contractor	Supply gypsum to Fertilizer Factory.	MR	Sindri Fertilizer Factory.
9.	Accountant	Locomotive Factory	EE	Chittaranjan Locomotives.
10.	Goods porter	Railway Station porter	SW	Delhi Central Railway Station.
11.	Day labourer	Road digging in Mathura Road	EE	C.P.W.D.
12.	Labourer	Assisting brick layer in house building.	EE	Defence Colony, New Delhi.
13.	General Labourer	No fixed job	SW	No fixed place of work.
14.	Machine Operator	Electric transformer in Electric Supply Transformer Station.	EE	Delhi Electric Supply Corporation.
15.	Shop Assistant	Retail shop in Stationery Stores	FW	Madan Brothers.
16.	Dealer	Wholesale Stores in grains and cereals.	MR	Sahu and Co.
17.	Salesman	Retail shop of ready made garments and hosiery.	FW	Dayanand and Sons.

Q. 11—Doing Work other than 8, 9 or 10

	Q. 11(a) Nature of Work	Q. 11(b) Nature of Industry, Profession, Trade or Service	Q. 11(c) Class of Workers	Q. 11(d) Name of Establishment
18.	Sales Manager	Hardware Department, Kaka Agrico	EE	Kaka Agrico
19.	Boiler Room Foreman	Indian Iron and Steel Company	EE	Indian Iron and Steel Company, Burnpur.
20.	Air pilot	Air transport	EE	Indian Airlines Corporation.
21.	Bus driver	Motor transport Service	EE	Government Motor Transport Service
22.	Manager and Proprietor	Motor Truck goods transport	MR	Prakash Transport Service.
23.	Radiologist	Surgical Department of Hospital	EE	Medical College, Calcutta.
24.	Plant Nutritionist	Plant Protection Research	EE	I C A R., Pusa, Delhi.
25.	Chemist	Sugar factory	EE	Bimla Sugar Factory.
26.	Chemist	Pharmaceutical factory	EE	Akash Chemical and Pharmaceutical factory.
27.	Secretary	Administrative Department of Life Insurance Corporation	EE	L I C, Delhi.
28	Assistant Secretary	Commerce and Industry Department, Madras	EE	Government of Madras State
29.	Supervisor	Jewellery Works	FW	Kundan Brothers Jewellers, Jaipur
30.	Machinist	Lathe Department in Engineering Works	EE	Hooghly Docking Company
31.	Private cook or domestic servant.	—	EE	Master's house.
32.	Cook	Residental Hotel	EE	Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi.
33.	Khansama	Boarding House and Club	EE	XYZ Club.
34.	Grocer	Retail trade in grocery	SW	Home.
35.	Chartered Accountant	Steel Production Factory	EE	Bhilai Steel Plant.
36.	Accountant	Jute mill	EE	Howrah Jute Mill.
37.	Cinema Artist	Cinema Company	EE	ABC Cinema Co.
38.	Sign painter	Commercial Sign painting	EE	Rupalekha Company.
39.	Canvas bag maker	Cement Company	EE	Portland Cement Co.
40.	Sharebroker	Broker in tea and jute shares	SW	ABC Share Exchange.
41.	Discount broker	Discounting of bills in business House	MR	ABC Business House Ltd.
42.	Die Caster	General Engineering Works	EE	Ramachandra Engineering Co.
43.	Ochre grinder	Wood paint Factory	EE	ABC Paint Factory.
44.	Distillation Plant Operator	Brewery Factory	EE	Solan Breweries.
45.	Grinder	Chemical Factory	EE	ABC Chemical Factory.
46.	Cleaner	Steel Rerolling Works	EE	ABC Rerolling Mills.
47.	Ticket Collector	Cinema House	EE	ABC Cinema.
48.	Iron moulder	Iron & Steel Foundry	EE	ABC Engineering Works.
49.	Foreman	Packing Department in oil mill	EE	ABC Oil Mill Company.
50.	Foreman	Saw mill in wagon Factory	EE	ABC Wagon Company.
51.	Foundry Caster	Aluminium Factory	EE	ABC Aluminium Company.
52.	Furnace man	Boiler shop, Iron foundry works	EE	ABC Iron Foundry.
53.	Mono printer	Printing works	EE	Govt. Printing Press.
54.	Brass turner	Small tools production	EE	ABC Small Tools Company.
55.	Honorary social worker	State Social Welfare Board	SW	State Social Welfare Board.
56.	Member of Parliament	Parliament	SW	Parliament, Delhi.
57.	Free lance Journalist	Writing for newspapers and periodicals.	SW	No fixed journal.
58.	Political worker	Political work	SW	Name of party.

Q. 12. *Activity, if Not Working.*—

This question will apply to a person NOT working.

Write 'X' in this question for a person who is working, that is, for whom you have recorded the work in any of the questions 8 to 11 above.

The following activites should be recorded in the case of persons NOT Working :—

1. For a full-time student or child attending school who does no other works, such as make articles at home for sale, nor even help part-time in his own family cultivation, industry, trade or business.	write	ST
2. For a person engaged in unpaid home duties (like housewife or other adult female) who does no other work, such as make articles at home for sale or wages, nor help regularly even part-time in family cultivation industry, trade or business.	write	HW
3. For any dependent, including an infant or child not attending school, a person permanently disabled from work because of illness or old age.	write	D
4. For a retired person who is not employed again, rentier, person living on agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or any other person of independent means for securing which he does not have to work and who does no other work.	write	R
5. For a beggar, vagrant or independent woman without indication of source of income and others of unspecified source of existence.	write	B
6. For a convict in jail (an undertrial prisoner will be shown as a worker if he used to work before he was apprehended) or an inmate of a penal, mental or charitable institution.	write	I
7. For a person who has not been employed before but is seeking employment for the first time.	write	NE
8. For a person employed before but now out of employment and seeking employment.	write	UN

Explanation.—If a person, who does not work, cannot be readily classified in any of the above categories, put him in category 5 and write B in this question. A retired person who has taken up regular work again should not be entered in this question as he would have been entered for his new work in Questions 8 to 11.

A person who is not working but has been offered work which he has not joined should be included in item 3 and 'D' should be written. He should not be included in items 7 or 8.

Q. 13. *Sex*—

Write 'M' for Males ; and 'F' for Females. For eunuchs and hermaphrodites, write 'M'.

[Actual Size of the Form used 6½" × 8"]

(OBVERSE)

CONFIDENTIAL

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

[To be filled up during Enumeration]

Is this an institution ?

PART I—HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

LOCATION CODE

Full Name of Head of Household

S C
S T

A. Cultivation	Local name of right on land	Area in acres
1 Land under cultivation by Household (i) owned or held from Government		
(ii) held from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share		
(iii) Total of Items (i) and (ii)		
2 Land given to private persons for cultivation for payment in money, kind or share		

B. Household Industry	Nature of Industry		Number of months in the year during which conducted
Household industry (not on the scale of a registered factory) conducted by the Head of the household himself and/or mainly members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas and only at home in urban areas (a)			
(b)			

C. Workers at Cultivation or Household Industry	Members of family working :				Hired workers
Members including Head of family working and hired workers, if any, kept whole-time during current or last working season	Head	Other males	Other females	Total	
1. Household Cultivation only					
2 Household Industry only					
3 Both in Household Cultivation & Household Industry					

Dated Signature of Supervisor

Dated Signature of Enumerator

Note Part II—Census Population Record overleaf should be filled up during the first round of enumeration (10 February to 28 February) from the enumeration slips relating to the household and brought up-to-date with corrections, if any, after the second visit during check period 1st March to 3rd March, 1961.

[Actual Size of the Form used 6½ × 8"]

(REVERSE)

PART II.—CENSUS POPULATION RECORD

(To be compiled from individual Census Slips)

Name	Sex		Relationship to Head	Age	Marital status	Description of work in the case of worker
	Ma'e M	Fe-male F				
Total Persons						

Dated Signature of Supervisor.

Dated Signature of Enumerator.

INDIVIDUAL SLIP

[Actual size of the form used—5" × 6½"]

CONFIDENTIAL CENSUS 1961

Location Code

1 (a) Name

1 (b) Relationship to Head

2 Age last birthday

3 Marital Status

4 (a) Birth-place

4 (b) Born R/U

4 (c) Duration of residence if born elsewhere

5 (a) Nationality

5 (b) Religion

5 (c) S C / S T

6 Literacy & Education

7 (a) Mother tongue

7 (b) Any other language(s)

8 Working as Cultivator

9 Working as Agricultural labourer

10 Working at Household Industry

(a) Nature of Work

(b) Nature of Household Industry

(c) If Employee

11 Doing Work Other than 8, 9 or 10

(a) Nature of Work

(b) Nature of Industry, Profession, Trade or Service

(c) Class of Worker

(d) Name of Establishment

12 Activity if Not Working

13 Sex

APPENDIX II

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING UP THE HOUSELIST

Column 1.—Line Number.

Only one digit of the line number has been printed in this column. The line numbers should be continuous for your block. Where the line numbers exceed 9 write the earlier digit(s) yourself.

Column 2.—Building Number (Municipal or Local Authority or Census Number, if any).

This refers to the entire structure on the ground. There are, however, high, large or long buildings along a street or lane which have been partitioned or portions of which have been sold, which have distinct, separate main exit on the road and which belong to separate owners or occupiers or alternatively there are a series of different houses joined each to each by common walls on either side to make the whole look like one building but parts of which have been built at different times and belong to separate owners. Such distinguishable structures, although not separate from each other should be regarded as separate buildings and given separate numbers. Each building should have a separate number If in big cities a large mansion or building containing several census houses has well known name by which it is generally known then the name of the building should also be recorded for convenient reference. If there are more than one structure within an enclosed or open compound belonging to the same person, *e.g*, the main house, the servants' quarters, the garage, etc., only one building number should be given. If the locality consists of a number of streets in a village, the buildings in the various streets should be numbered continuously and the streets should be taken in uniform order, from North-West to South-East. Experience suggests that the best way of numbering is to continue with one consecutive serial on one side of the street and complete the numbering on that side before crossing over to the end of the other side of the street and continuing with the serial, stopping finally opposite to where the first numbering began. In a city enumeration block, the numbering will have to respect the axis of the street and not any preconceived geographical direction like North-West. A building under construction should also be given a number in the serial. If a new hut or building is constructed between the time when the house-numbering and houselisting have been completed and the census count it should be given a new number beyond the last number of the serial for the village. Arabic numerals should be used for building numbers.

This will facilitate verification by supervisors. In areas *e.g.*, urban, where the building are already numbered by the municipal or other authorities, the enumarator may adopt the existing numbers in the Houselist. In such cases, column 2 will carry the established municipal or local authority number which will facilitate identification. Where there are municipal or local authority numbers but there are reasons to believe that the number is incomplete or unsatisfactory, the municipal or local authority number may still be entered in column 2, but at the same time it will be necessary to serially number the buildings afresh for the purposes of census houselist. In that case, the new census serial for buildings will be entered in column 3 and the new census numbers for the buildings will have to be painted on the buildings themselves In those cases where there are no municipal or local authority numbers in existence, all buildings will have to be serially numbered for the census and column 2 will contain entries of this census serial This number will have to be repeated in column 3 with sub-numbers for census houses, if any

Column 3.—Building Number (Column 2) with sub-numbers for each Census House.

A census house is a structure or part of a structure inhabited or vacant, or a dwelling, a shop, a shop-*cum*-dwelling or a place of business workshop, school, etc., with a separate entrance.

If a building has a number of flats or blocks which have separate entrances of their own and are independent of each other giving on the road or a common staircase or a common courtyard leading to a main gate, they will be considered as separate census houses If within an enclosed or open compound there are separate buildings then each such building will also be a separate census house If all the structures within an enclosed compound are together treated as one building then each structure with a separate entrance should be treated as a separate census house.

The order in which census houses within a buildings should be numbered should be continuous, preferably clockwise, or in any convenient manner if it is at all difficult to do it clockwise. If a building itself is a census house, then it will have only one number, namely, that of the building If within a building there are a number of census houses then each census house will have two sets of number, *e.g.*, the number of the building and the sub-number of the census house. The census house number should be written after the building number in arabic numerials in brackets such as 2(2), 3(2), etc. A census house may contain more than one household in which case, each household will have to be denoted by a separate alphabetical sub-number (see instructions for column 11 below).

Column 4.—*Purpose for which census house used, e.g., dwelling, shop, shop-cum-dwelling, business, factory, workshop, school or other institution, jail, hostel, hotel etc.*

The actual use to which a census house is put should be written here.

In the case of a factory or workshop 'Factory' should be written for a large factory if registered under the Indian Factories Act and 'Workshop' for a small unregistered workshop. A workshop is a place where some kind of production, repair, or

servicing goes on or where goods or articles are made and sold. Similarly, a shop is a place where articles are sold for cash or credit. Business houses are those where transactions in money or other articles are taking place *e.g.*, bank, etc. But rooms or apartments where professional consultations are held such as by doctors *hakims*, pleaders etc., should be described as 'professional consultation rooms' and not workshops. In the case, however, of a dispensary where, in addition to consultation by a doctor, medicines are prepared and sold, the house should be described as a dispensary. Write also if used for place of workship or congregation or if unoccupied, 'vacant'. If the census house is a shop, business house, bank, etc. but is not a factory or workshop as defined above, the name of the proprietor, manager or director should be entered in column 18.

Columns 5 to 8.—"*If this census house is used as an establishment, workshop or factory*".

These columns apply only in cases where the census house is a factory or a workshop, *i.e.*, where some kind of production, processing, repair or servicing is undertaken or where goods or articles are made and sold. If the census house is not used for purposes of a factory or workshop write 'X' in each of the columns 5 to 8.

Column 5.—*Name of establishment or proprietor.*

Write the name of the establishment in the case of factories or large manufacturing concerns and write the name of the proprietor in the case of small workshops and establishments like confectioneries where no distinct name has been given to them like *Halwai* shop, etc. If the census house is not used for the purpose of a factory or workshop put 'X' in each of the columns 5 to 8.

Column 6.—*Name of product(s), repair or servicing undertaken.*

In this column enter the actual work that is being done in the establishment, factory or workshop, like paper making, shoe making, cycle repairing, motor servicing, etc.

Column 7.—*Average number of persons employed daily last week (including proprietor or household members, if any.)*

The total number of workers including apprentices, either paid or unpaid, employed in the factory or workshop, including the owner or proprietor and any of his family members (if working), should be entered. The average number of persons working per day during the week preceding the date of your visit should be entered.

In case more than one product is produced it is not necessary to enquire the number of persons employed in the production of each product. It may not be possible to get this information in cases where the operations may be composite.

Column 8.—*Kind of fuel or power, if machinery is used.*

If the factory or workshop uses steam or diesel engine or fuel, *e.g.*, kerosene, soft coke, electricity, water-mill, *etc.*, for running the machinery used for production, servicing or repairs, write what fuel or power is actually used.

Columns 9 & 10.—*Description of Census House.*

Column 9.—*Material of wall.*

Under this column the material out of which most of the walls of the house are made *i.e.*, grass, leaves, reeds, bamboo, unburnt bricks, mud, burnt bricks, stone, cement concrete or timber should be written. Where a house consists of separate structures each of different materials, the material out of which the walls of the main bedrooms are made are to be recorded.

Column 10.—*Material of roof.*

The material out of which most of the outer roof exposed to the weather and not the ceiling is made, *i.e.*, tiles, thatch, corrugated iron, zinc or asbestos cement sheets or concrete etc., should be written. In the case of a multi-storeyed building the intermediate floor or floors will be the roof of the lower floor.

Column 11.—*Sub-number of each Census Household with Census House number (Column 3).*

A household is a group of persons who commonly live together and would take their meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevented any of them from doing so.

There may be one or more households in a census house. Each household should be separately numbered. This can be done by using the alphabets as(A), (B), (C), etc. For example, if building No. 2 is also a census house and has three households, the household numbers will be 2(A), 2(B) and 2(C). If building No. 4 has two census houses, the houses will be numbered as 4(1) and 4(2). If within each house there are respectively 3 and 2 households, then they will be numbered as 4(1A), 4(1B), 4(1C) and 4(2A) and 4(2B).

Column 12.—*Name of Head of Household.*

The name of the Head of each household given in column 11 should be written here. The Head of a household, for census purposes, is the person on whom falls the chief responsibility for the maintenance of the household. The name of the person who is actually acknowledged as Head of the household should be recorded. In the case of places like messes, boarding houses, chummeries, etc., where people live together with no ties of relationship, the manager or superintendent or the person who by common consent is regarded as the Head should be recorded as Head of the household.

If the census house is used as a sitting place, cattle shed, etc., write the use to which it is put (and add the name of the owner).

Column 13.—*Number of rooms in Census Household.*

If a census house is occupied by one household the enumeration of rooms should be simple.

If a census house consists of a number of households the number of rooms occupied by each household should be entered on each line against the name of the Head of the household. In cases where more than one household occupy a single room or share more than one room in such a way that it is not possible to say the number of rooms occupied by each household, the number of rooms should be given together within brackets as common to both the households.

A room should usually have four walls with a doorway with a roof overhead and should be wide and long enough for a person to sleep in, *i.e.*, it should be at least 6 ft. long. Unenclosed

varandah, kitchen, store, garage, cattle shed and latrine which are not ordinarily used for living and sleeping should not be treated as rooms. An enclosed room, however, which is used for living, dining, storing and cooking should be regarded as a room.

Column 14.—*Does the household live in own or or rented house?*

If the household lives in own house write 'O'. If the household lives in a rented house write 'R'.

In the case of public building like schools, hospitals, etc., or places of worship, put 'X' in this column.

Columns 15 to 17.—*Number of persons residing in census household on day of visit*

Write the number of males residing in the household in column 15, the number of females residing in the household in column 16 and the total number of persons in column 17.

Column 18.—*Remarks.*

In this column should be entered any useful or significant information about the building or the census house or the census household that has not been entered in any other column. For example, if the census house is a shop the name of the proprietor or owner should be recorded in this column. If a census house is vacant at the time of houselisting but there is reason to believe that the house will be occupied in the course of the next few days and almost certainly before the census enumeration period, then the word 'Vacant' should be entered in column 4 and a remark should be entered in column 18 to the effect 'likely to be occupied shortly' Thus, the Remarks column should be utilised for recording all significant information relating to the building or census house or census household.

Each person engaged in housenumbering of one block will have to make out an abstract at the conclusion of houselisting and housenumbering. This abstract will be in the form shown below :

HOUSELIST ABSTRACT

Name and number of District ....

Name and number of Tehsil, etc..... .. . .

Name and number of Village/Ward. ... .

Enumerator's Block, etc. . . . .

Total number of sheets used ....

Census Household Numbers From..... . . To..... . .....

Total number of Census Households... ... .

Number of establishments, workshops or factories	Total number of rooms in all households	Number of persons residing in households :		
		Males	Females	Total

Dated Signature of Supervisor Dated Signature of Enumerator.

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

HOUSELIST

[Actual size of the form used—20" × 13"]

Name of District _____ (Code No.)

Name of Island/Taluk/Tehsil/Thana/Anchal/Town _____ (Code No.)

Name of Village/Ward/Mohalla/(Enumerator's Block) _____ (Code No.)

Line No.	Building Number (Municipal or local authority or Census Number, if any)	Building Number (Column 2) with sub-numbers for each Census house	Purpose for which census house used, e.g., dwelling, shop, shop-cum-dwelling, business, factory, workshop, school or other institution, jail, hostel, and hotel etc.	If this census house is used as an establishment, workshop or factory				Description of Census house		Sub-number of each Census household with census house number (Column 3)	Name of Head of Household	No. of rooms in census household	Does the household live in own or rented house? (a) Own (O), (b) Rented (R)	No. of persons residing in census household on day of visit			Remarks
				Name of establishment or proprietor	Name of product(s), repair or servicing undertaken	Average No. of persons employed daily last week (including proprietor, or household members, if working)	Kind of fuel or power if machinery is used	Material of wall	Material of roof					Males	Females	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	
6																	
7																	
8																	
9																	
10																	
													X				

Certified that the information is correct to the best of my knowledge. Signature of Enumerator _____ Date _____ Total for page

APPENDIX III

CENSUS SCHEDULES OR CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRES AND INSTRUCTIONS PERTAINING TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS PRESCRIBED FOR INDIAN CENSUSES FROM 1872 TO 1961

1961

(Individual Slip)

Location Code
1(a) Name
1(b) Relationship to Head
2 Age last birthday
3 Marital Status
4(a) Birthplace
4(b) Born R/U
4(c) Duration or residence if born elsewhere
5(a) Nationality
5(b) Religion
5(c) S C /S T
6 Literacy & Education
7(a) Mother tongue
7(b) Any other language(s)
8 Working as Cultivator
9 Working as Agricultural Labourer
10 Working at Household Industry
(a) Nature of work
(b) Nature of Household Industry
(c) If Employee
11 Doing Work Other than 8, 9 or 10
(a) Nature of Work
(b) Nature of Industry, Profession, Trade or Service
(c) Class of Worker
(d) Name of Establishment
12 Acticity, if Not Working
13 Sex

1951

(Individual Slip)

1 Name & relationship to head of household
2 Nationality, Religion & Special Groups
Part (a) Nationality
Part (b) Religion
Part (c) Special Groups
3 Civil Condition
4 Age
5 Birth-place
6 Displaced Persons
7 Mother tongue
8 Bilingualism
9 Economic Status
Part one. Dependancy
Part two. Employment
10. Principal means of livelihood
11. Secondary means of livelihood
12. Literacy and Education
13 (Optional to State Govts.)*
14 Sex

*STATE	NATURE OF QUESTION NO. 13 (OPTIONAL)
Assam, Manipur & Tripura	Holdings of Indigenous persons
Bihar	Fertility
Bombay Saurashtra & Kutch	Un-employment
Hyderabad	Are you unemployment and in search of employment? If so, since when?
Mysore	Un-employment
Madhya Pradesh	No of children born to a married woman and age at birth of the first child
Punjab	Are you unemployed since 9th Feb. 1951? If so, give reason.
Uttar Pradesh	Un-employment
Vindhya Pradesh	Un-employment
West Bengal	Do you cultivate land for which you pay rent ?

1941

1 Name
2 Sex
3 Race, Tribe or Caste
4 Religion
5 Married, unmarried, widowed or divorced
6 Age
7 Number of children born to a married woman and number surviving
8 Her age at birth of first child
9 Are you wholly or partly dependent on any one else
10 If so, means of livelihood of person on whom dependent
11 Do you employ (a) paid assistants, (b) members of household? If so, how many?
12 Are you in employment now? question 12)
Are you in search of employment?
To those who reply in the affirmative the further question will be put—How long have you been in search of it?
14 Means of livelihood in order of importance
15 (Only to be asked in regard to means of livelihood of a person shown as partly dependent against question 9 or any subsidiary means of livelihood returned by other persons against question 14)

Does this means of livelihood exist throughout the year?
If not, for what part of the year?
16. If you are employed by some one else, what is his business?
17. Were you born in this district? If not, in what district?
18. Mother tongue
19. Other Indian languages in common use
20. Can you both read and write? If so, what script do you write? Can you only read?
21. How far have you read? Give any examination passed
22. Are you literate in English?

1931

1. Serial No. of house or tenement
2. Serial No. of person
3. Name
4. Religion and Sect
5. Male or Female (enter M. or F.)
6. Married, Unmarried or Widowed (enter Divorced persons as Widowed)
7. Age (in years to nearest birth-day)
8. Race, Tribe or Caste
9. Earner or dependant
10. Principal occupation (this will be blank for dependant)
11. Subsidiary occupation (occupation of dependants may be given)
12. Industry in which employed (for organized employees only)
13. Birth district (or country)
14. Mother tongue
15. Other language in common use
16. Whether literate (*i.e.*, able to write and read a letter)
17. Whether able to read and write English
18. Insane, Totally blind, Deaf-mute, or Leper

1921

1. House No.
2. Serial number of person
3. Name
4. Religion
5. Male or Female
6. Married, Unmarried or Widowed
7. Age
8. Caste, Tribe or Race

9 & 10. OCCUPATION OR MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF ACTUAL WORKERS

9. Principal
10. Subsidiary
11. For dependants, the occupation of the worker by whom supported
12. Birth-district
13. Language ordinarily used
14. Literate or Illiterate
15. Whether literate in English
16. Insane, totally blind, leper or deaf-mute

1911

1. Census number painted on the house
2. Serial number of persons enumerated
3. Name
4. Religion (and sect of Christians)
5. Male or female
6. Married, unmarried or widowed
7. Age completed last birth-day
8. Caste of Hindus and Jains, tribe or race of those of other religions

9. & 10. OCCUPATION OR MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF ACTUAL WORKERS

9. Principal occupation
10. Subsidiary occupation, if any
11. If dependent, principal occupation or means of subsistence of actual worker on whom dependent
12. District, province or country in which born
13. Language ordinarily spoken in the household
14. Literate or Illiterate
15. Whether literate in English
16. If the person be insane or totally blind or suffering from corrosive leprosy or both deaf and dumb from birth, enter as such here

1901

1. House Number
2. Serial Number
3. Name
4. Religion
5. Male or Female
6. Married, Unmarried or Widowed
7. Age
8. Caste of Hindus & Jains, Tribe or race of others

9. & 10. OCCUPATION OR MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF ACTUAL WORKERS

9. Principal
10. Subsidiary
11. Means of subsistence of Dependants on Actual workers
12. Birthplace
13. Language ordinarily used
14. Literate or Illiterate
15. Know or does not know English
16. Insane, deaf-mute from birth, totally blind or leper

1891

1. Serial number and name
2. Religion
3. Sect of Religion (see Rule 3)
4. Caste of Hindus and Jains. Tribe or race of others (see Rule 4)

5. Sub-division of caste, & c. (see Rule 5)
6. Male or Female
7. Age
8. Married, unmarried or widowed
9. Parent-tongue
10. Birth-District, province or country (see Rule 10)
11. Occupation, or means of subsistence (see Rule 11)
12. Learning, literate, or illiterate
13. Language known by literate (see Rule 13)
14. If any person be insane, deaf-mute from birth, totally blind or a leper, enter that person as such below

1881

1. Serial number of each inmate
2. Name
3. Condition—*i.e.*, whether married, unmarried, widow, or widower
4. Sex
5. Age last birthday

6. & 7. RELIGION

6. Religion
7. Caste, if Hindu; sect, if of other religion
8. Mother tongue
9. Place of birth
10. Occupation of men, also of boys and females who may do work
11. EDUCATION
    1. Under instruction
    2. Not under instruction, but able to read and write
    3. Not under instruction, and not able to read and write
12. INFIRMITIES
    1. Unsound mind
    2. Deaf-mutes from birth
    3. Blind
    4. Lepers

1872

1. Number of Houses, whether terraced, tiled or thatched
2. Names of Males
3. Age
4. Religion
5. Caste or Class
6. Race or Nationality or Country of Birth
7. Occupation
8. Youths upto age 20 attending School, College or under Private Tuition
9. Able to read and write
10. Name or Designation of Females
11. Age
12. Religion
13. Caste or class
14. Race or Nationality or Country of Birth
15. Youths upto age 20 attending School, College or under Private Tuition
16. Able to read and Write
17. Remarks showing number of Males and Females, blind, deaf, dumb, insane, idiots or lepers

INSTRUCTIONS PERTAINING TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS ISSUED AT EACH CENSUS 1961

The economic questions relate to items 8 to 12 of the Individual Slip.

Qs 8 to 11 working—

These questions apply only to workers. A person who is working may be working as a Cultivator, as an Agricultural Labourer, at a Household Industry or may be doing any other work. You have to record the answers in questions 8, 9, 10 and 11 according as the person is working as a Cultivator or as an Agricultural Labourer or at Household Industry or doing any other work. He may be engaged in only one of the above four categories or in more than one. Thus a person can be working both as a Cultivator and an Agricultural Labourer, in which case he should be entered both in Q 8 and Q 9. Or, he may be working both as Cultivator and at Household Industry in which case he will be entered in Q. 8 and Q 10. Or, he may be working in any possible combination of 8, 9, 10 and 11, in which case he will be entered in the appropriate places. Or, he may be doing just one kind of work in which case he will be entered in only one of the four Questions 8 to 11.

Detailed instructions as to how the answers should be recorded in the individual questions are given against those questions below. You should carefully study them before recording the answers. For an undertrial prisoner enumerated in a Jail he should be recorded for the work of kinds of work he was doing before he was apprehended. Similarly, for a person temporarily in a hospital or similar institution he should be recorded for the kind of work he was doing before he was admitted into hospital or institution. But for a convict in a prison or for long term inmates of penal or charitable or mental institutions, the person's previous work should not be recorded but 'T' should be recorded in Q 12 below.

The basis of work will be satisfied in the case of seasonal work like cultivation, livestock, dairying, household industry etc., if the person has had some regular work of more than one hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season. In the case of regular employment in any trade, profession, service, business or commerce the basis of work will be satisfied if the person was employed during any of the fifteen days preceding the day on which you visited the household. If on the check or revisional round such a person is found to be unemployed no change in the original entry should be made. A person who is working but was absent from his work during the fifteen days preceding the day on which enumerated or even exceeding the period of fifteen days due to illness or other causes should be treated as worker. A person who has been offered work but has not actually joined should be treated as non-worker. Work includes not only actual work but effective supervision and direction of work.

Persons under training as apprentices with or without stipend or wages will be regarded as working.

An adult woman who is engaged in household duties but doing no other productive work to

augment the family's resources should not be considered as working for purposes of this question. If, however, in addition to her household work she engages herself in work such as rice pounding for sale or wages, or in domestic services for wages for others or minding cattle or selling firewood or making and selling cowdung cakes or grass etc., or any such work she should be treated as a worker.

Persons like beggars, pensioners, agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or divident receivers, who may be earning an income but who are not participating in any productive work should not be treated as working unless they also work in cultivation, industry, trade, profession, business or commerce.

A public or social service worker who is actively engaged in public service activity or a political worker who is also actively engaged in furthering the political activity of his party will be regarded as worker and entered fully in Q. 11.

Q. 8. working as cultivator—

For a person working as cultivator write C. For a person not working as cultivator and for a person not working at all put X.

For purposes of the census a person is working as cultivator if he or she is engaged either as employer, single worker or family worker in (a) cultivation of land or supervision or direction of cultivation of land owned or held from Government, and (b) cultivation of land or supervision or direction of cultivation of land held from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share.

Cultivation involves ploughing, sowing and harvesting and does not include fruit growing or keeping orchards or groves or working for plantations like tea, coffee, rubber, cinchona and other medicinal plantations. Persons engaged in fruit growing or orchardry or plantations like tea, coffee, rubber, cinchona and other medicinal plantations should be entered in Q. 10 or Q. 11 as the case may be.

A person who has given out his land to another person or persons for cultivation for money, kind or share of crop and who does not even supervise or direct cultivation of land, will not be treated as working as cutivator. Similarly, a person working in another person's land only as a labourer and has no right or lease or contract on land on which he works, nor is responsible for taking decisions as to which crops to sow and when, or taking the risks of cultivation and is paid for wages in cash, kind or share such as share of the produce (agricultural labourer) will not be treated as cultivator in this question.

Q. 9. Working as Agricultural Labourer—

Write AL for a person working as agricultural labourer, *i.e.*, a person who works in another person's land only as a labourer without exercising any supervision or direction in cultivation, for wages in cash, kind or share such as share of produce. For others put X. The labourer should have no right or lease or contract on land on which he works, nor should he be responsible for taking decisions as to which crops to sow and when, or taking the risks of cultivation. A share of the produce goes to him only as wages. He should have been working as Agricultural Labourer in the last or current cultivating season.

Q. 10(a) & 10(b). Household Industry—

If a person is working in a Household Industry write (1) the nature of work done by him in the Household Industry against question 10(a) and (2) the nature of the Household Industry against question 10(b). Otherwise put X in both questions 10(a) and 10(b). A Household Industry is defined as an industry conducted by the Head of the household himself and/or mainly members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas and only at home in urban areas. The industry should not be run on the scale of a registered factory. Thus the main criterion for a Household Industry is the participation of one or more members of a household in rural areas. In the urban areas the industry should be confined to the house. You should carefully keep in mind the definition of Household Industry in the rural area if you are enumerating a rural area and the definition in the urban area if you are enumerating an urban area.

A Household Industry should relate to production, processing, servicing, repairing or making and selling of goods. It does not include professions such as pleader or doctor or barber or waterman or astrologer.

A person though he may not be working in his own Household Industry may be working as a paid employee in another Household Industry. You should, therefore, enquire whether the person who is not working in his own Household Industry is working in any other Household Industry and if so, write the nature of the work done by him against question10(a) and the nature of the Household Industry against 10(b).

Q. 10(c) if Employee in Household Industry—

This question will be filled up only for a person who is working as a paid employee in another person's Household Industry In his or her case write E.E. For all others put X.

Q. 11. Doing Work other than 8, 9 or 10—

If a worker is not working as a cultivator or as an agricultural labourer or at any Household Industry write the actual work he is doing. If a person is working as a cultivator or as an agricultural labourer or at Household Industry and also does some other work (including dairying or livestock raising, orchard or plantation etc., as distinct from cultivation of crops), which does not relate to any of the above categories, write the other work he does in this question. If he is engaged in more than one work and neither of them relates to any of the three categories mentioned above write here the work on which he devotes more time.

Q. 11(a). Nature of work—

In the case of persons not working or who work only as cultivator or as agricultural labourer or at Household Industry, put 'X'.

Describe fully the nature of the work done by the person himself. Full and precise information as to the nature of work done by the person should be given either in the vernacular or in English or in vernacular transliteration of English. At previous censuses much trouble has been caused by inadequate answers, and if you do not succeed

in obtaining satisfactory information on the individual slips, you will be required to make a further visit for that purpose.

Q 11(b) Industry, business, trade, profession or service—

In the case of a person who is working and the nature of whose own work has been recorded in Question 11(a), you should write here the nature of industry, business, trade, profession or service in which the person works.

As in the case of Question 11(a), you should describe in detail the nature of industry, business, trade, profession or service in which the person works Vague answers should be avoided. In the case of industries, the articles which are produced or serviced or repaired, should be given. If more than one article is produced the chief article produced or serviced or repaired, should be given. In the case of business or trade the principal article of trade should be described. In the case of service describe the nature of the service to which the person's work belongs. The description should be such that it would be possible to classify the establishment in which the person is working for purposes of industrial classification of the population. The description should be either in the vernacular or in English or in vernacular transliteration of English.

In the case of a person for whom an X is put in Question 11(a), put an X in this question also.

Important points to remember in Question 11(a) and 11(b)

1 Women or children who help with work, such as rice pounding or doing domestic service for wages or minding cattle or selling firewood or making and selling cowdung cakes, grass, etc., should be described fully even if they work part-time. *In the case of married or grown-up women who do any of the work mentioned above in addition to the usual household duties such work should be fully described and HW written in brackets after the full description.*

2. If a person makes the articles he sells, he should be entered as maker and seller of them.

3. Wherever convenient, for complete description, the work should be expressed by the vernacular name by which it is known.

4. The following are too vague and must not be used by themselves:

Scientist, technician, civil servant, clerk, engineer, inspector, checker, foreman, overseer, supervisor, labourer, machinist, assistant, contractor, polisher.

5. *Labourers.*—For an unskilled labourer usually employed on one sort of work alone, give also the sort of work done, *e.g.*, railway porter, market or bazar porter, labourer employed on road digging, bricklayer's labourer. If accustomed to work on various jobs, write general labourer.

6. *Machine Operators.*—Always state the kind of machine giving its recognized name, if any.

7. *Shop-keepers, Retail dealers, Shop Assistants.*—If wholly or mainly engaged in selling, write, Dealer (if principal) or, Shop Assistant or Salesman (if assisting) and state whether the business is wholesale or retail or both For shop assistants and salesmen in stores with several departments, state the particular department in which engaged (*e g*, Ship and Railway Parts, Fans and Sewing Machines, Grocers and Confectioners).

8 *Transport Workers*—Describe fully the nature of the transport *e g.*, air transport, rail transport, transport by motor car or motor cycle, or vehicles drawn by horse, etc

9 *Services*—For a person engaged in the Defence Services write 'Service of Central Government'

10. If the job is known in the trade or industry by a special name use that name Managers, Foreman, etc should be given the department/branch wherever applicable *e g*, Sales Manager or a Manager of Hardware Department Machine Shop Foreman or Boiler Room Foreman, etc The following terms are insufficient by themselves:—

Manufacturer, merchant, agent, broker, refractor dealer, engineer and iron works, etc

11 *Domestic services*—In the case of any private servant *e g*, a cook or domestic servant, write only 'private cook or domestic servant'. There is no industry in his case but in the case of persons employed in hostels, restaurants, boarding houses, institutions etc, the words hotel, restaurant, etc, should be added.

For persons in the employ of Firms carrying on two or more businesses, if the businesses are carried on in separate premises then the business carried on at the premises in which the person is employed should be given If the businesses are carried on in the same premises but each has a separate organisation (*i e*, they have separate records of employment, production etc.) then the appropriate business should be quoted If, however, the two activities are carried on side by side then the major activity of the firm or establishment should be given

12 *Commerce*—Special care should be taken to see that the distinction between retail and wholesale business is clear As in industries, the goods handled should be clearly indicated

Q. 11(c) Class of worker—

For a person who is:

1. an Employer, that is, who hires one or more persons in his work described in Q 11(a).	write	MR
2. an Employee, that is, who does his work described in Q 11(a) under others for wages or salary in cash or kind.	write	EE
3. a *Single Worker*, that is, who is doing his work described in Q. 11(a) without employing others, except casually and without the help of other members of the family except casually. This will include workers working as members of co-operatives.	write	SW

4. (a) *Family Worker*, that is, write FW who is doing his work described in Q. 11(a) in own family without wages or salary in cash or kind.

For a person for whom an 'X' is put in Questions 11(a) and 11(b) put an X in this question also.

Explanation—

(i) An *Employer* is a person who has to employ other persons in order to perform the work entered in Q. 11(a). That is to say, such a person is not only responsible for his own personal work but also for giving work to others in the business mentioned in Q. 11(a). But a person who employs domestic servants for household duties or has subordinates under him in an office where he is employed by others, is not an employer, even if he has the power to employ another person in his office on behalf of his own employer or employers.

(ii) An *Employee* is a person who usually works under some other person for salary or wages in cash or kind. There may be persons who are employed as managers, superintendents, agents, etc., and in that capacity employ or control other workers on behalf of their own employers. Such persons are only employees, as explained above, and should not be regarded as employers.

(iii) A *Single Worker* for the purpose of Q. 11(c) is a person who works by himself but not as Head of Household in a Household Industry. He is not employed by any one else and in his turn does not employ anybody else not even members of his household except casually. This definition of a *Single Worker* will include a person who works in joint partnership with one or several persons hiring no employees, and also a member of a producers' co-operative. Each one of the partners or members of such producers' co operatives should be recorded as 'Single Worker'.

(iv) A *Family Worker* is a member who works, without receiving wages in cash or kind, in an industry, business or trade conducted mainly by members of the family and ordinarily does at least one hour of work everyday during the working season. For the purpose of the entire Q. 11, such as industry should be on a scale larger than what has been covered in 'Household Industry' in Q. 10 whether run at home or away from home in town or village and even away from village in rural area and should ordinarily be in the nature of a recognised partnership, joint stock company or registered factory. For the purpose of this definition members of a family may be drawn from beyond the limits of the household by ties of blood or marriage. The family worker may not be entitled to a share of the profits in the work of the business carried on either by the person or head of the household or other relative.

Members of the household who help solely in household duties should not be treated as family workers.

Q. 11(d) Name of Establishment—

Describe in detail the name of the factory, workshop, business house, company, shop, etc. If a person has no fixed place of work, write 'No fixed place of work'.

For a person for whom an X is put in Qs. 11(a), 11(b) and 11(c) put an X in this question also.

Q. 12. Activity if not Working—

This question will apply to a person NOT working.

Write 'X' in this question for a person who is working, that is, for whom you have recorded the work in any of the questions 8 to 11 above.

The following activities should be recorded in the case of persons NOT Working:

1. For a full-time student or child attending school who does no other work, such as make articles at home for sale, nor even help part-time in his own family cultivation, industry, trade or business.	write	ST
2. For a person engaged in unpaid home duties (like housewife or other adult female) who does no other work, such as make articles at home for sale or wages, nor help regularly even part-time in family cultivation, industry, trade or business.	write	HW
3. For any dependent, including an infant or child not attending school, a person permanently disabled from work because of illness or old age.	write	D
4. For a retired person who is not employed again, retired, person living on agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or any other person of independent means for securing which he does not have to work and who does no other work	write	R
5. For a beggar, vagrant or independent women without indication of source of income and others of unspecified source of existence.	write	B
6. For a convict in jail (an undertrial prisoner will be shown as a worker if he used to work before he was apprehended) or an inmate of a penal, mental or charitable institution.	write	I
7. For a person who has not been employed before but is seeking employment for the first time.	write	NE
8. For a person employed before but now out of employment, and seeking employment.	write	UN

Explanation—If a person, who does not work, cannot be readily classified in any of the above categories, put him in category 5 and write B in

the question. A retired person who has taken up regular work again should not be entered in this question as he would have been entered for his new work in the Questions 8 to 11.

A person who is not working but has been offered work which he has not joined should be included in item 3 and 'D' should be written. He should not be included in items 7 or 8.

INSTRUCTIONS PERTAINING TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS ISSUED AT EACH CENSUS

1951

(1) The Census is concerned with two economic characteristics of every individual—his economic status, and his means of livelihood. The scope and meaning of these expressions will appear from an explanation of three Census questions, viz:—

Question 9.—Economic status;

Question 10.—Principal Means of Livelihood; and

Question 11.—Secondary Means of Livelihood.

(2) Form of questions:

Question 9.—Economic status—

Part One—dependency—Write 1 for a self-supporting person, 2 for a non-earning dependant, and 3 for an earning dependant. Write the answer in first compartment.

Part Two—Employment—If a self-supporting person earns his principal means of livelihood as an employer, Write 1 as an employee write 2, as an independent worker write 3, Write O in other cases. Write the answer in the second compartment.

Question 10.—Principal means of Livelihood—An answer to this question should be recorded on every slip. If the slip relates to a self-supporting person record his principal means of livelihood. If the slip relates to a dependant (whether earning or non-earning) record here the principal means of livelihood of the self-supporting person on whom he is dependant. The means of livelihood which provides the largest income is the Principal Means of livelihood for a Self-supporting person who has more than one means of livelihood. In the case of other self-supporting persons it is the only means of livelihood.

Use the following contractions—Write 1 for a person who cultivates land owned by him; 2 for a person who cultivates land owned by another person; 3 for a person who is employed as a labourer by another person who cultivates land; 4 for a person who receives rent in cash or kind in respect of land which is cultivated by another person.

For all other means of livelihood write fully and clearly what the person does in order to earn his livelihood and where he does it.

Question 11.—Secondary means of livelihood—For a self-supporting person who has more than one means of livelihood, write the means of livelihood next in importance to his principal means of livelihood For an earning dependent write the means of livelihood which provides the earning. Use contractions given in question 10.

For a self supporting person who has only one means of livelihood write O. In the case of a non-earning dependant also, write O.

(3) Question 9.—Economic Status—The question is in two parts. The first part requires the labelling of every person as a "self-supporting person", or "an earning dependant" or a "non-earning dependant". Every single human being must be allowed one of these labels and not more than one of them, and this will be referred to as his Primary Economic Status.

The second part of the question has no application to non-earning dependants or to earning dependants It relates only to self-supporting person; and even among them, those exceptional cases of self supporting persons who support themselves without gainful occupation or economic activity (*e.g.*, rentiers and pensioners) are not covered. All other (that is, all those self-supporting persons who are both economically active and gainfully occupied) are to be allotted one or other of the three labels, viz, "Employer"; "Employee"; or "Independant Worker"; and this will be referred to as his Secondary Economic Status.

The following extracts from the model-instructions to enumerators explain the criteria to be applied and the treatment of border-line cases.

"Where a person is in receipt of an income, and that income is sufficient at least for his own maintenance then he (or she as the case may be) should be regarded as a "self-supporting person". Such income may be in cash or kind.

Anyone who is not a "self-supporting person" in this sense is a 'dependant'. A dependant may be either an 'earning dependant' or a 'non-earning dependant'; the test is whether or not he secures a regular income, even though it may be small. Where the income which he secures is not sufficient to support him, that person is an 'earning dependant'. A person who does not secure any income either in cash or in kind, is a 'non-earning dependant'.

Where two or more members of a family, household jointly cultivate land and secure an income therefrom each of them should be regarded as earning a part of the income. None of them, is, therefore, a non-earning dependant. Each of them should be classed as either a self-supporting person or an earning dependant, according to the share of income attributable to him (or her). The same applies to any other business carried on jointly.

This does not mean that anyone who works is necessarily a self-supporting person or an earning dependant. Thus for instance, a housewife who cooks for the family, brings up the children or manages the household is doing very valuable work. Nevertheless, her economic status is that of a non-earning dependant, if she does not also secure an income.

(An) Employer (is) only that person who has necessarily to employ other persons in order to carry on the business from which he secures his

livelihood. A person (who) employs a cook or other person for domestic service should not be recorded as an employer merely for that reason.

Persons employed as managers, superintendents, agents, etc. (who) control other workers are also employees only and should not be recorded as employers.

An independant worker means a person who is not employed by any one else and who does not also employ anybody else in order to earn his livelihood."

(4) Question 10.—Principal Means of Livelihood—"Means of Livelihood" of any individual ordinarily means the gainful occupation which forms the source from which that income which is utilised for his maintenance is normally derived; but it is more comprehensive, inasmuch as in exceptional cases, income may be secured without gainful occupation. "Principal Means of Livelihood" means the same thing as "Means of Livelihood" for every person who has only one means of Livelihood. Where a person has more than one, that which gives him the greater part of his income is his "Principal Means of Livelihood". In the sense thus defined, every human being, without any exception, has a Principal Means of Livelihood—whether or not he is a self-supporting person. Every non-earning dependant is maintained exclusively by the income of some self-supporting person on whom he is dependant. Consequently, the Principal Means of Livelihood of the latter is required to be recorded as the Principal Means of Livelihood of the former. The same rule applies to Earning Dependants also (no attempt being made to assess the degree of sufficiency of his own income or the extent of his dependence on others).

Agricultural and non-agricultural means of livelihood are distinguished by the manner in which enumerators are required to record the answers to this question. This is important for purposes of subsequent classification of the answers. The following extracts from instructions are relevant:—

"Four simple contractions have been provided which will cover most cases where the livelihood is dependant on agriculture—Write 1 for a person who cultivates land owned by him; 2 for a person who cultivates land owned by another person; 3 for a person who is employed as a labourer by another person who cultivates land; 4 for a person who receives rent in cash or kind in respect of land which is cultivated by another person. If you find that person falls under two of these categories note that category which provides the largest income against question 10 and the second against question 11. No note need be taken of more than two such categories in any case.

In all other cases .....Write fully and clearly what the person does in order to earn his livelihood and where he does it. There are three lines on the slip provided for answering this question. Use them fully. Avoid vague and general terms. Do not write "service", or "labour". If you are enumerating a trader, describe the articles in which he is carrying on trade and state clearly whether he is a wholesale trader or a retail trader. A retail trader sells to the public. A wholesale trader does not. If you are enumerating a factory worker give the name of the factory or the product it makes, *e.g.*, coal mine, jute factory, cotton mill, etc.

(5) Question 11.—Secondary Means of Livelihood—A self-supporting person may or may not have more than one means of livelihood. If he has more than one, that which provides the greatest income is recorded under question 10 as the "Principal Means of Livelihood" and the next under question 11 as the "Secondary Means of Livelihood". It has been laid down that no note should be taken of more than two such means of livelihood in any case.

[NOTE.—The word 'owned', used in relation to land, includes every tenure which involves the right of permanent occupancy of land for purposes of cultivation. Such right should be heritable, it may be, but need not necessarily be also transferable.]

The answer to this question is invariably 'Nil' for non-earning dependants. Exhypothesis they secure no income; they are supported by the Principal Means of Livelihood of the persons on whom they are dependant which alone is taken to be their only means of livelihood.

In the case of every earning dependant, there are two means of livelihood which are combined in order to support him. One is the Principal Means of Livelihood of the person on whom he is dependant. The other is the source where from he secures his own income. The former is always to be treated as the "Principal Means of Livelihood" of the "earning dependants"; and the latter as his "Secondary Means of Livelihood".

(6) Further elucidation of the scope and implications of these questions has been provided in supplementary instructions in the form of question and answer.

These are extracted below:—

I.—CENSUS QUESTION 9(1)

Question (i).—In the instructions the word are the test is whether he secures a regular income, even though it may be small. Does the use of word "regular" rule out persons who earn an income by seasonal employment?

Answer.—No. The word 'regular' is used in the sense of 'non-casual'. It is not intended to be confined only to income derived from continuous employment. It also includes income derived from seasonal employment. What it does exclude is individual income accuring casually and not constituting a secure of income which is regularly depended upon.

Question (2).—The word 'self-supporting' as defined in the instructions, means any person whose income is sufficient at least for his own maintenance. Does this mean that an income sufficient for one man is self-supporting income? What about his direct dependants—wife, children, etc.?

Answer.—Yes. The instructions mean what they say. A person must be deemed to be self-supporting if his income (such as it is) is sufficient to support him individually at his present level of living (such as it is). He does not cease to be self-supporting merely for the reason that he, his wife and children taken together are not maintained by his own income.

If the wife and children have no income of their own, they are non-earning dependants. The instructions provide that their principal means of livelihood should be deemed in every case to be the same as that of the person on whom they are dependant. This would in most cases be the husband or father who will also be the head of the household. In those exceptional cases where the husband or father is not the head of the household, and is also not able to support anyone but himself, then the head of the household in which the non-earning dependant is living is the person on whom he (or she) is dependant

Remember—every "family household" is (collectively) self-supporting; otherwise it would not exist. The surplus of self-supporting persons within a family household is in every case sufficient to meet the deficit on the earning and non-earning dependants in that family household.

Question (3).—In the instructions it is recorded that if two or more members of the family household jointly cultivate land they would be classed as self-supporting or earning dependant 'according to the share of income attributable to him or her". How are these shares to be assigned? What about females who, in some cases, take an active part in agriculture operations?

Answer.—The share of the income attributable to a person is what the head of the household (or whoever is the managing member) deems it to be No attempt should be made to make a detailed calculation of this share. All that has to be ascertained is whether (in the opinion of the head of the household or managing member) the member concerned is entitled to a share which would be sufficient to cover the cost of his own maintenance.

If the answer is 'yes' he is 'self-supporting'; if the answer is 'no' he is an 'earning dependant'.

The considerations are exactly the same whether the individual is a male or a female, an adult or a non-adult.

II—CENSUS QUESTION 9(2)

Question (4).—Are doctors and lawyers, who employ compounders and clerks independent workers or employers?

Answer.—They are employers. A doctor employs a compounder in order to relieve him of part of the work connected with the business on which he is engaged and by which he secures his livelihood. A lawyer employs a clerk for a like purpose.

Question (5).—A money-lender employs four persons to realise interest Is he an employer or independent worker?

* Answer.—He is an employer. He would be an employer even if he employed only one person provided that person was regularly employed and derived his principal means of livelihood by such employment. Casual employment, or part-time employment which does not provide the principal means of livelihood of the person employed, should not be taken into account.

Question (6).—What is the status of tenants or zamindars who do not cultivate themselves but employ labourers?

Answer.—If they employ others they are 'employers'—provided the purpose of the employer and the nature of the employment are as stated in the answers to the two preceding questions.

Question (7).—What is the status of beggars orphans in orphanages, convicts in jails?

Answer - They fall in none of the three categories. Record 0 for them.

III.—CENSUS QUESTION 10

Question (8) —What is the category of a minor a blind person or a lady who has land in his or her name but gets it cultivated by labourers.— Category 1 or Category 4"

Answer—Learn to distinguish between "cultivation of the land", and 'performance of labour necessary for cultivating the land". There are, of course, millions of persons who perform both function - but the functions are distinguishable and should be distinguished The man who takes the responsible decisions which constitute the direction of the process of cultivation (*e.g.*, when and where to plough, when and what to sow, where and when to reap and so on), it is this person who should be referred to as the cultivator, even though he does not perform any manual labour whatever. The man who ploughs, or sows, or reaps, under the directions of someone else is not the cultivator—but a cultivating labourer, a different thing altogether.

The cultivator may be the owner of the land cultivated. In that case he is category 1, whether or not he also combines in himself the functions of a cultivating labourer

Alternatively, the cultivator may be, a lessee, an agent or manager (paid or unpaid). Even in this case it is immaterial whether this lessee or agent or manager also combines in himself, the functions of a cultivating labourer; he (the cultivator) is category 2, and the other person (the owner) is category 4.

Applying these principles, the answer to the question put depends on whether, the minor, blind person, or lady does or does not actually direct the process of cultivation. If the person does this the answer is Category 1, otherwise the answer is Category 4

1941

Question No. 9.—(Wholly or partly dependent). A person who has no income in cash or kind is wholly dependent For such persons put a √. A person who contributes in cash or kind towards the support of the household without being definitely capable or supporting himself is partly dependant. For such persons write P (or the first* letter of the word for "partly"). For a person who is not dependent on any other person put a X.

Question No. 10.—(Means of livelihood of persons on whom dependent). In the case of persons who are wholly or partly dependent on another person enter the principal means of livelihood of the person on whom dependent. In the case of persons who are not dependent on others put X.

Question No. 11.—(Paid assistants employed, etc.). If the person employs any assistants paid regularly in cash or kind ask how many and show

the number against (a). If none, put a O. Ask how many members of the household regularly assist in the person's occupation and enter the number against (b).

Question No. 12. (In employment or not). If the person is in employment now, put a √. If he is not in employment now, put a X.

Question No. 13.—(Search of employment). For those who are in search of employment enter the periods in months for which they have been in search of it. For all others put a X.

N.B.—Questions 12 and 13 need not be asked in respect of any person below 16.

Question No. 14.—(Means of livelihood). Enter the various means of livelihood in the order in which they contribute to the livelihood of a person. In the case of a person who is wholly dependent put a X. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as 'service', or 'writing' or 'labourer'. For example in the case of labour, say whether in the fields or in a coal mine or jute factory, or cotton mill or lac-factory or earth work, etc. In the case of agriculture distinguish between persons who do not cultivate personally, who cultivate their own land, who cultivate rented land and who are hired labourers. Distinguish also persons who work land on Batai (share-croppers). If a person makes the articles he sells, he should be shown as "maker and seller" of such articles.

Question No. 15.—(Proportion of year in which means of livelihood is exercised). This question is only to be asked in regard to means of livelihood of a person shown as partly dependent against question No. 9 or any subsidiary means of livelihood returned by other persons in question No. 14. If the means of livelihood is exercised throughout the year put a √, otherwise state the period in each year during which it is exercised. In the case of wholly dependants and those for whom the question is not intended put a X. Agricultural means of livelihood should be treated as regular.

Question No. 16.—(Nature of employer's business). Only those persons are to be entered in this question who are employed by others and who receive cash remuneration. The word "employer" covers a company, etc. This question should not be put to those who have given their principal means of livelihood as domestic service or agriculture. For persons not employed by others and for dependants and for those persons whose principal means of livelihood is domestic service or agriculture put a X.

1931

Column 9 (Worker or Dependant).—Enter "earner" or "dependant". A woman who does house work is a dependant, so is a son who works in the fields but does not earn separate wages. A cultivator cultivating as a principal occupation is an earner.

Column 10 (Principal occupation of actual workers).—Enter the principal means of livelihood of all persons who actually do work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on house-rent, pension, etc. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as "service" or "writing" or "labour". Replies such as are given to a Magistrate in court are not enough. For example, in the case of labour, say whether in the fields, or in a coal mine, or jute factory, or cotton mill or lac factory, or earth-work, etc. In the case of agriculture distinguish between persons who do not cultivate personally, who cultivate their own land, who cultivate rented land and who are hired labourers. If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income must be entered in column 9, and in column 11. For dependants make a X only in column 10.

Column 11 (Subsidiary occupation of actual workers).—Enter here any occupation which actual workers pursue at any time of the year in addition to their principal occupation. Thus if a person lives principally by his earnings as a boatman, but partly also by fishing, the word "boatman" will be entered in column 10 and "fisherman" in column 11. If an actual worker has no additional occupation a cross (X) will be put. Dependants who help to support the family by subsidiary work, *e.g.*, a woman who helps in the fields as well as doing house work will be shown in this column.

Column 12 (Industry in which employed).—For managers, clerks, operatives or workmen employed in a factory or by any person employing industry fill up the name of the industry, *i.e.*, biscuit making, coal mining. For individual workers not employed by others put a X.

The following were the supplementary instructions printed in the code:—

Columns (9, 10, 11 and 12)—the entry of occupation in columns 9 to 12 of the schedules is another matter requiring special care.

Column 13—(9)—Only those women and children will be shown as earners who help to augment the family income by permanent and regular work for which a return is obtained in cash or kind. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not an earner but a dependant. But a woman who habitually collects and sells firewood or cowdung is thereby adding to the family income and should be shown as an earner. A woman, who regularly assists her husband in his work (*e.g.*, the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots), as an all-time assistant, is an earner but one who merely renders a little occasional help is not. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle is a dependant, but one who is a regular cowherd and earns pay as such in cash or kind should be recorded as such in Column 10. It may be assumed, as a rough and ready rule, that boys and girls over the age of 10 who actually do field labour or tend cattle are adding to the income of their family and should, therefore, be entered in Column 10 or 11 according to whether they earn pay or not. Boys in school or college should be entered as dependants. Dependants who assist in the work of the family and contribute to its support without actually earning wages should be shown as dependants in Column 9 and under subsidiary occupation in Column 11. Thus a woman who keeps house for per husband is a

* This will be prescribed by the respective Superintendents.

dependant and entered as such in Column 9, but has the subsidiary occupation, Column 11 of house keeping Similarly weaving is often an important subsidiary occupation for women dependents in some places and should be entered in Column 11, where it may or may not, have to take the place of house-keeping Only the most important subsidiary occupation should be given Prisoners in Jail who are likely to be released before the 26th February, 1931, should not be entered In Column 11 of the schedule prisoners should be classed convicts, rigorous imprisonment or simple imprisonment as the case may be or civil prisoners There previous occupation should not be shown and they should be shown in Column 9 as dependants

Column 14—(10)—Domestic servants must be entered as cook, bhisti etc, in Column 10 and not in Column 9 as dependants Persons temporarily out of employment should be shown as following their previous occupation

Stress must be laid on the importance of avoiding vague words like labour, or 'service' or shop keeping" The enumerator must enter the exact kind of labour or service and the nature of the goods sold In the case of service it is necessary not merely to distinguish Government service Indian State service, Railway service, Municipal service, Village service, service in a shop or office, and domestic service, etc, but also to show the exact occupation followed e g, in the case of Government service, whether collector, or army officer, or civil court clerk, or police, excise inspector, etc In the case of clerks the occupation of their employer must be shown e g, lawyer's clerk Persons living on an income derived from agriculture must be distinguished as owners (i e, non cultivating), cultivating owners, cultivating tenants (whether the rent is paid in kind or in cash) or agricultural labourers Where a person cultivates part of his land and sublets part, he should be shown in Column 10, as a cultivator and in Column 11 as a landlord but if he gets the greater part of his income from land which he cultivates himself, then he should be shown as cultivating owner in Column 10 Gardeners and growers of special products such as pan, etc, must be clearly described as pan grower, etc Persons whose income is derived from the rent of the houses or land in towns should be distinguished from those who derive it from agricultural land

Whether large gangs of coolies are employed on earth work of any kind, special instructions should be given to the Census staff to enter not only the word "earth work" but also the nature of undertaking (railway, road and canal, etc) in connection with which it is being done

Column 15—(11)—Where a man has two occupations, the principal one is that on which he relies mainly for his support and from which he gets the major part of his income A subsidiary occupation should be entered if followed at any time of the year Only one subsidiary occupation (the most important one) should be entered in Column 11.

NOTE—In cases where a person with private means follows some occupation, the occupation should be entered in Column 10 and the source of this private income in Column 11. It should also be explained to the enumerating staff that replies such as given to a Magistrate in court by a witness when asked for his profession, are not enough

A this Census principal occupation of 'earners was shown in Column 9 and that of the dependants, if any in Column 11 A entry dependant' in Column 9 and an entry in Column 11 of some specified occupation showed occupation of working dependant An entry in Column 10 showing principal business followed by an entry in Column 10 showing principal business followed by an entry in Column 11 showed subsidiary occupation of the principal earner An entry as dependent in Column 9 with no entries in Columns 10 and 11 signified non-working dependant At the last census, Column 9 showed the occupation of actual earners as their principal means of livelihood Column 10 was for showing the subsidiary occupation of actual workers The working dependants were virtually shown as workers with actual earners Column 11 was intended for showing the means of livelihood of persons on whom the dependants- non-working dependants as they are now called—depended for their livelihood There was no means of knowing the particular occupation or occupations to which 1931 non-working dependants looked for their maintenance

The figures of non-working dependants is therefore the difference between the total population and principal workers with working dependants of a unit

The innovation at the present census is that now only workers are shown for each occupation and workers are taken as consisting of three great classes (a) Principal earners (b) Working dependants (c) Subsidiary earners The enumeration of non working dependants for each group of occupations has been dispensed with altogether.

SOURCE OF SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS

Census of India 1931. Vol VIII, Bombay Presidency, Part I, p 219.

1921

Column 9 (Principal occupation of actual workers)—Enter the principal means of livelihood of all persons who actually do work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants or who live on house-rent, pension, etc. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as "service" or "writing" or "labour". For example in the case of labour, say whether in the fields, or in a coal mine, or jute factory, or cotton mill or lac factory, or earth-work, etc. In the case of agriculture distinguish between persons who receive rent and those pay rent.* If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income must be entered in column 9 under that occupation and not in Column 11. Column 9 will be blank for dependants.

Column 10 (Subsidiary occupation of actual workers).—Enter here any occupation which actual workers pursue at any time of the year in addition to their principal occupation. Thus if a person lives principally by his earnings as a book-

man, but partly also by fishing, the word "boatman" will be entered in Column 9 and "fisherman" in Column 10. If an actual worker has no additional occupation, the column will be left blank. This column will be blank for dependants.

Column 11 (Means of subsistence of dependants).—For children and women and old or infirm persons who do not work either personally or by means of servants, enter the principal occupation of the person who supports them. This column will be blank for actual workers.

In the instructions to the superior census staff, these rules were thus amplified:—

"The entry of occupation in columns 9 to 11 is another matter requiring special care. Only those women and children will be shown as workers who help to augment the family income. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker but a dependant. But a woman who collects and sells fire-wood or cow-dung is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as a worker. So also a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (*e.g.*, the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots), but not one who merely, renders a little occassional help. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle is a dependant, but one who is a regular cowherd should be recorded as such in column 9. Boys at school or college should be entered as dependants. Dependants on a joint family, the members of which follow different avocations, should be entered in column 11 under the occupation of the member who contributes most largely to the family income.

"Domestic servants must be entered in column 9, as cook, bhisti, etc., and not in column 11 as dependant on their master's occupation. Persons temporarily out of employ should be shown as following their previous occupation.

"Whenever large gangs of coolies are employed on earthwork of any kind, special instructions should be given to the census staff to enter not only the word 'earthwork' but also the nature of the undertaking (railway, road, canal, etc.) in connection with which it is being done.

"Where a man has two occupations, the principal one is that on which he relies mainly for his support and from which he gets the major part of his income. A subsidiary occupation should be entered *if followed at any time of the year*. Only one subsidiary occupation (the most important one) should be entered in column 10.

NOTE.—In cases where a person with private means follows some occupation, that occupation should be entered in column 9 and the source of his private income in column 10.

"Stress must be laid on the importance of avoiding vague words like 'labour' or 'service' or 'shopkeeping'. The Enumerator must enter the exact kind of labour or service, and the nature of the goods sold. In the case of service, it is necessary, not merely to distinguish Government service, railway service, municipal service, village service, service in a shop or office, and domestic service, etc., but also to show the exact occupation followed, *e.g.*, in the case of Government service, whether Collector or Army Officer, or Civil Court clerk or Police Inspector etc. In the case of clerks, the ocupation of their employer must be shown, *e.g.*, lawyer's clerk. Persons living on agriculture must be distinguished as landlords or rent receivers, and actual cultivators or rent payers. Where a person cultivates part of his land and sublets part, he should be shown in column 9 as a cultivator and in column 10 as a landlord, if he gets the greater part of his income from the land which he cultivates himself, and vice versa. Gardeners and growers of special products, such as betel, cocoanut, etc., must be shown as such. Persons whose income is derived from the rent of houses or land in towns should be distinguished from those who derive it from agricultural land".

1911

(9) (Principal occupation of Actual Workers).—Enter principal means of livelihood of all persons who actually do work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on house rent, pension, etc. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as "service", or "writing" or "labour". For example, in the case of labour say whether in the fields, or in a mine or cotton mill or factory or earthwork, etc. In the case of agriculture, distinguish between persons who receive rent and those who pay rent. If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income must be entered in Column 9 under that occupation and not in column 11. Column 9 will be blank for dependants.

(10) (Subsidiary Occupation of Actual Workers).—Enter here any occupation which actual workers number at any time of the year in addition to their principal occupation. Thus if a person lives principally by his earnings as a boat man, but partly also by fishing, the word "boat man" will be entered in Column 9 and "fisherman" in Column 10. If an actual worker has no additional occupation, enter in Column 10 the word "none". This column will be blank for dependants.

(11) For children and women and old and infirm persons who do not work, either personally or by means or servants, enter the principal occupation of the person who supports them. This column will be blank for actual workers.

SOURCE: (1911):—Bombay Town and Island Census, 1911 Enumerators Handbook.

The supplementary instructions to the superior staff as issued in 1921 were also issued in 1911.

1901

At the present census three columns were provided, as noted in the margin, two for the principal and subsidiary occupations, respectively, of actual, workers, and the third for the means of subsistence of dependants, or persons supported by the labour of others. The instructions for filling in these three columns were as follows:—

Occupation or Means of Subsistence of actual workers		Means of subsistence of dependants of actual workers
Principal	Subsidiary	
9	10	

* If any further sub-division of agriculturistis is contemplated in any province, provision will have to be made for it in this rule.

"Column 9 (Principal occupation of actual workers).—Enter the principal occupation or means of livelihood of all persons who actually do work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on private property such as house-rent, pension, etc. The column will be blank for dependants

"Column 10 (Subsidiary occupation of actual workers).—Enter here any occupation which actual workers pursue in addition to their principal occupation. If they have no such additional occupation, enter in this column the word 'none'. The column will be blank for dependants".

"Column 11 (Means of subsistence of dependants).—For those who do not work or carry on business, either personally or by means of servants, and who own no private property, enter the principal occupation of the head of the family or of the person who supports them. The column will be blank for actual workers".

In the instructions to supervisors these rules were thus amplified:—

'In column 9 general or indefinite terms such as 'service', 'shop-keeping', 'writing', 'labour', etc., must be avoided. The enumerator should find out and state the exact kind of service, the goods sold, the class of writing or labour".

"If a man says his occupation is service, it is necessary to distinguish:—

(1) Government service, (2) Railway service, (3) Municipal service, and (4) Village service, stating his rank and the nature of his work.

"In the case of domestic service the enumerator must state precisely the kind of service rendered. Pensioners should be shown as military or civil, as the case may be. Persons who live on the rent of lands or buildings in towns should be entered as landlords. Persons who live on money lent at interest or on stock, bonds, or other securities, should be shown as capitalists.

"In the case of agriculture distinguish.—(1) Rent receivers, (2) actual cultivators, including sharers, and (3) field labourers, separating those regularly employed from those who work by the day or by the job. Gardeners and growers of special products such as tea, betel etc., should be entered separately. In the case of labourers, not being agricultual labourers, distinguish earth-workers, labourers in mines, and operatives in mills, etc, stating the kind of mill or factory, such as jute mills, silk factories, etc. In the case of clerks the occupation of the clerk's employer should be noted. Accountants, cashiers, salesmen in shops, etc., should be shown separately. In the case of traders, the kind of trade should be carefully specified, and it should be stated whether they make what they deal in. In the case of large manufactures show the proprietor as a manufacturer, and specify the branch of manufacture, as cotton manufacture, etc. For minor industries state precisely the nature of the work done, for example, whether a weaver weaves cotton, silk, carpets, etc., whether a bangle-maker makes bangles of glass or lac, and so on.

"Persons engaged in home industries must be carefully distinguished from those employed in mills, whether large or small, and whether under European or native management.

"Women and children who work at any occution, of whatever kind not being an amusement or of a purely domestic character, such as cooking, must be entered in this column, whether they earn wages or not. If a man has several subsidiary occupations, the enumerator should enter in column 10, only that on which spends the most time. In the case of dependants of a joint family, several members of which earn money, he should enter in column 11 the principal occupation of the eldest. Servants should not be shown as dependant on the occupation of their master'.

Apart from the arrangement of columns, the main point of difference between the two sets of instructions is that in 1891 dual occupations were entered only where one of them was connected with agriculture, whereas at the present census, the entry of all dual occupations was provided for.

1891

RULE 11 --Column 11 (Occupation or means of subsistence). [Read this rule very carefully, and ask the supervisor about all cases which seem doubtful to you.]—Enter here the exact occupation or means of livelihood of all males and females who do work or live on private property, such as house-rent, pension, etc. In the case of children and women who do no work, enter the occupation of the head of their family, or of the person who supports them, adding the word "dependent", but do not leave this column unfilled for any one, even an infant. If a person have two or more occupations, enter only the chief one, except when a person owns or cultivates land in addition to another occupation, when both should be entered

No vague terms should be used, such as "service", "Government service", "Shopkeeping", "writing", or "labour", etc.; but the exact service, the goods sold, the class of writing or labour must be stated. When a person's occupation is connected with agriculture it should be stated whether the land is cultivated in person or all let to tenants; if he be an agricultural labourer, it should be stated whether he be engaged by the month or year, or is a daily field-labourer. Women who earn money by occupations independent of their husbands, such as selling firewood, cowdung-cakes grass, or by rice-pounding, weaving or doing house-work for wages, should be shown under those occupations. If a person makes the articles he sells, he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. If a person lives on alms, it should be stated whether he is a religious mendicant or an ordinary beggar. When a person is in Government, Railway, or Municipal service the special service should be entered first, and the word Government or Municipal, etc., after as clerk—Government, sweeper—Municipal, labourer —Railway.

If a person be temporarily out of employ, enter the last or ordinary occupation.

1881

16. Column 10.—Only such persons are to be shown in this column as actually do work contributing to the family income. Mere employement in such domestic occupations as spinning will not entitle women to be shown in this column unless the produce of their labour is regularly brought

to market. When a person has two or more occupations, he should be entered as following the occupation whence his income is chiefly derived (but if he combines agriculture with any other profession or trade, such as that of vakeel or money-lander, carpenter or smith, both occupations should be shown.)*

General terms, such as servant, work-man, dealer, must not be employed. In each case the specific service or trade in which the person is engaged must be named; *e.g.*, watchman, office-messenger, digger, ploughman, cloth-seller. General expressions, such as pesha-i-khud, must not be employed. In every case the occupation must be indicated by the common vernacular term by which it is known, and not by the Persian name; thus, Kumhar for potter, not Kasgar.

[*NOTE.—This addition was made after the issue of the general instructions.]

MGIPC—S1—5 RGI/64—4-11-65—1,500.

List of Agents for the sale of Government of India Publications as on 17-2-64

AGARTALA—Laxmi Bhandar Books & Scientific Sales (Rest).

AGRA—
National Book House, Jeoni Mandi (Reg.).
Wadhawa & Co., 45, Civil Lines (Reg.).
Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra (Rest).
English Book Depot, Sadar Bazar, Agra Cantt. (Rest).

AHMADNAGAR—V. T. Jorakar, Prop., Rama General Stores, Navi Path (Rest).

AHMEDABAD—
Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road (Reg.).
Chandra Kant Chiman Lal Vora, Gandhi Road (Reg.).
New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge (Reg.).
Mahalan Bros., Opp. Khadia Police Gate (Rest).
Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road (Reg.).

AJMER—
Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate (Reg.).
Rajputana Book House, Station Road (Reg.).
Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata (Reg.).
Vijay Bros., Kutchery Road (Rest).
Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road (Rest).

ALIGARH—Friends' Book House, Muslim University Market (Reg.).

ALLAHABAD—
Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U. P.
Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road (Reg.).
Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 (Reg.).
Ram Narain Lal Beni Madho, 2-A, Katra Road (Reg.).
Universal Book Co., 20, M. G. Road (Reg.).
The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road (Reg.).
Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg (Rest)
Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg (Rest).
Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest).

AMBALA—
English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. (Reg.).
Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. (Rest).

AMRITSAR—
The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh (Reg.).
S. Gupta, Agent, Government Publications, Near P. O. Majith Mandi (Reg.).
Amar Nath & Sons, Near P. O. Majith Mandi (Reg.).

ANAND—
Vijaya Stores, Station Road (Rest).
Charto Book Stall, Tulsi Sadan, Stn. Road (Rest).

ASANSOL—D. N. Roy & R. K. Roy, Booksellers, Atwal Building (Rest)

BANGALORE—
The Bangalore Legal Practitioner Co-op. Society Ltd., Bar Association Building (Reg.).
S. S. Book Emporium, 119, Mount Joy Road (Reg.).
The Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, P. O. Box 507 (Reg.).
The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road (Reg.).
Vichara Sahitya Private Ltd., Balepet (Reg.).
Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar (Reg.).
Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road (Rest).
International Book House P. Ltd., 4F, Mahatma Gandhi Rd. (Reg.).
Navakarnataka Pubns. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle (Rest).

BAREILLY—Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar (Reg.).

BARODA—
Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura (Rest).
Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent (Rest).
New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road (Rest).

BEAWAR—The Secretary, S. D. College, Co-operative Stores Ltd. (Rest).

BELGHARIA—Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24-Parganas), 5/1, Amlica Mukherjee Road (Reg.).

BHAGALPUR—Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road (Reg.)

BHOPAL—
Superintendent, State Government Press.
Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road (Reg.).
Delite Books, Opp. Bhopal Talkies (Rest).

BHUBANESWAR—Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 (Rest).

BIJAPUR—Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop., Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk (Rest).

BIKANER—Bhandani Bros. (Rest).

BILASPUR—Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar (Rest).

BOMBAY—
Supdt., Printing and Stationery, Queens Road.
Charles Lambert and Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.).
Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar (Reg.).
Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St. (Reg.).
Current Technical Literature Co. P. Ltd., India House, 1st floor (Reg.).
International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M. G. Road (Reg.).
Lakkami Book Depot, Girgaum (Reg.).
Ripees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi (Reg.).
P. P. H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khotwadi Main Road (Reg.).
New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.).

BOMBAY—*contd.*
Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road (Reg.).
Sunder Das Gain Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street (Reg.).
D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.).
Thacker and Co., Rampart Row (Reg.).
N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street (Reg.).
The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road (Reg.).
P. H. Rama Krishna and Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road No. 5 (Rest).
C. Jamnadas and Co., Booksellers, 144-C, Princess St. (Reg.).
Indu Nath and Co., A-8, Daulat Nagar Borivli (Reg.).
Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/88, Netaji Subhas Road (Reg.).
Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road (Rest).
Bennington Publishers, 22, Bell Bldg., Sir P. M. Road (Rest).
Bombay National History Society, 91, Walkeshwar Road (Reg.).
Deewanadas and Co. 16, Nasiris Building, Esp. Al Estate (Rest).
Asian Trading Co., 340, the Mirabadi, P. B. 1808 (Rest).

CALCUTTA—
Chatterjee and Co., 2/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane (Reg.).
Dass Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street (Reg.).
Hindu Library, 69A, Bolaram De Street (Reg.).
S. K. Lahiri and Co. P., Ltd., College Street (Reg.).
M. C. Sarkar and Sons P. Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee St. (Reg.).
W. Newman and Co. Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street (Reg.).
Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street (Reg.).
R. Chambra and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33 Mission Road Extension (Reg.)
S. C. Sarkar and Sons P. Ltd., 1C, College Square (Reg.).
Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade East (Reg.).
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrur Lane (Reg.).
K. K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19 (Rest).
Sm. P. C. Upadhyay, 77, Mukteram Babu Street (Rest).
Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street (Rest).
Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringhee Centre (Rest).
Soor and Co., 125, Canning St. (Reg.)
S. Bhattacharjee, 40, Dharamtala Street (Rest).
Mukherjee Library, 10, Sarba Khan Road (Reg.).
Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.).
The Book Depository, 4/1, Madan Street (1st floor), (Rest).
Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhas Road (Rest).
Reliance Trading Co., 17/1, Banku Behari Ghose Lane, District Howrah (Rest)
Indian Book Dist. Co., 6512, Mahatama Gandhi Road (Rest).

CALICUT—Touring Book Stall (Rest).

CHANDIGARH—
Supdt., Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab.
Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 (Reg.).
Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 (Reg.).
Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22 D (Reg.).
English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22D (Rest).
Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22B (Rest).
Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 (Rest).
Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22B (Rest).

CHHINDWARA—The Verma Book Depot (Rest).

COCHIN—Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road (Reg.).

CUTTACK—
Press Officer, Orissa Secti.
Cuttack Law Times (Reg.).
Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabag, P. B. 35 (Reg.).
D. P. Sur & Sons, Mangalabag (Rest).
Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar (Rest).

DEHRA DUN—
Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpur Road (Reg.).
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar (Reg.).
Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318, Chukhuwala (Reg.).
Utam Pustak Bhandar, Paltan Bazar (Rest).

DELHI—
J. M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate (Reg.).
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate (Reg.).
Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate (Reg.).
Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market (Reg.).
Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies), P. B. 2027, Ahate Kedara, Chamelian Road (Reg.).
Book-Well, 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565 (Reg.).
Imperial Publishing Co., 8, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.).
Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar (Reg.).
Publication Centre, Subzimandi (Reg.).
Youngmen & Co., Nai Sarak (Reg.).
Indian Army Book Depot, 2, Daryaganj (Reg.).
All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Bldgs., Jawahar Nagar (Rest).
Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1582, Lajpat Rai Market (Rest).
University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar (Rest).
Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran (Rest).
Summer Bros., P. O. Birla Lines (Rest).
Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg (Reg.).
B. Nath & Bros., 2308, Charakhwalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest).
Rajkamal Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar (Reg.).
Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Booksellers, Nai Sarak (Rest).
Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhale Market (Reg.).
Tech. & Commercial Book, Cov., 75, Gokhale Market (Rest).
Saini Law Publishing Co., 1412, Chuhiwali Kashmere Gate (Rest).
G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 305, Nehru Bazar (Rest).
Sat Narain & Sons, 3141, Mohd. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate (Reg.).

List of Agents for the sale of Government of India Publications as on 17-2-64—*contd.*

DELHI—*contd.*
Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) P. Ltd., 26, Faiz Bazar (Reg.).
Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak (Rest).
Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak (Rest).
K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura (Rest).
Adarsh Publishing Service, 5A/10, Ansari Road (Rest).

DHANBAD—
Jamag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines (Reg.).
New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 (Rest).

DHARWAR—
The Agricultural College Consumers Co-op. Society (Rest).
Ramachraya Book Depot, Subhas Road (Rest).
Karnatakaya Sahitya Mandira of Publishers and Booksellers

ERNAKULAM—
Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road (Rest).
South India Traders, C/o. Constitutional Journal (Reg.).

FEROZEPUR—English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road (Reg.)

GAUHATI—Mokshada Pustakalaya (Reg.).

GAYA—Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg (Reg.).

GHAZIABAD—Jayana Book Agency (Rest).

GORAKHPUR—Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhas Road (Reg.).

GUDUR—The General Manager, The N. D. C. Publishing & Ptg. Society Ltd. (Rest).

GUNTUR—Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadriguda, Chowrasta (Reg.)

GWALIOR—
Supdt., Printing & Stationery, M. B.
Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar (Reg.).
M. C. Daftari, Prop., M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar (Rest).

HUBLI—Parvaje's Book House, Koppikar Road (Reg.).

HYDERABAD—
Director, Govt. Press.
The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul (Reg.).
Book Lovers Private Ltd. (Rest).
Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar (Rest).

IMPHAL—Tikendra & Sons, Bookseller (Rest).

INDORE—
Wadhawa & Co., 56 M. G Road (Reg.).
Swarup Brother's, Khajuri Bazar (Rest).
Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura (Rest).
Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace (Rest).
Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar (Rest).

JABALPUR—
Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj (Reg.).
National Book House, 145, Jai Prakash Narain Marg (R.)

JAIPUR—
Government Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan
Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema (Reg).
Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar (Reg.).
Vani Mandir, Sawai Mansingh Highway (Reg.).
Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar (Rest).
Popular Book Depot, Chaura Rasta (Reg.).
Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta (Rest).
Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P. B. No. 23 (Rest).

JAMNAGAR—Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar (Reg.).

JAMSHEDPUR—
Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 (Reg.).
Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih (Reg.).
Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market (Rest).

JAWALAPUR—Sahyog Book Depot (Rest).

JHUN JHUNU—
Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand (Rest).
Kapram Prakashan Prasaran, 1/90, Namdha Niwas Azad Marg (R).

JODHPUR—
Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents (Reg.).
Kitab-Ghar, Sojati Gate (Reg.).
Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar (Reg.).

JULLUNDER—
Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate (Rest).
Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala (Reg.).
University Publishers, Railway Road (Rest).

KANPUR—
Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall (Reg.).
Sahitya Niketan, Shradhanand Park (Reg.).
The Universal Book Stall, The Mall (Reg.).
Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk (Rest).

KARUR—Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram (Rest).

KODARMA—The Bhagwati Press, P.O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dt. Hazaribagh (Reg.).

KOLHAPUR—Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road (Rest).

KOTA—Kota Book Depot (Rest).

KUMTA—S. V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara) (Reg.)

LUCKNOW—
Soochna Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot).
Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj (Reg.).
British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj (Reg.).
Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 (Reg.).
Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj (Reg.).
Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road (Reg.).
Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar (Rest).
Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road (Rest).
Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park (Rest).

LUDHIANA—
Lyall Book Depot, Chaura Bazar (Reg.).
Mohindra Brothers, Katcheri Road (Rest).
Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar (Rest).
The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street (Rest).

MADRAS—
Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road.
Account Test Institute, P. O. 760, Egmore (Reg.).
C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane (Reg.).
K. Krishnamurty, P. B. 384 (Reg.).
Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane (Reg.).
P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street (Reg.).
Palani Parchuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane (Reg.).
NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (Rest).
V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Bldg., 111, Mount Road (Rest).

MADURAI—
Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street (Reg.).
Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street (Reg.).

MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—K. N. Narimha Gowda & Sons (Rest).

MANGALORE—U. R. Schoneye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128 (Reg.).

MANJESHWAR—Mukonda Krishna Nayak (Rest).

MATHURA—Rath & Co., Tilohi Bldg., Bengali Ghat (Rest).

MEERUT—
Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar (Reg.).
Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchery Road (Reg.).
Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank (Reg.).
Bharat Educational Stores, Chippi Tank (Rest).
Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents (Rest).

MONGHYR—Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building (Rest).

MUSSORIE—
Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall (Rest)
Hind Traders (Rest).

MUZAFFARNAGAR—
Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi (Rest).
B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura (Rest).

MUZAFFARPUR—
Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate (Reg.).
Legal Corner, Tikmanio House, Amgola Road (Rest).
Tirhut Book Depot (Rest).

MYSORE—
H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle (Reg.).
Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace (Reg.).
Geeta Book House, Booksellers & Publishers, Krishnamurthipuram (Rest).
News Papers House, Landsdowne Building (Rest).
Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace, Ramvilas (Rest).

NADIAD—R. S. Desay, Station Road (Rest).

NAGPUR—
Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot (Reg.).
Western Book Depot, Residency Road (Reg.).
The Asstt. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House (Rest).

NAINITAL—Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar (Rest).

NANDED—
Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road (Rest).
Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P. B. No. 51 (Rest).
Sanjoy Book Agency, Vazirabad (Rest).

NEW DELHI—
Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus (Reg.).
Bhawani & Sons, 8F, Connaught Place (Reg.).
Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.).
Empire Book Depot, 272, Aliganj (Reg.).
English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. Box 328 (Reg.).
Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market (Reg.).
Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place (Reg.).
Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House (Reg.).
Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore), 16/B, Connaught Place (Reg.).
Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place (Reg.).

List of Agents for the sale of Government of India Publications as on 17-2-64—*concld.*

NEW DELHI—*contd.*
Saneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus (Reg)
United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus (Reg)
Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Khan Karol Bagh (Reg)
Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar (Reg)
Saraswati Book Depot, 15 Lady Harding Road (Reg)
The Secretary, Indian Met Society, Lodi Road (Reg)
New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Sty & Novelties, P B 96 Connaught Place (Reg)
Mehra Brothers, 50 G Kalkaji (Reg)
Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath (Rest)
Hindi Book House, 82 Janpath (Rest).
People Publishing House (P) Ltd, Rani Jhansi Road (Reg)
R K Publishers, 29 Beadon Pura Karol Bagh (Rest)
Sharma Bros, 17 New Market, Moti Nagar (Reg)
Aapki Dukan, 5/5777 Dev Nagar (Rest)
Sarvodya Service, 66A 1, Rohtak Road P B 2521 (Rest)
H Chandson, P B No 1014 (Rest)
The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India 23/B/2, Rohtak Road (Rest)
Standard Booksellers & Stationers Palam Enclave (Rest)
Lakshmi Book Depot 57, Regarpura (Rest)
Sant Ram Booksellers, 16 New Municipal Market Lody Colony (Rest)

PANJIM –
Singhals Book House, P O B 70 Near the Church (Rest)
Sagoon Gaydev Dhoud, Booksellers 7 Rua 31 de Janeiro (Reg)

PATHANKOT—The Krishna Book Depot Main Bazar (Rest)

PATIALA –
Supdt, Bhupendra State Press
Jain & Co, 17, Shah Nashin Bazar (Reg)

PATNA –
Supdt Govt Printing (Bihar)
J N P Agarwal & Co Padri ki Haveli, Raghunath Bhawan (Reg)
Luxmi Trading Co Padri ki Haveli (Reg)
Motl Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore (Reg)
Bengal Law House, Chowhatta (Rest)

PITHORAGARH—Maniram Puneetha & Sons (Rest)

PONDICHERRY M s Honesty Book House 9, Rue Dupleix (Reg)

POONA—
Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana (Reg)
Imperial Book Depot, 366 M G Road (Reg)
International Book Service Deccan Gymkhana (Reg)
Raka Book Agency Opp Natu's Chawl, Near Appa Balwant Chowk (Reg)
Utility Book Depot 1139, Shivaji Nagar (Rest)

PUDUKOTTAI Shri P N Swaminathan Sivam & Co East Main Road (Rest).

RAJKOT—Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah Booksellers and Sub agent (Reg)

RANCHI—
Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar (Reg)
Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar (Rest)

REWA Supdt, Govt State Emporium, V P

ROURKELLA—The Rourkela Review (Rest)

SAHARANPUR—Chandra Bharat Pustak Bhandar, Court Road (Rest)

SECUNDERABAD – Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street (Reg)

SILCHAR—Shri Nishitto Sen, Nazirpatti (Reg)

SIMLA—
Supdt, Himachal Pradesh Govt
Minerva Book Shop, The Mall (Reg)
The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall (Reg)

SINNAR—Shri N N Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India Sinnar (Nasik) (Reg).

SHILLONG—
The Officer in-Charge, Assam Govt B D
Chapla Bookstall, P B No 1 (Rest)

SONEPAT—United Book Agency (Reg)

SRINAGAR—The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road (Reg)

SURAT—Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road (Reg)

TIRUCHIRAPALLI—
Kalpana Publishers, Woraiur (Reg)
S Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road (Reg)
Palaniappa Bros (Reg)

TRIVANDRUM—
International Book Depot, Main Road (Reg)
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P B No 4 (Rest)

TUTICORIN—Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapel Road (Rest)

UDAIPUR—
Jagdish & Co., Inside Surarapole (Rest)
Book Centre, Maharana, Bhopal Consumers, Co-op. Society Ltd. (Rest).

UJJAIN—Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate (Rest).

VARANASI—
Students Friends & Co, Lanka (Rest)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P B 8 (Reg)
Glob Book Centre (Rest)
Kishnoor Stores, University Road, Lanka (Reg)
B H U Book Depot (Rest)

VELLORE A Venkatasubban, Law Booksellers (Reg)

VIJAYAWADA The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road Governpet (Rest)

VISAKHAPATNAM –
Gupta Brothers Vizia Bldg (Reg)
Book Centre 11 07 Main Road (Reg)
The Secy Andhra University General Co-op Stores Ltd. (Rest)

VIZIANAGARAM Sarda & Co (Rest)

WARDHA Swarajya Bhandar, Bhorji Market (Reg)

For Local Sale

Govt of India Kitab Mahal Janpath, Opp India Coffee House, New Delhi
Govt of India Rest Depot 8 Bankim Chatterjee Street Calcutta
His Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W.C.2.

Railway Bookstall Holders

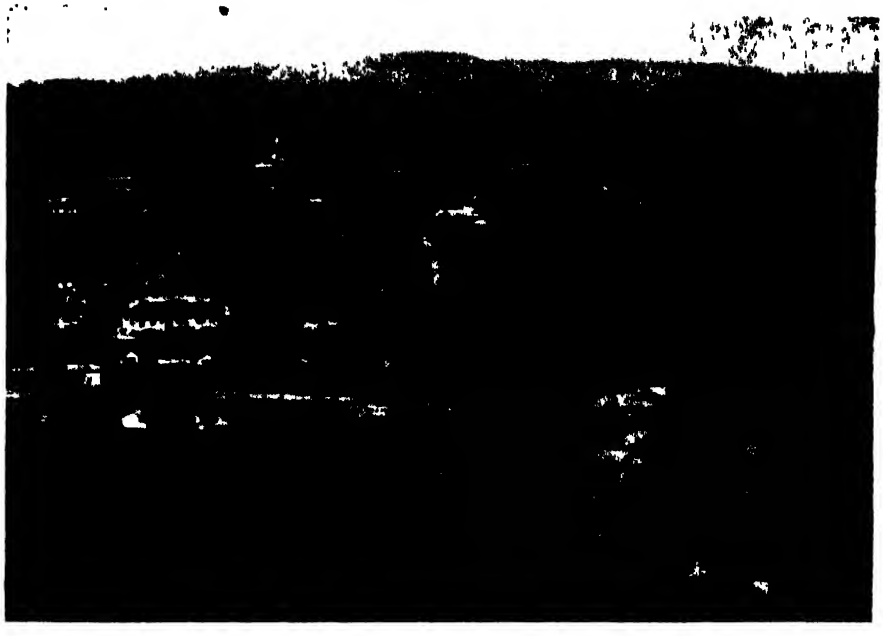
S S V H Wheeler & Co, 1 Elgin Road, Allahabad
Gulab Bros K. K. M Road Bikaner
Higginbothams & Co Ltd Mount Road Madras
Mohan Singh & Sons Private Ltd Mathura Road New Delhi

Foreign

S S Education Enterprise Private Ltd, Kathmandu (Nepal)
S S Alfa Robert C K Fritzes Kungl, Hovbokhandel Fredsgatan, Box 656 Stockholm 16 (Sweden)
Reisinger Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenbergstra 21, Stuttgart No 1124 Stuttgart den (Germany West).
Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452 Riverside Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 NWY
The Principal for Book Centre Lakshmi Mansions, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan)

On S and R Basis

The Head Clerk Govt Book Depot, Ahmedabad
The Asstt Director Extension Centre Kapileswar Road, Belgaum
The Employment Officer Employment Exchange Dhar
The Asstt Director Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No 1, Jabalpur
The O I C Extension Centre Club Road Muzaffarpur
The Director Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt of India, Ministry of Mines and Fuel, Nagpur
The Asstt Director Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat)
The Head Clerk Photo zincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona
Govt Printing & Stationery Rajkot
The O I/C Extension Centre Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi
The Director S I S I Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna, Surat
The Registrar of Companies Narayani Building, 27, Brabourne Road, Calcutta 1
The Registrar of Companies Kerala, 50, Fest Road, Ernakulam
The Registrar of Companies H No 3-5 84, Hyderguda, Hyderabad.
Registrar of Companies Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong.
Registrar of Companies Sunlight Insurance Bldg, Ajmeri Gate Extension New Delhi
Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City.
Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Jamal Road Patna-1
Registrar of Companies Raj & Ajmer, Shri Kamla Prasad House, 1st Floor, Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur
The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Bldg, 6, Linghi Chetty St, P B 1550, Madras
The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott Bldg P B 114, Kanpur
The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100 Marine Drive, Bombay.
The Registrar of Companies, 162 Brigade Road, Bangalore.
The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior
Asstt Director Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.
Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Chandi, Cuttack.
The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Bldg., Ahmedabad
Publication Division, Sale Depot, North Block, New Delhi
The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi
The O I/C, University Employment Bureau, Lucknow
O I C, S I S I Extension Centre, Malda
The O I/C, S I S I Extension Centre, Habra, Tabalaria, 24-Parganas.
O I/C, S I S I Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P O. Burnipur
O I/C, S I S I., Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 28, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46.
O I/C, S I S I Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta.
Asstt Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad.
Asstt Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt (A P.).
Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua.
Dy Director Incharge, S. I. S I, C/o Chief Civil Admn., Goa, Panjim.
The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur
The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan, Mornia
The O I/C., State Information Centre, Hyderabad.
The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry.
The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Soudha (P. B. 371), Bangalore.



A view of part of Shillong

Ward Lake—Shillong

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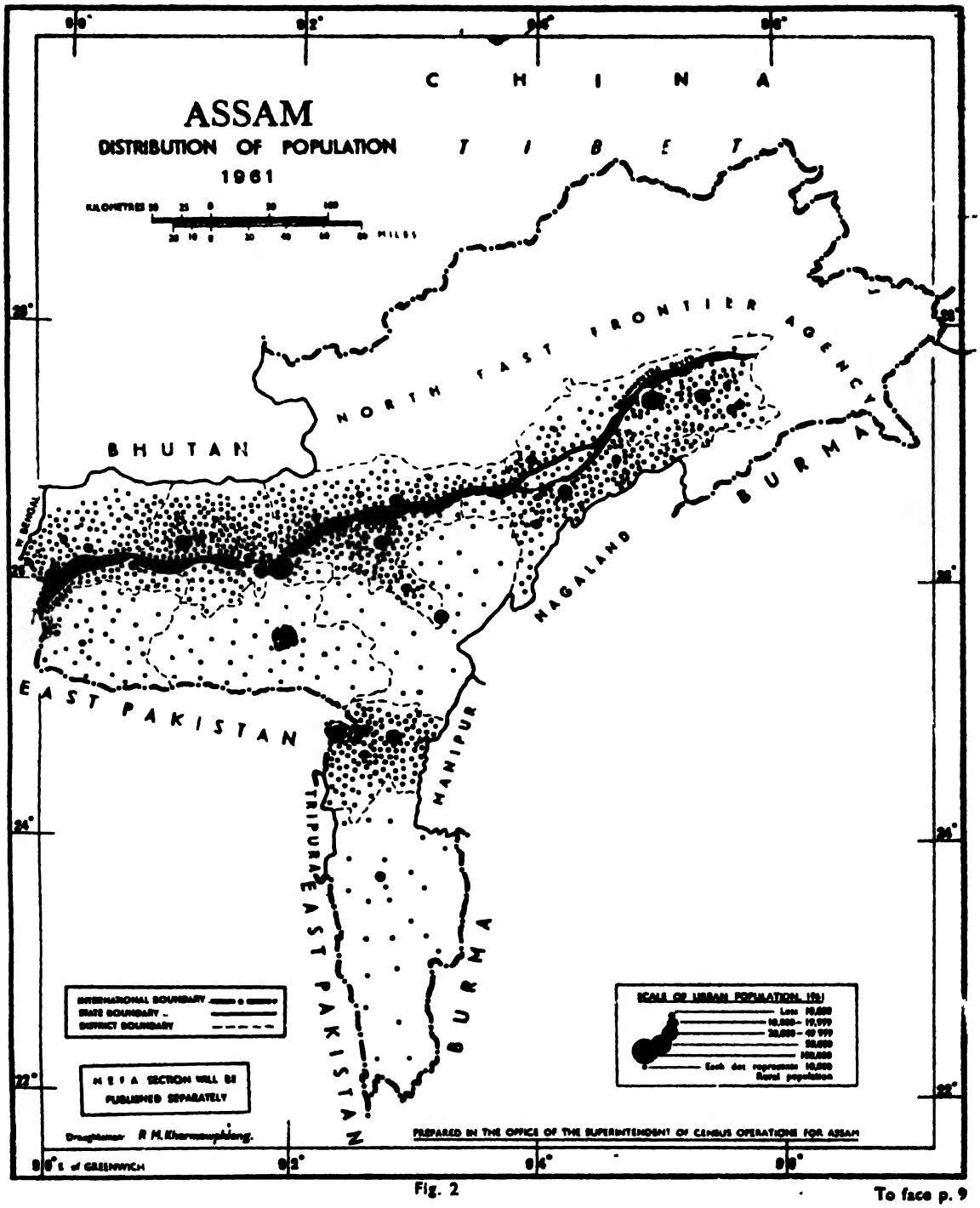

Fig. 2

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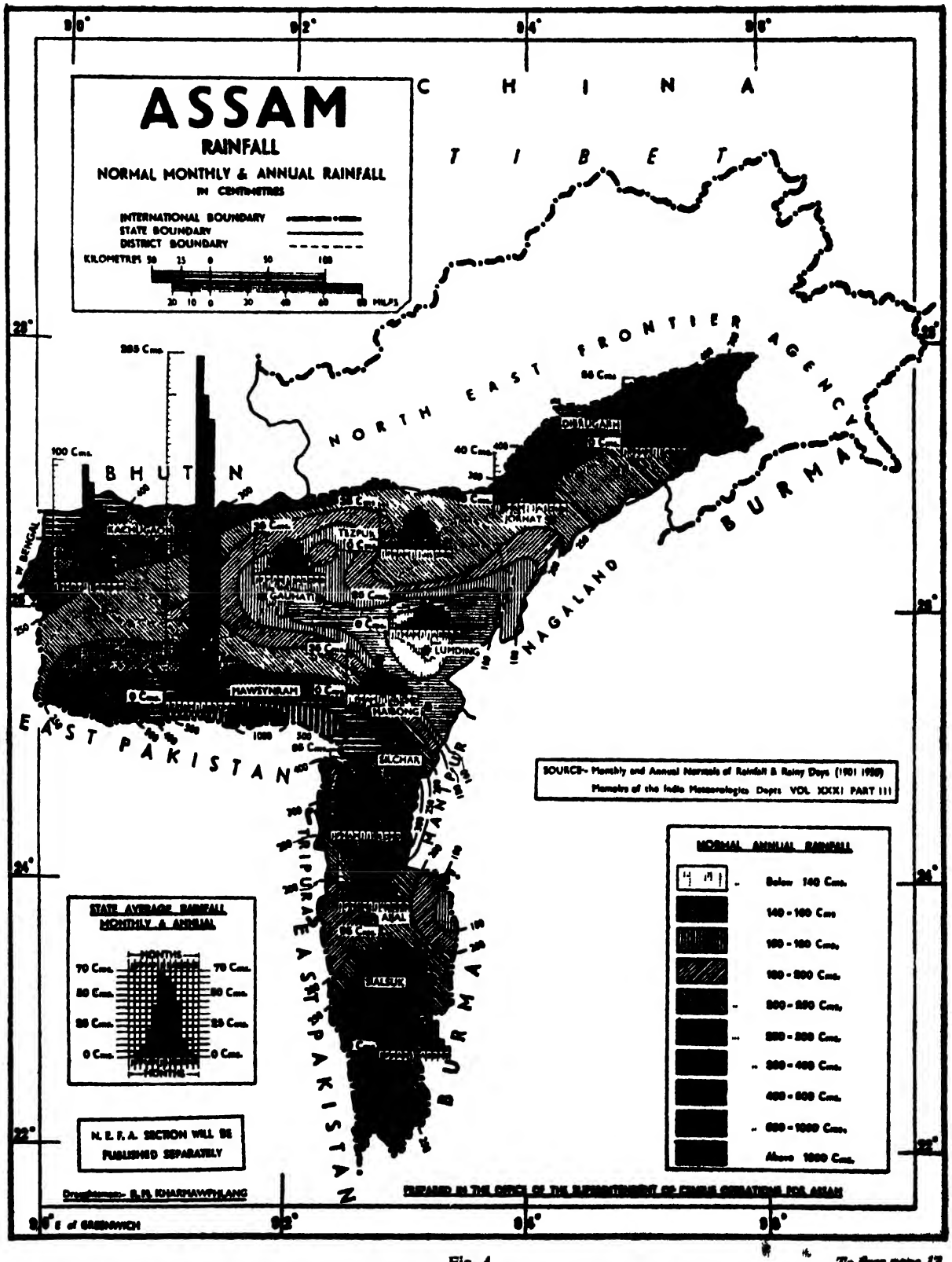

Fig. 4

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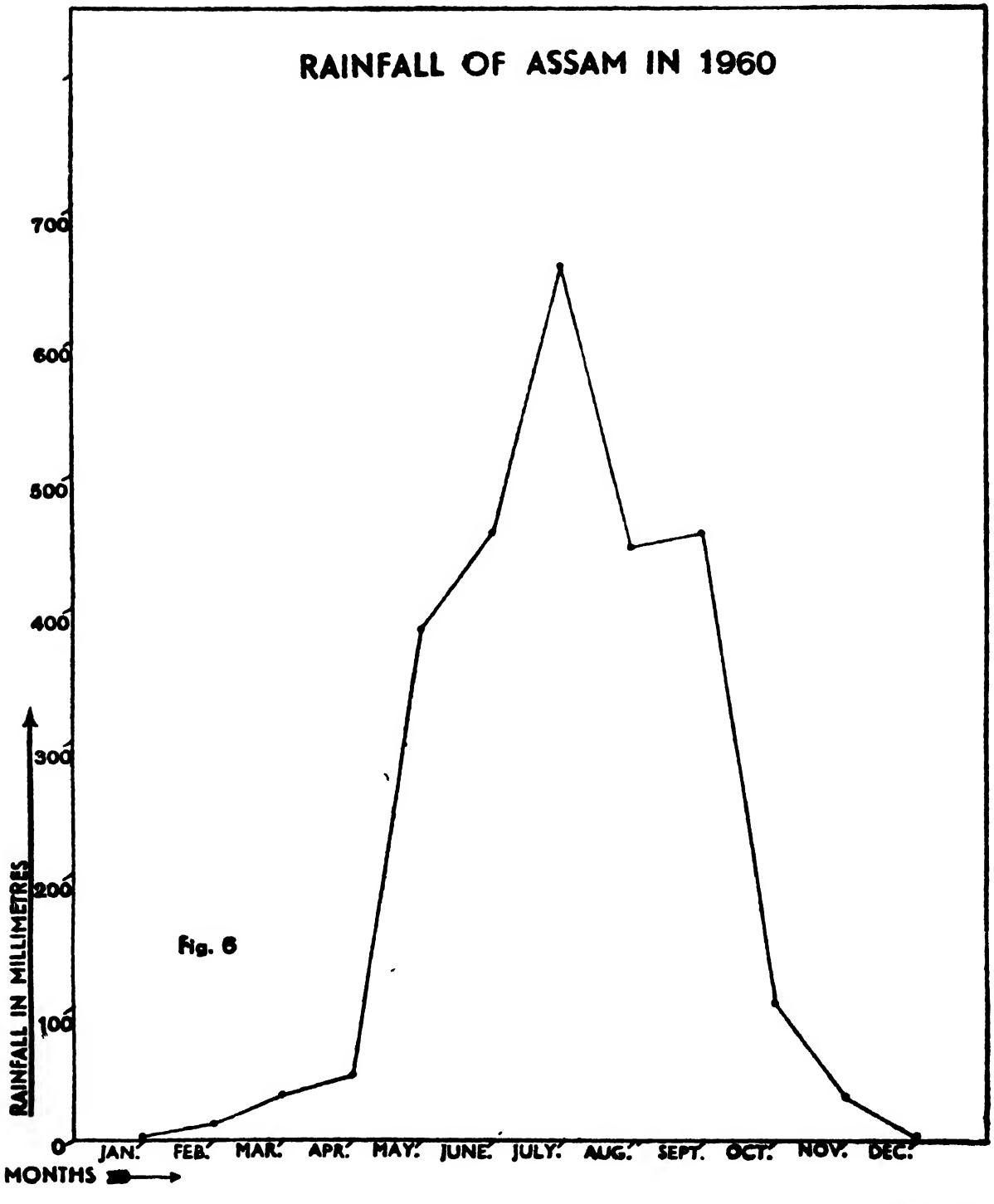

Fig. 6

To face page 19

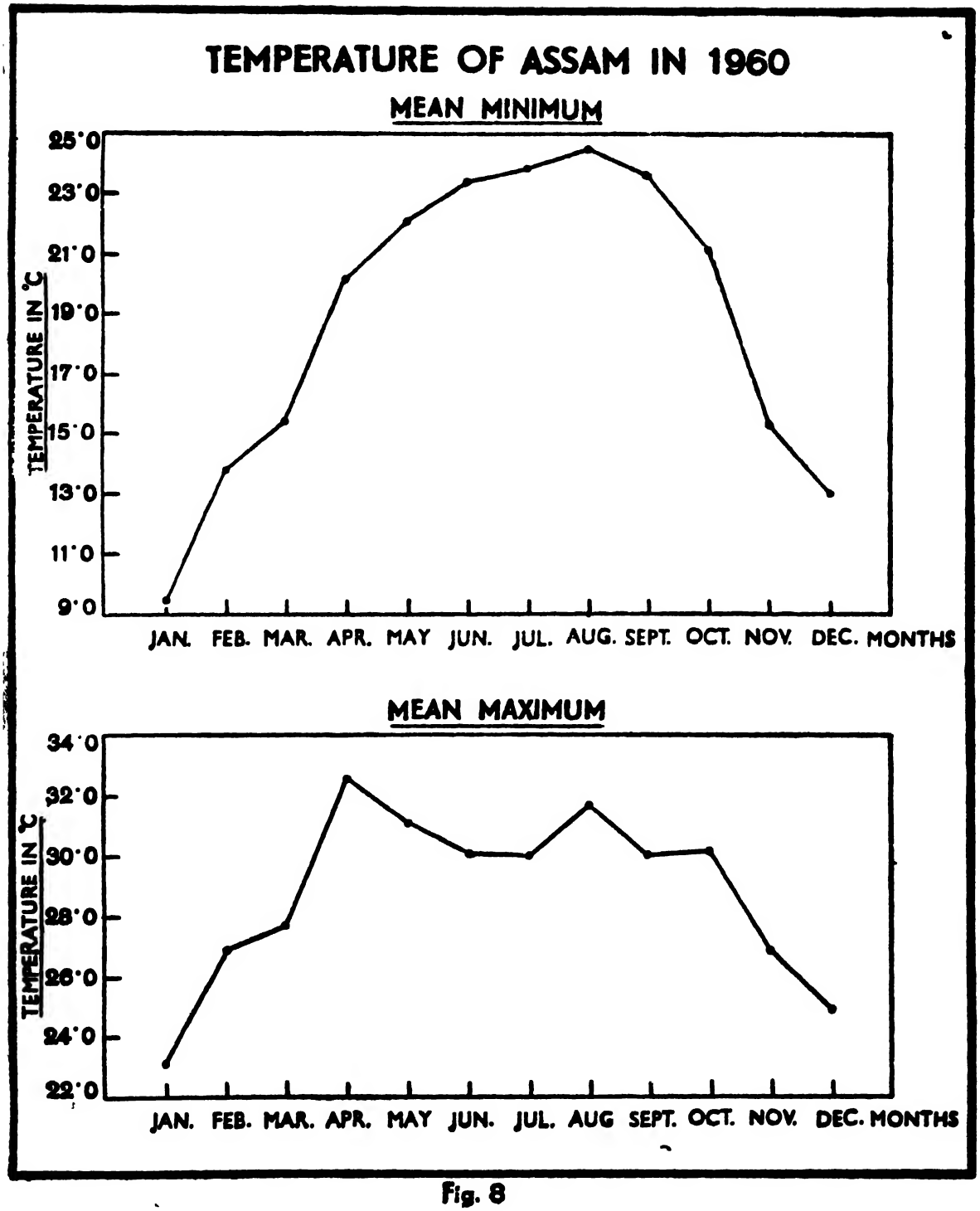

Fig. 8

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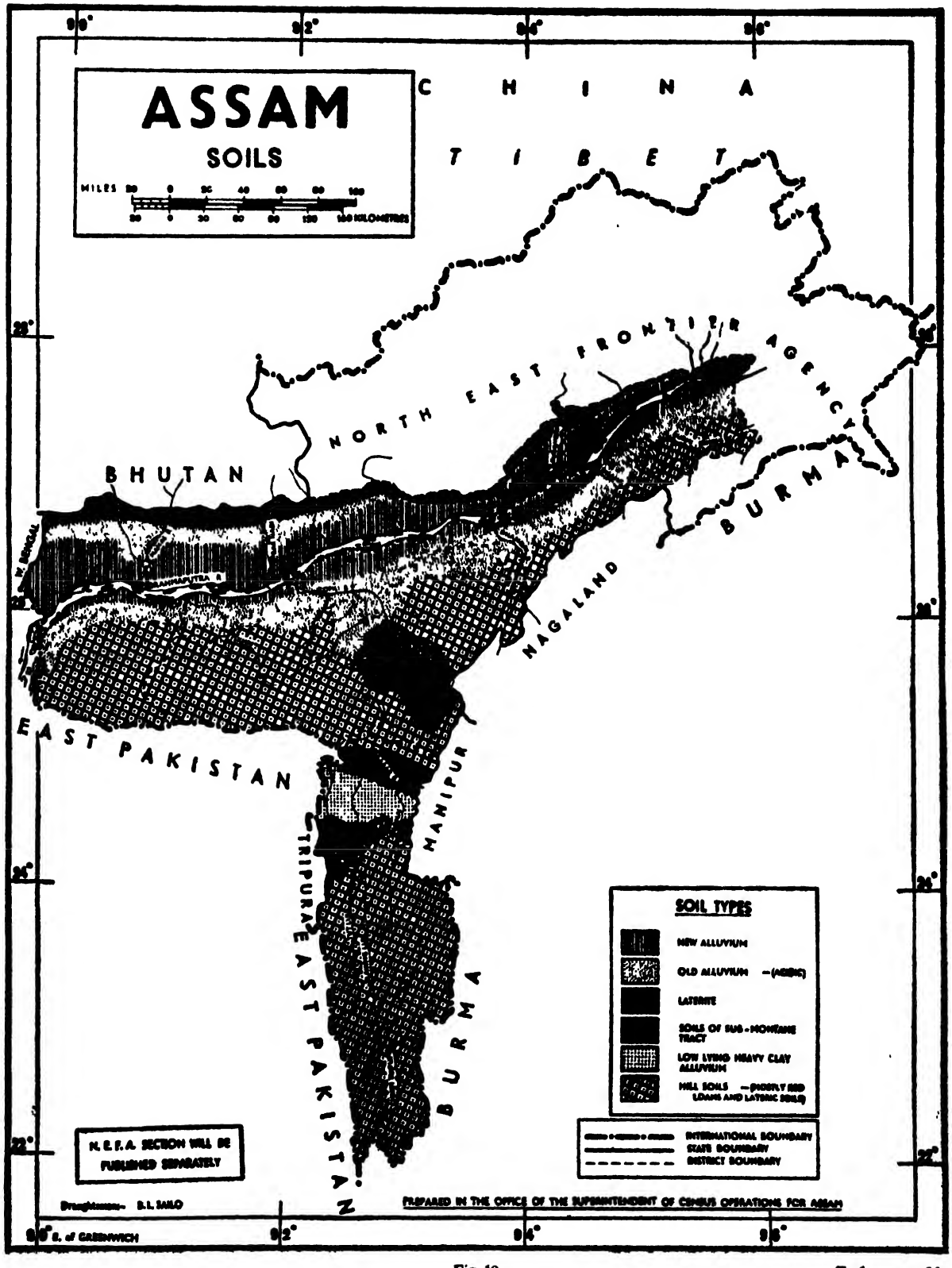

Fig 10

To face page 23

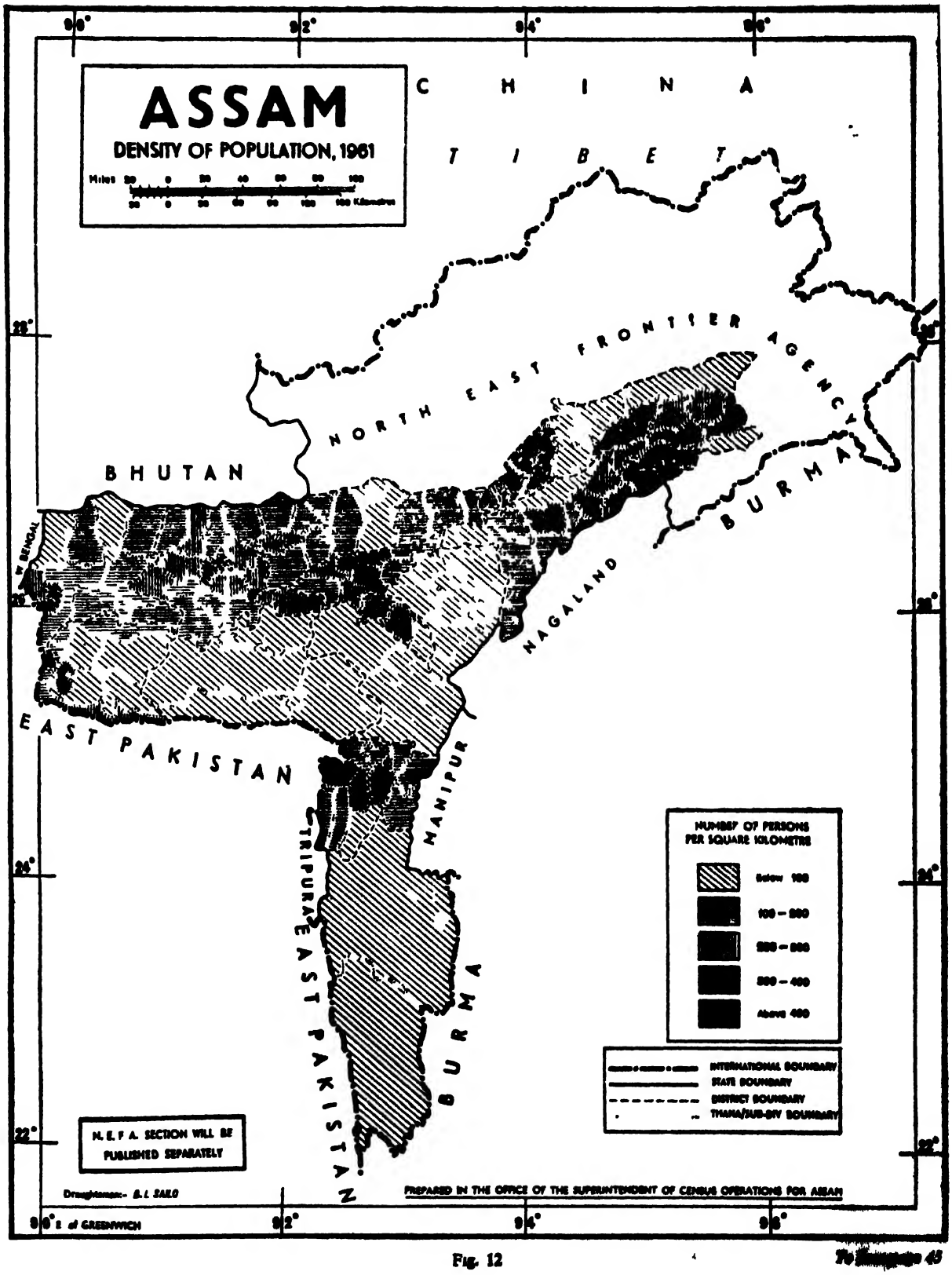

Fig. 12

To Image no. 45

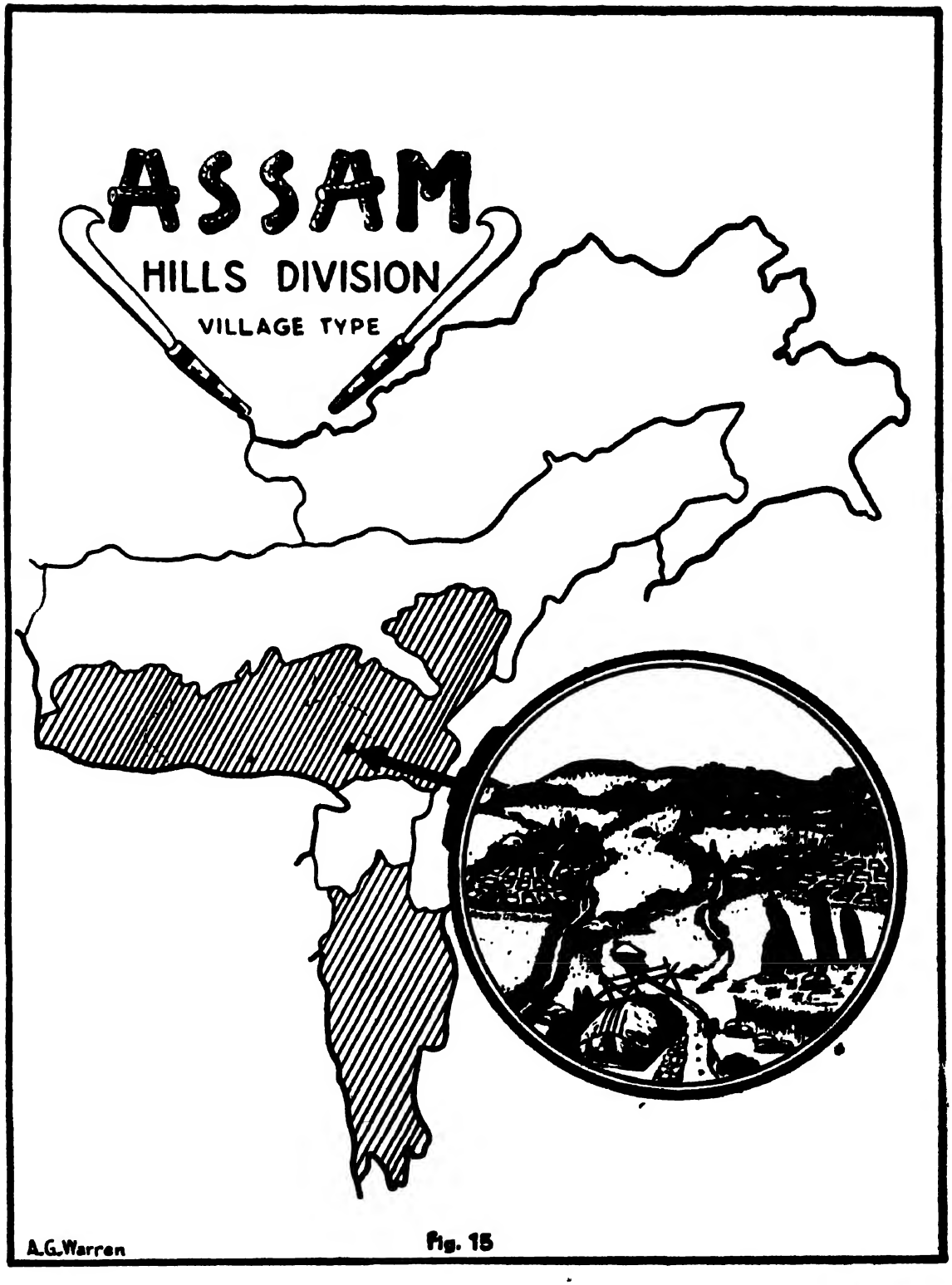

Fig. 15

To face page 113

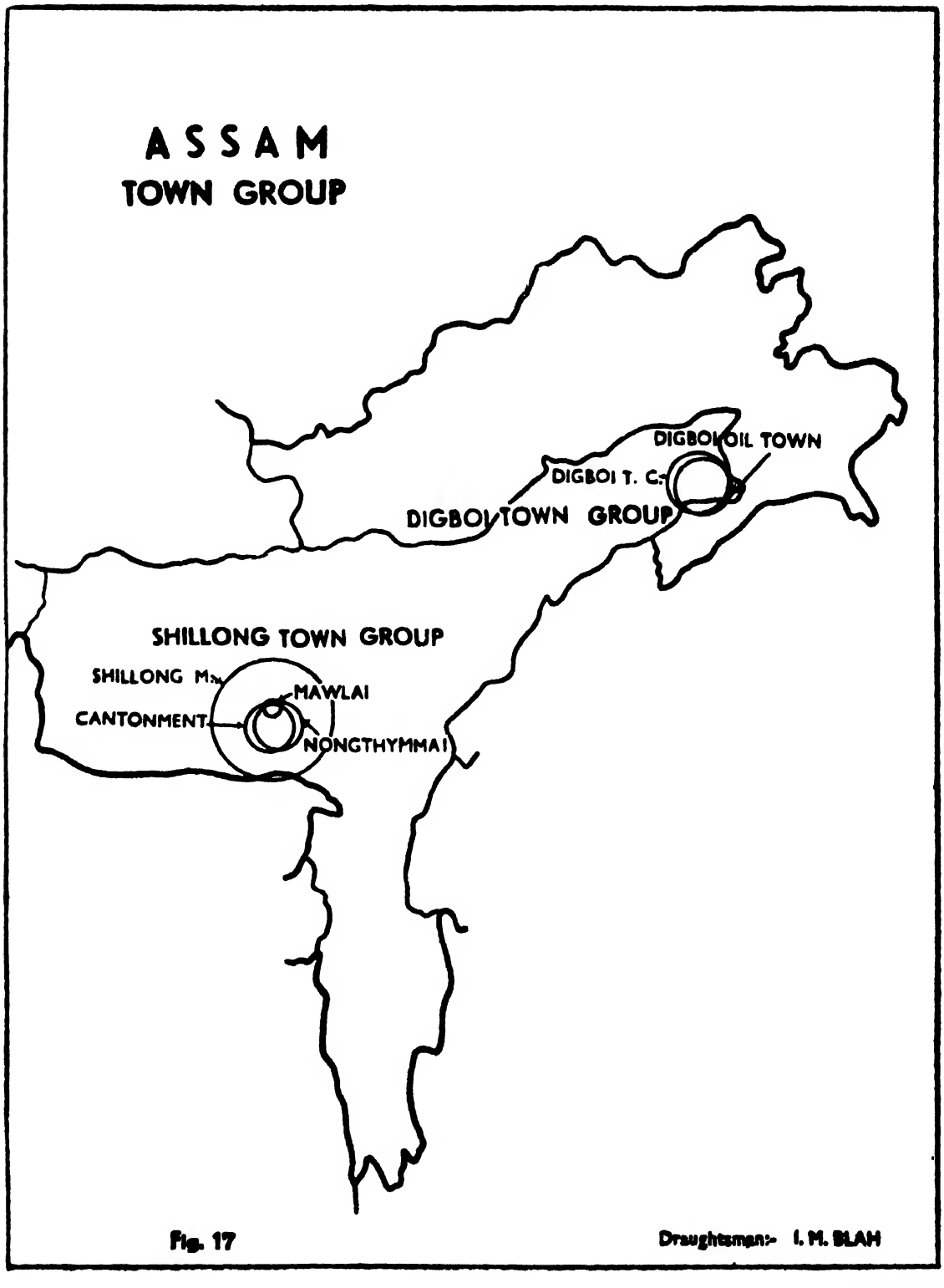

Fig. 17

Draughtsman:- I. M. BLAH

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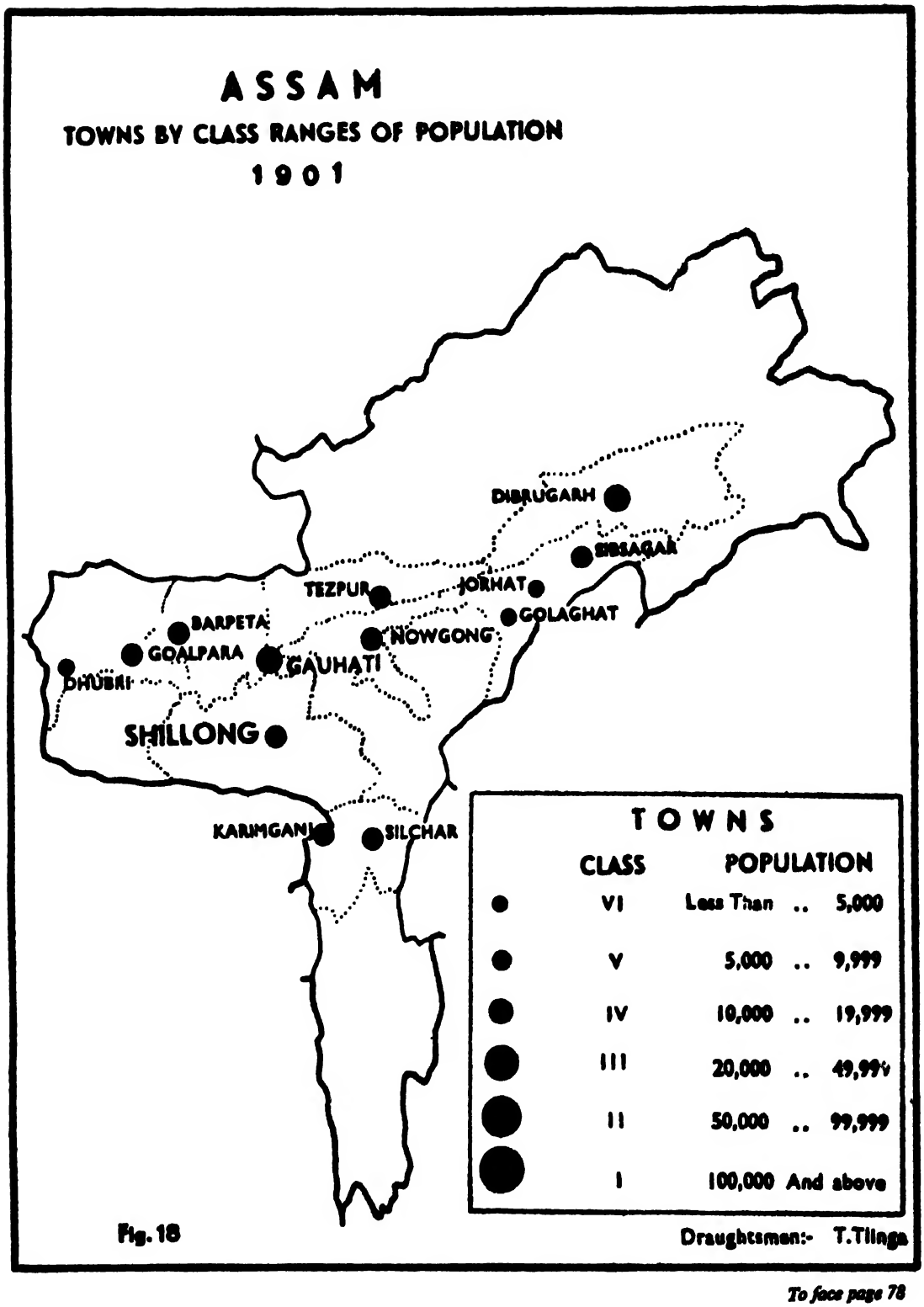

Fig. 18

Draughtsman:- T.Tilinga

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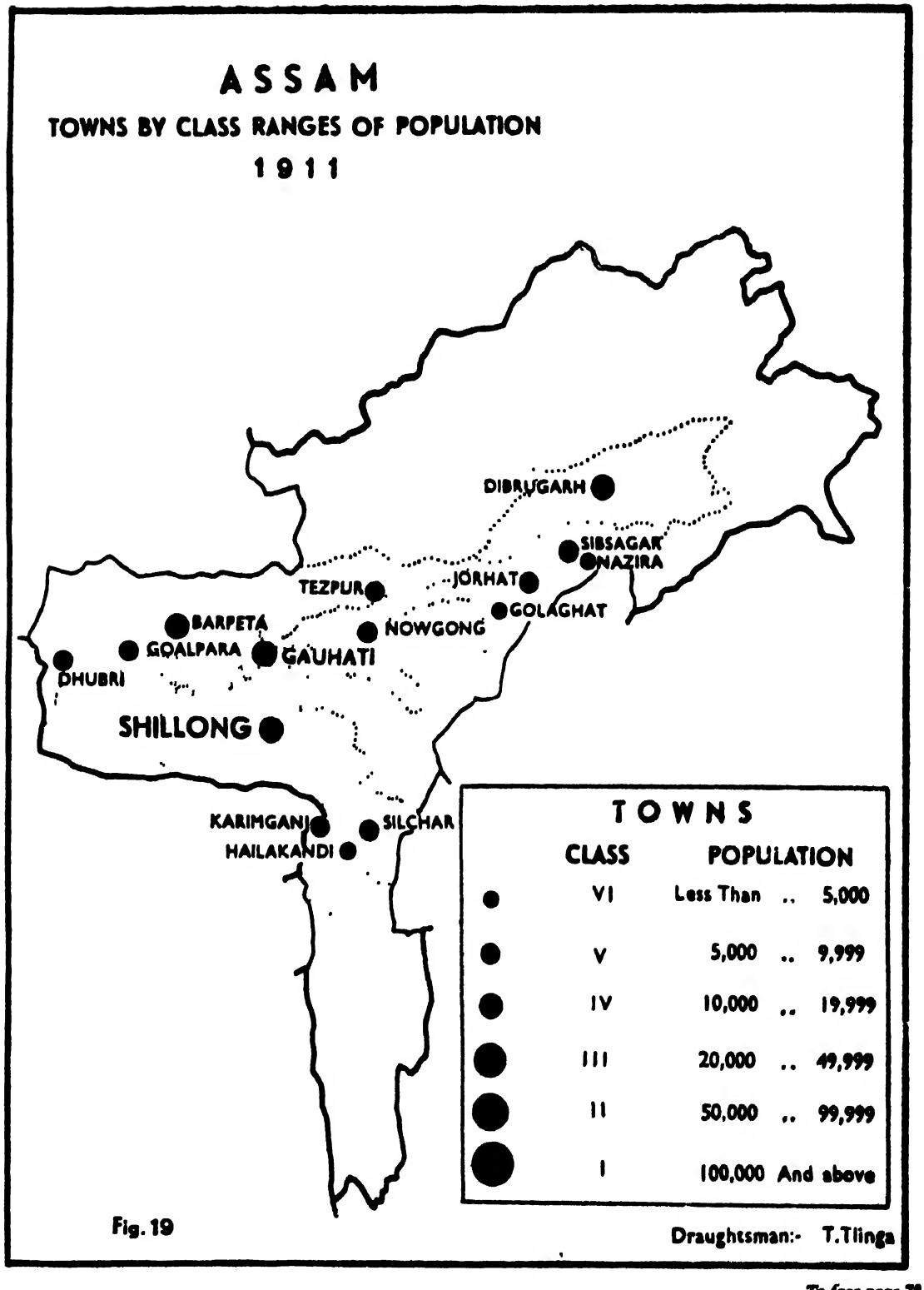

Fig. 19

Draughtsman:- T.Tlinga

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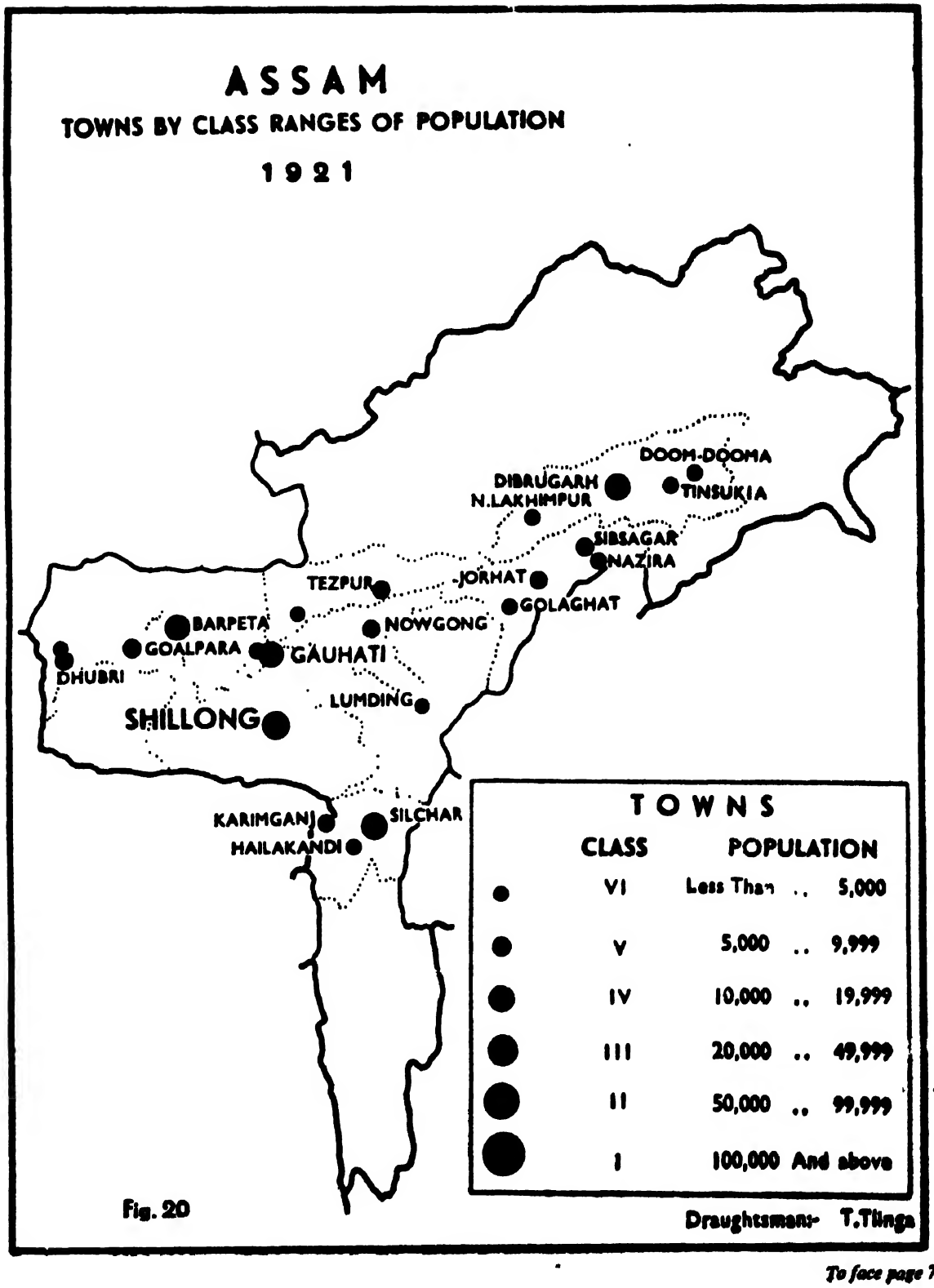

Fig. 20

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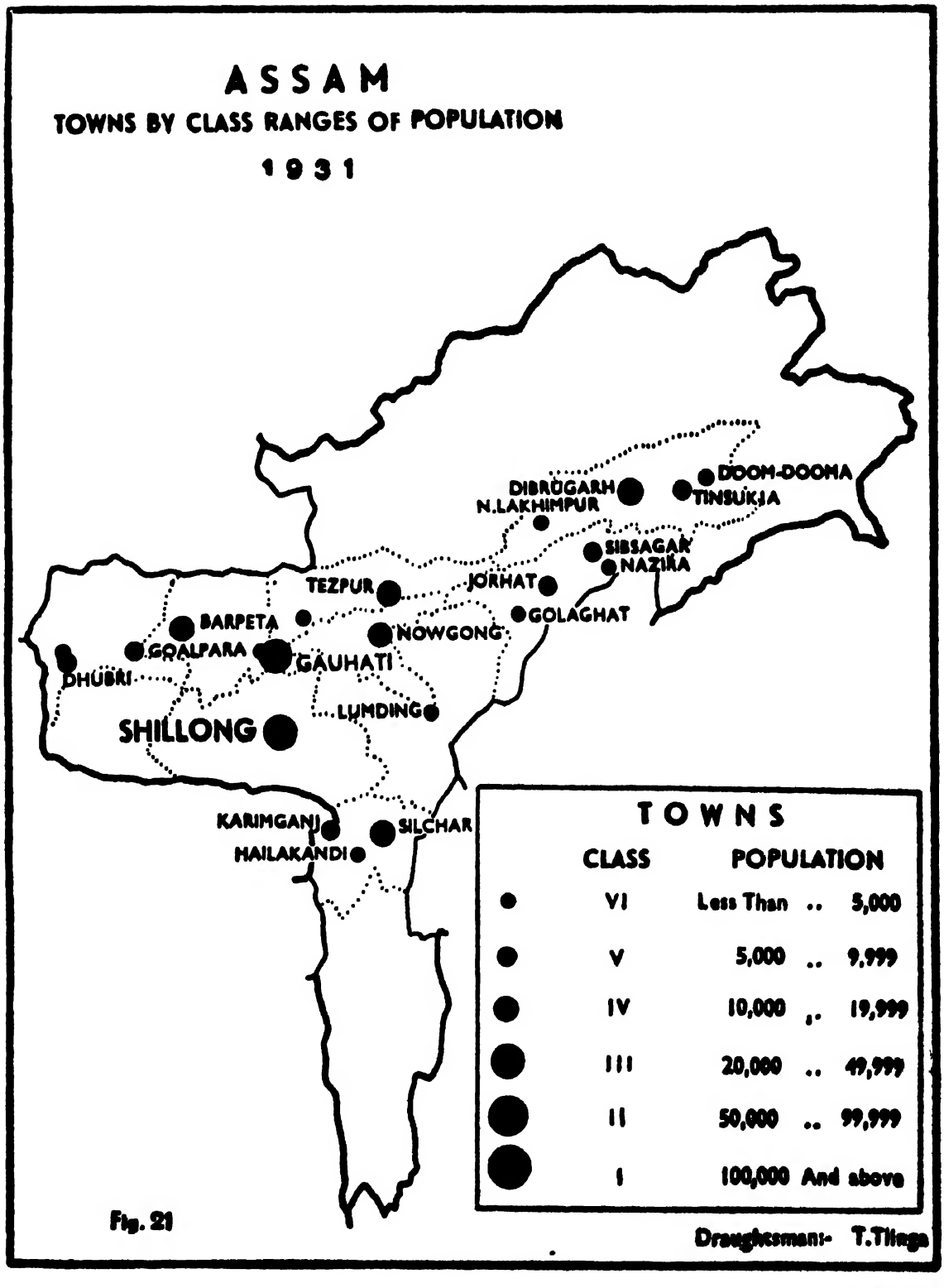

Fig. 21

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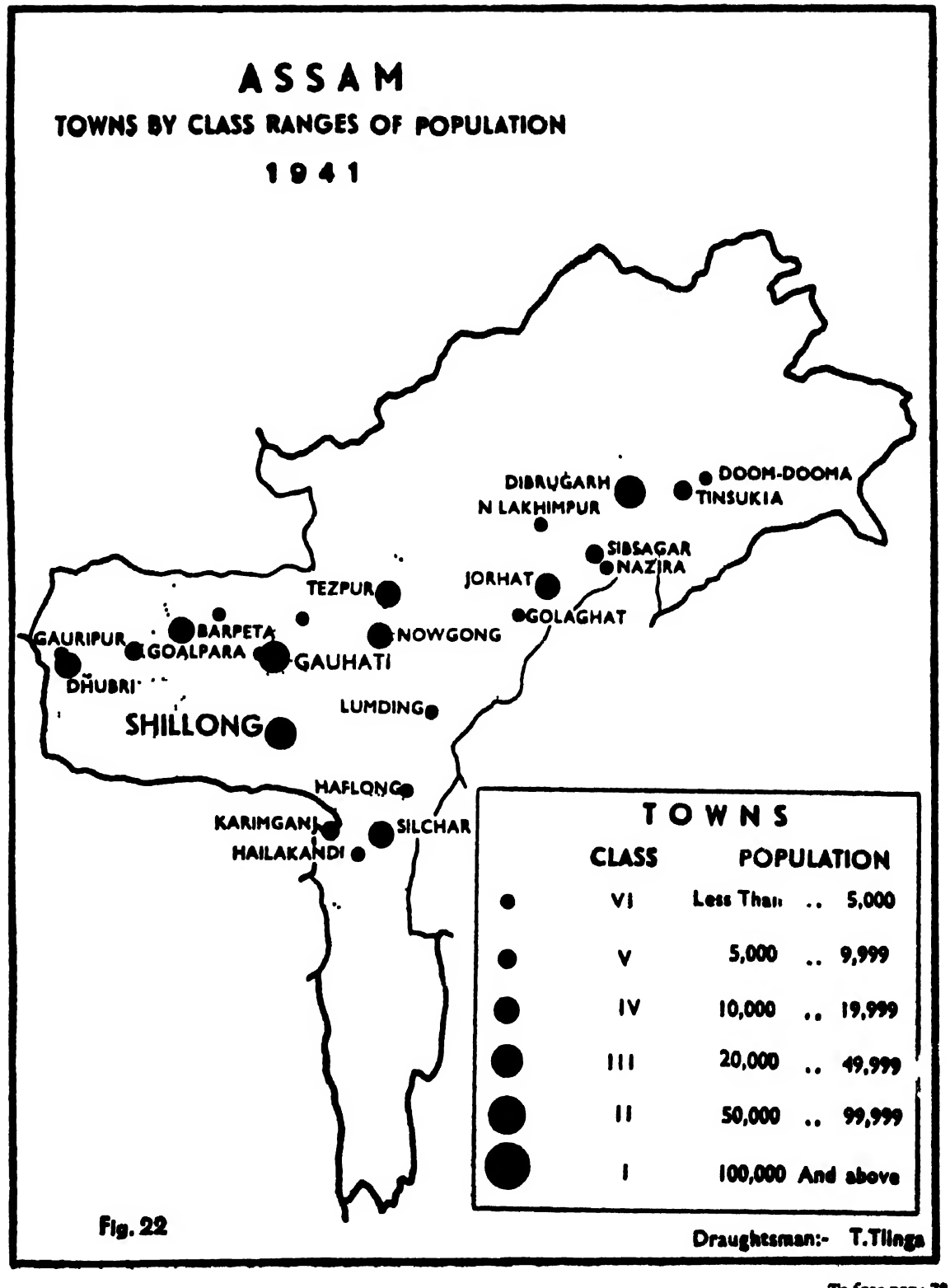

Fig. 22

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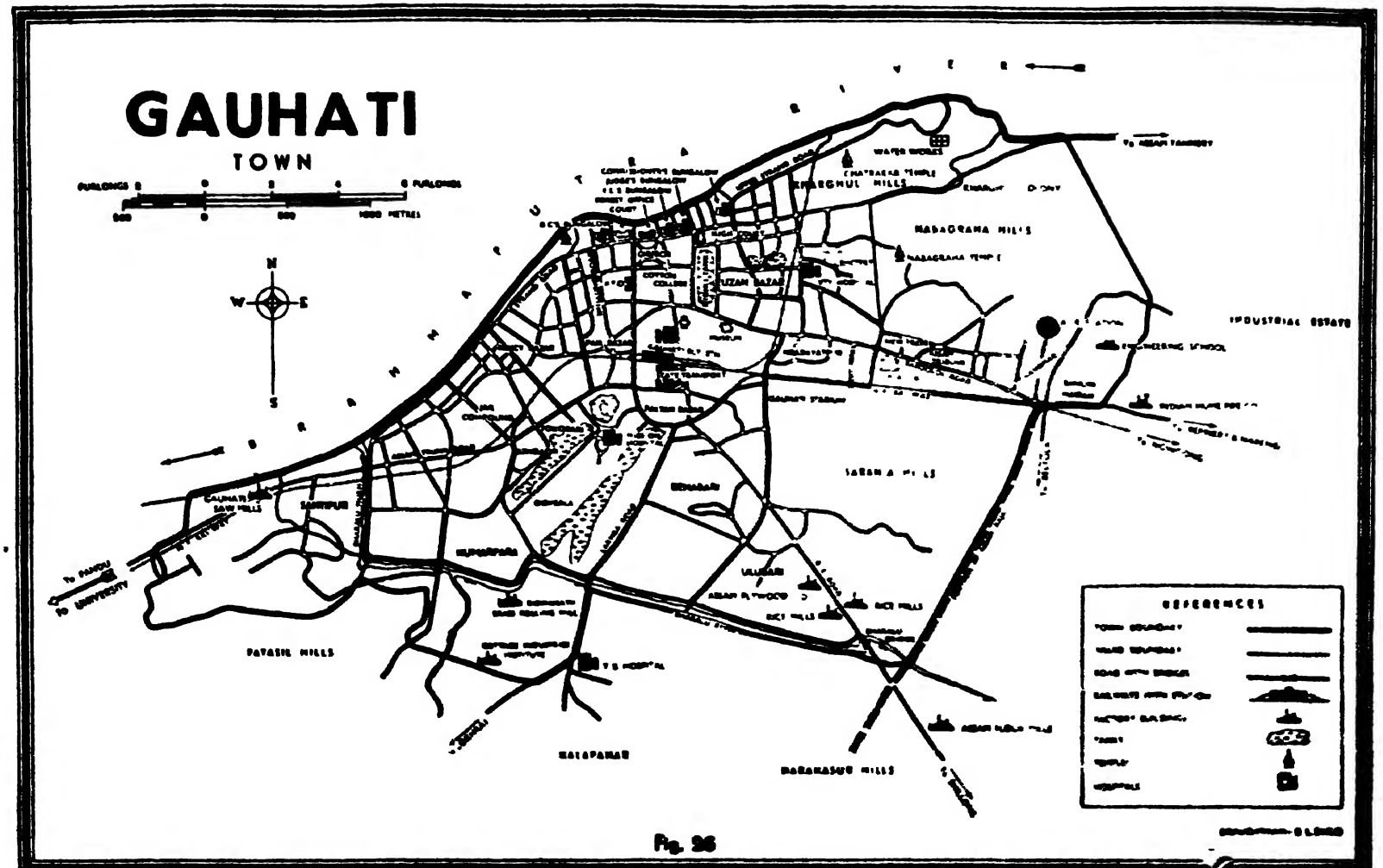

Fig. 26

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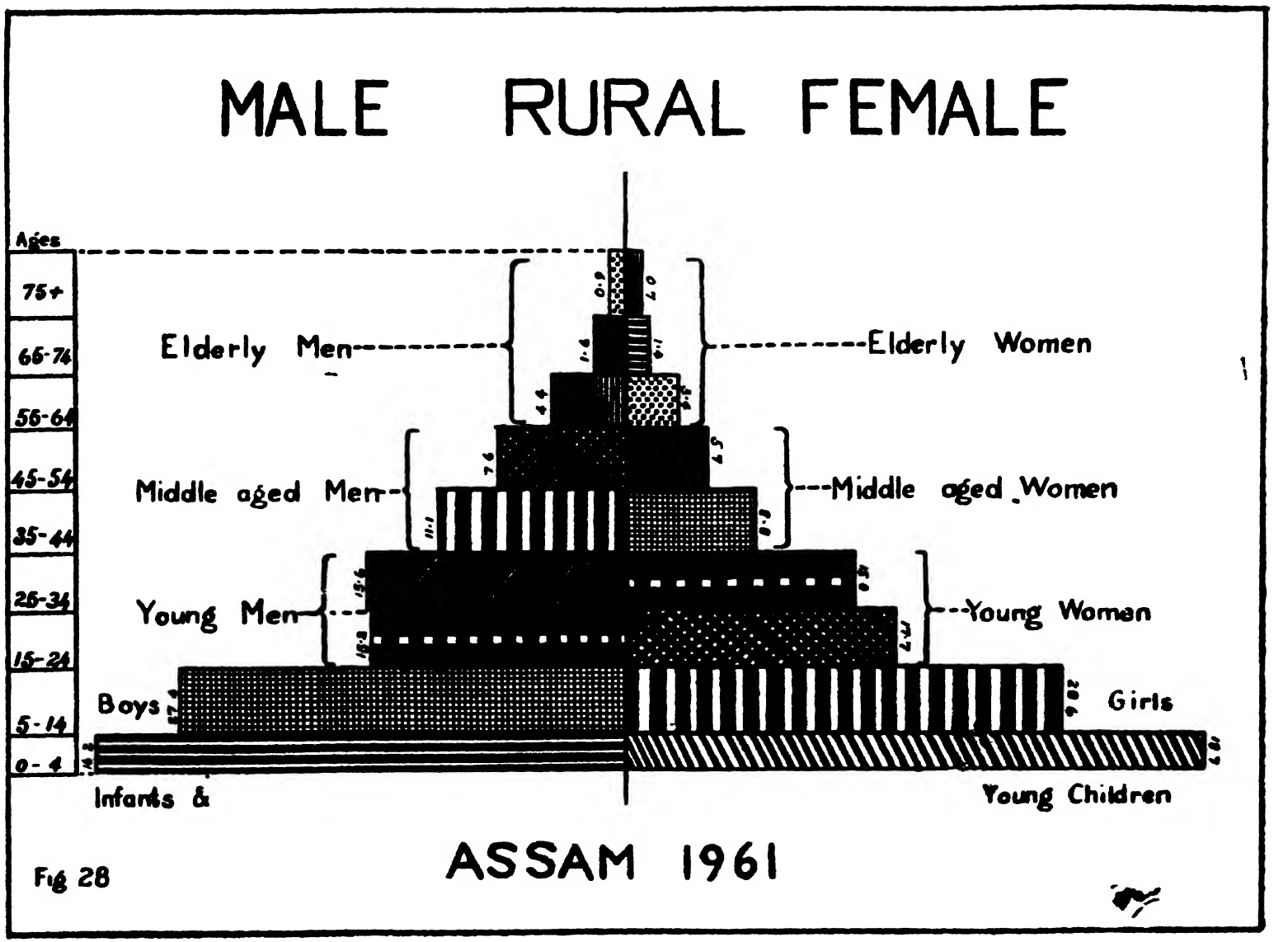

Fig 28

To face page 148

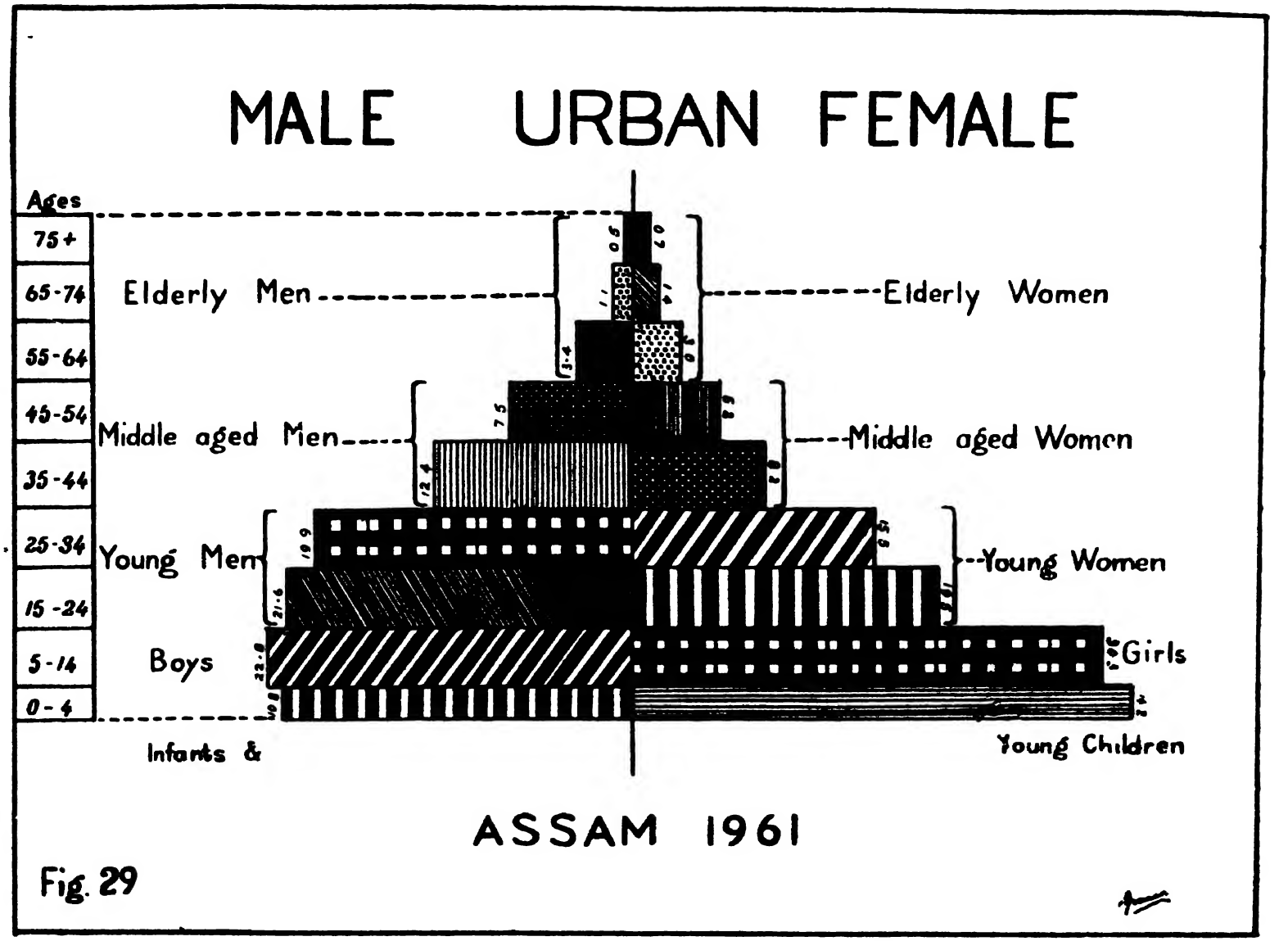

Fig. 29

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AGE PYRAMID FOR ASSAM 1961

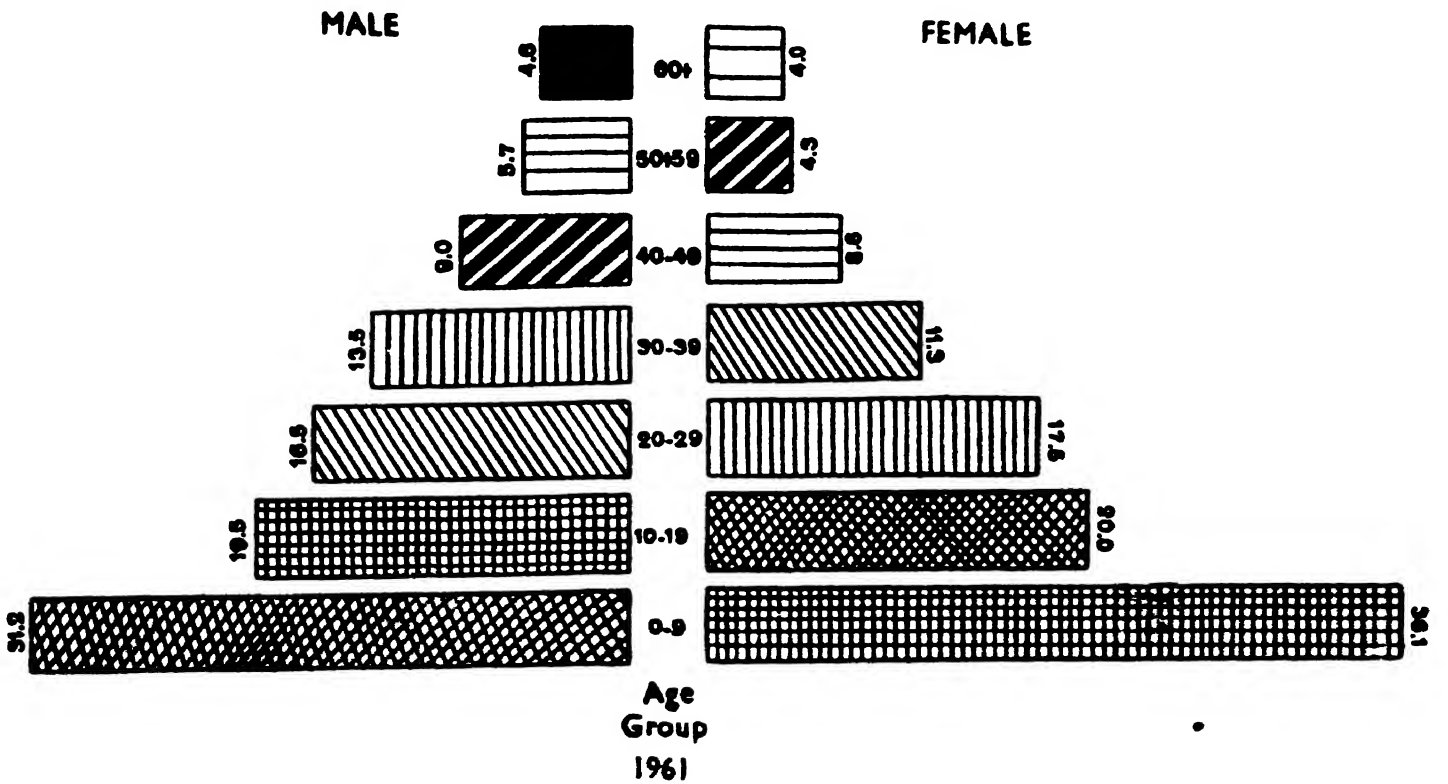

Fig. 30

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AGE PYRAMID FOR ASSAM 1951

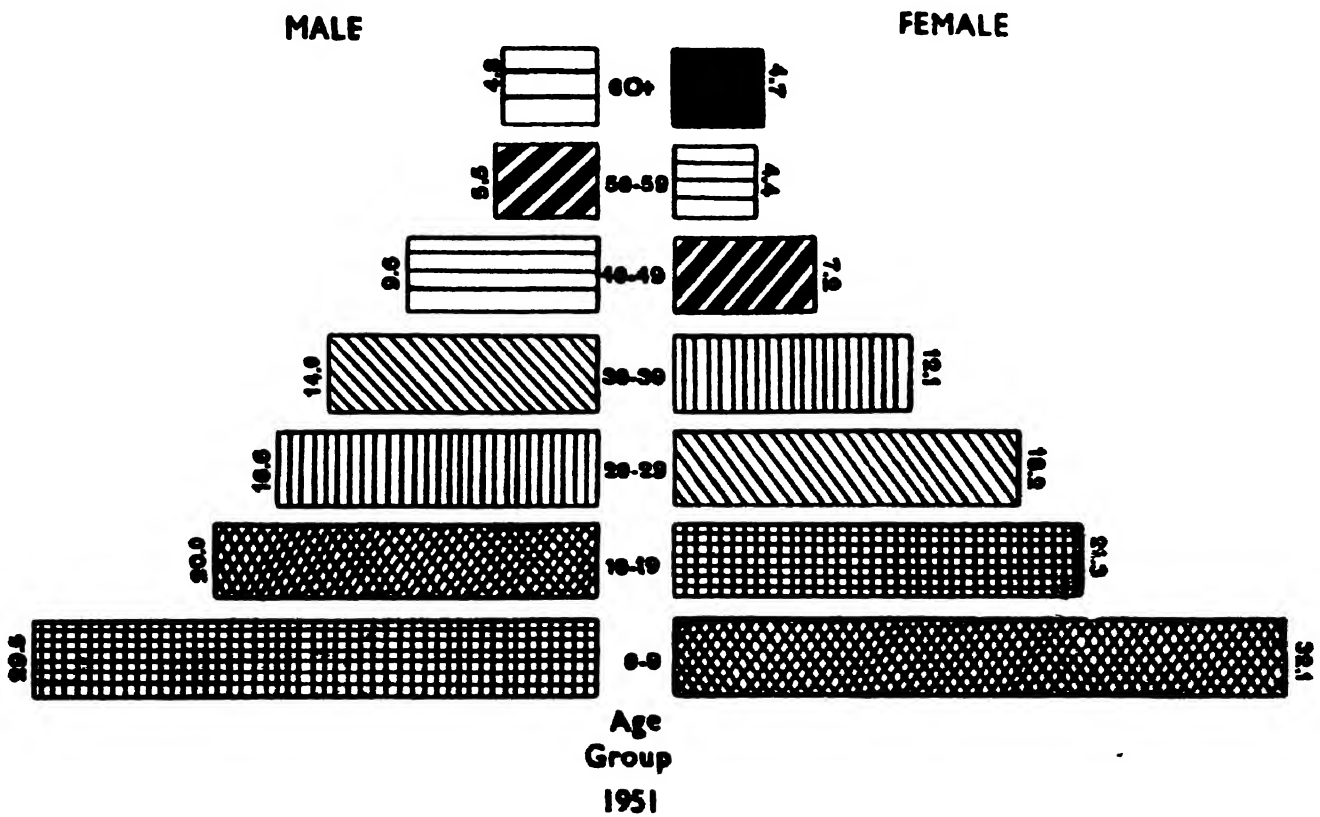

Fig. 31

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Rhino in Kazirange

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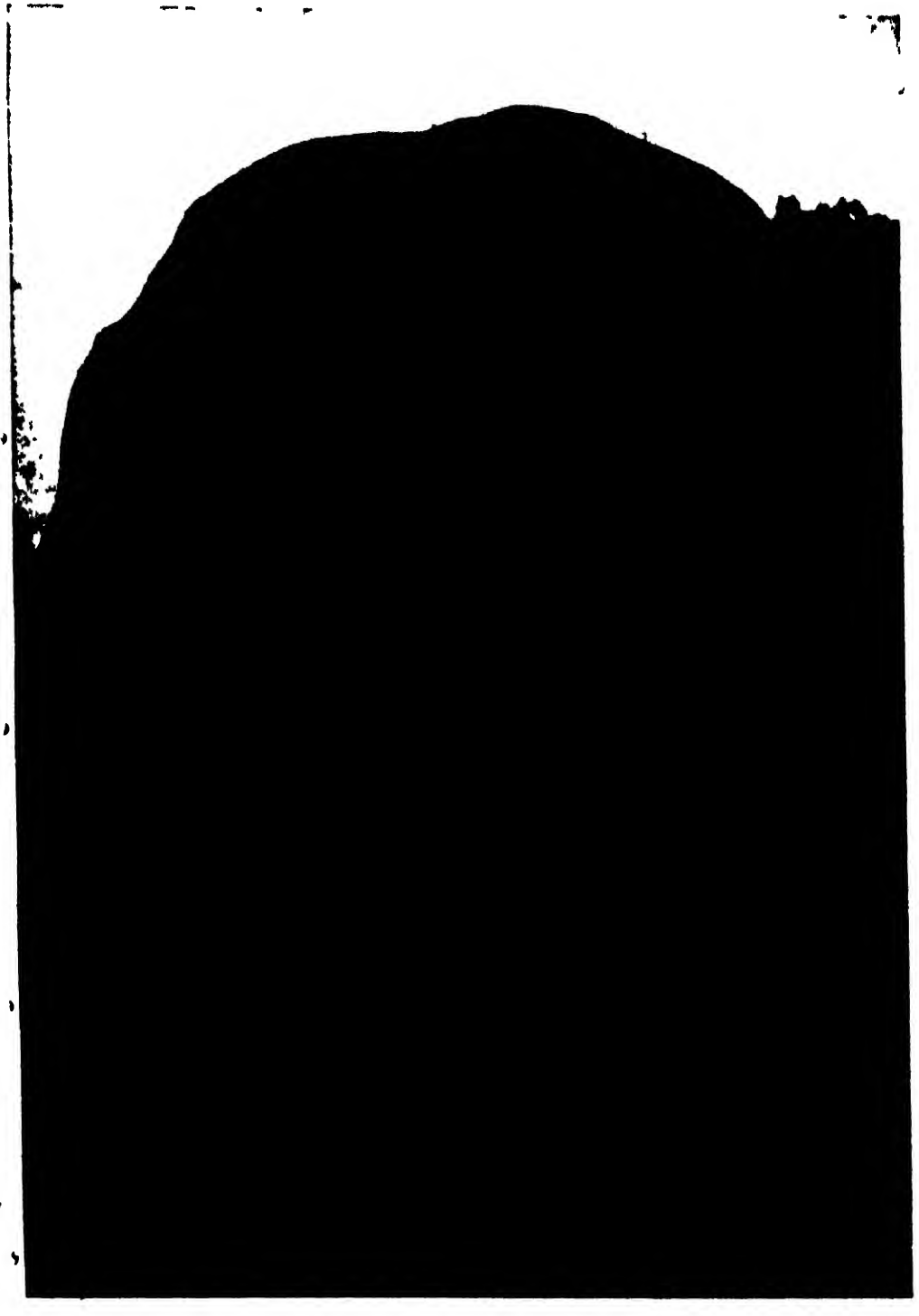

Kyllang Rock—Khasi Hills

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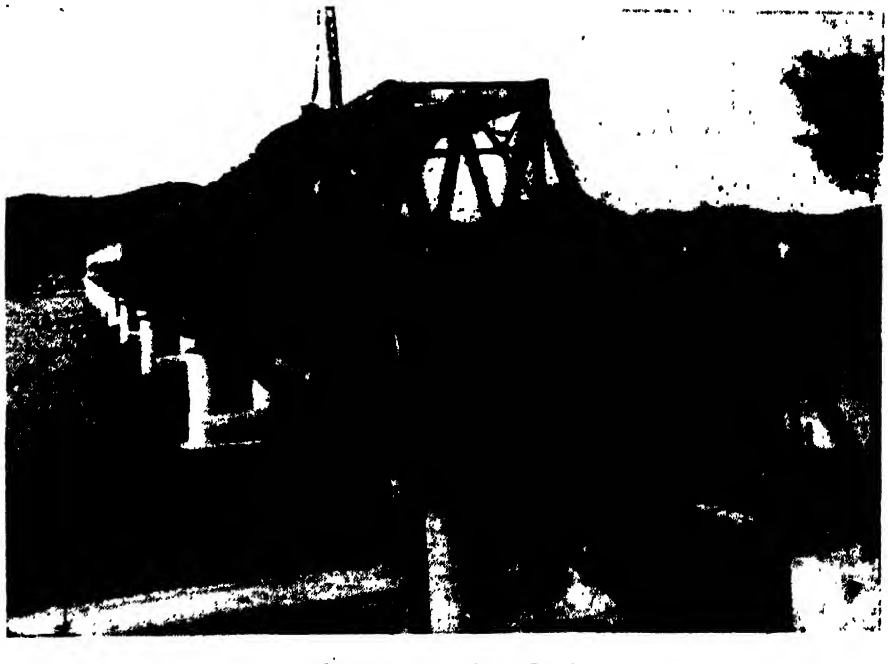
Umananda or Peacock Island Gauhati



Brahmaputra Bridge—Gauhati

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